



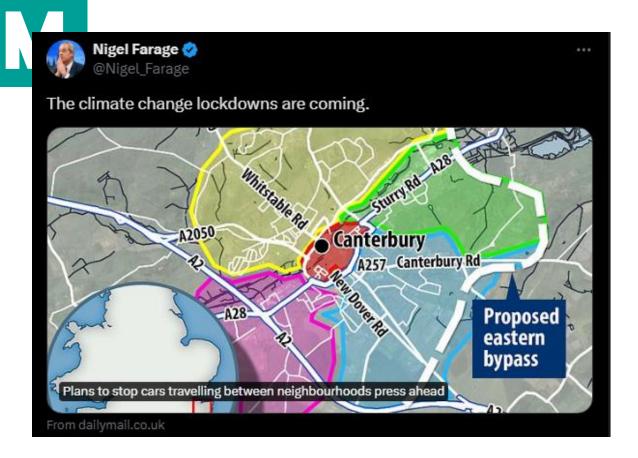
Dissecting Opposition to the 15-Minute City in the Post-COVID Era

Oriol Marquet – UAB Monika Maciejewska – UAB

Geography Department, UAB oriol.marquet@uab.cat mobil.TUM 2024







"The international socialist concept of so-called 15-minute cities and 20-minute neighbourhoods will take away personal freedoms."

Nick Fletcher, MP. 02/2023







Senator Pauline Hanson: This law is a step towards controlling people, a step towards **15 minute cities**, already being imposed in the UK, heavily penalizing anyone travelling outside their community.



Vancouver pop up compaign with stickers depicting 15 minute city concept in front of a fence



Stop the 15 min cities project in Edmonton



Próximo objetiv
ooyar ahora
petición

Demonstrators in Edmonton. This is just another step in the WEF [World Economic Forum] globalists great reset under the guise of the global warming agenda.



POLAND

"Yes, these are feudalistic times. Satan doesn't invent anything new, he just takes the already invented and detects it".

Wojciech Cejrowski, Journalist

"15min city is a prelude to enslavement".

Lukas Warzecha, Journalist

The first 15min in Poland was Auschwitz-Birkenau.

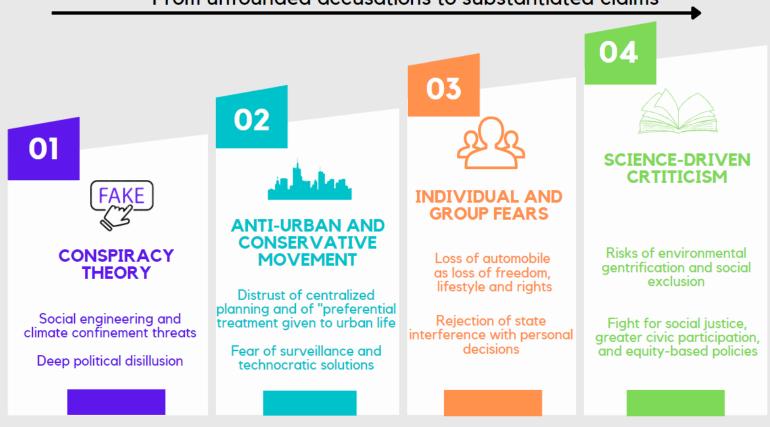
Grzegorz Braun - Polish far-right politician

What does another assault on our civil liberties look like? There's this idea of a fifteen-minute city. And it all looks very nice, but it's all done so that you can't move too often outside the boundaries of this zone. These zones are introduced, this is what the cities of the future look like, so that they can control where people are and you have to spend most of your life in this ghetto and you can't leave it without the permission of the bureaucrats And that's a really scary idea.

Marcin Sypniewski - Vice President of Nowa Nadzieja

15-minute city critiques

From unfounded accusations to substantiated claims

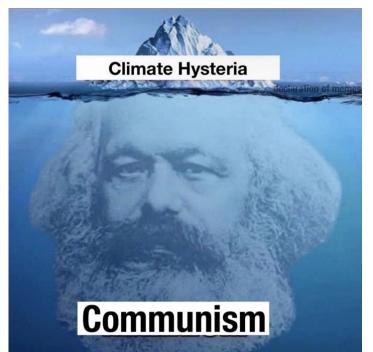






Agenda 2030 and Globalism Conspiracies

- Worry over a loss of sovereignty to a global agenda
- Local autonomy being usurped by hidden control measures.
- Political orientation: Varied, often right-wing but also left-wing
- "Agenda 21" misinterpreted as a plot for a totalitarian world government
- Textbook example of a conspiracy theory. Cognitive dissonance: Rejection of contradicting evidence to alleviate discomfort (Nwokora, 2023)



This is a World Economic Forum (WEF) initiative and they have no legal jurisdiction in Canada and should not be affecting policy and regulation choices at the municipal and provincial levels," Posa said. "We do not answer to the WEF and we are not interested in their initiatives. I'm hoping with this protest on Friday, we can inform people about how 15-minute cities are going to affect us, as well as what's happening in other places in the world.

Protest organizer in Edmonton, Canada



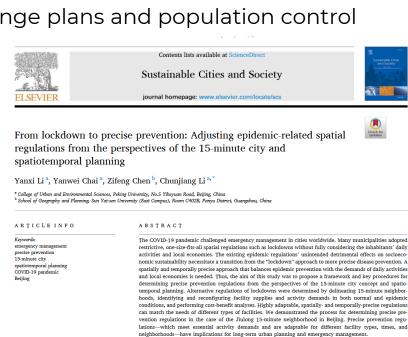


Fear of Overregulation and Surveillance

- The "Great Reset" narrative: claims of home confinement and restrictions
 They want to control us, 15 minute cities are just a pretext to take away our freedom of
 movement
- Perceived overregulation and intrusive surveillance that may accompany 15 minute cities
- COVID pandemic has left a legacy of distrust of public authorities and a strong belief among some groups (anti-vaxxers, anti-lockdown activists) about the existence of hidden nefarious agendas, ranging from vaccines and viruses to climate change plans and population control

methods (Freeman et al., 2022; Pummerer et al., 2022).



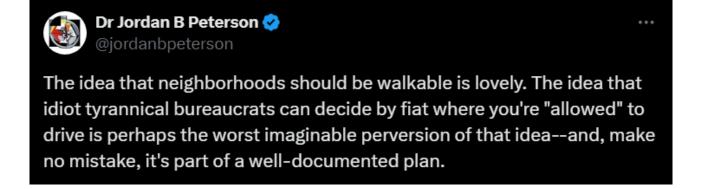






Ideological opposition I

- Long-standing resistance to centralized planning, especially among conservative and libertarian circles
- Social engineering! Too much government intervention! (Trapenberg Frick et al., 2015).
- Cultural tradition of anti-urbanism (US) (Conn, 2014; Meyer & Graybill, 2016)
- 15 minute city as embodiment of urban life values: diversity, interaction, public space.
- For conservatives, concerns arise when planning serves broader agendas like sustainability and social justice, challenging traditional values









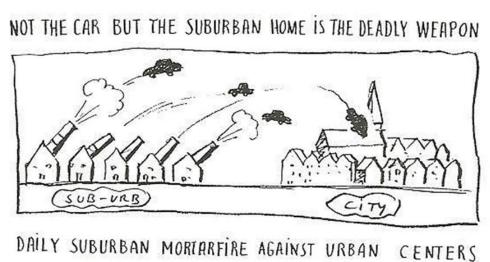
Ideological opposition II

Distributional unfairness:

- Conflict between urban-centric policies and suburban preferences (Amorim-Maia et al., 2023).
- Feelings of distributional inequity among less dense communities.
- Backlash against more feminist and care-driven urban polices (Kussy et al., 2023).
 - Changing the status quo regarding who we put at the center of our policies





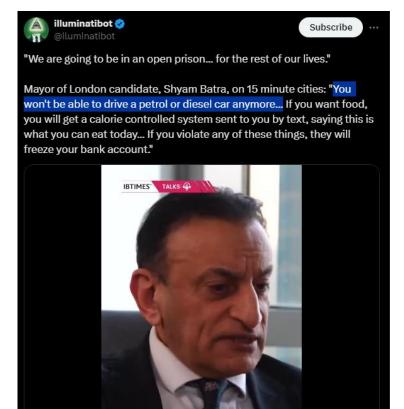






Individual and group fears I

- 15 minute cities are seen as anti car policies.
 - Frequent overlap between 15 minute city policies and traffic management iniciatives
 - 1. Expected impact on personal mobility
 - Perception that reducing car space equals a loss of personal freedom and mobility
 - Cognitive biases: loss aversion, status quo bias.









Individual and group fears II

Cultural Values and Ideologies

- 1. Culture of individualism in travel behavior
 - Maximizing one's own travel utility, often at the expense of the collective good
 - Car use based on private property and freedom
 - Collective decisions can not restrict these inherent rights!
- 2. The car as a symbol of individualism and personal choice in opposition to communal urbanism.
- 3. Political conservatism amplifying resistance to perceived attacks on personal freedoms.

"For many people in the 21st century, freedom is a set of keys, and basically any assault on the vehicle is an assault on the person"

4. Global culture war against motorists

Increased polarization and partisanship







Gentrification fears

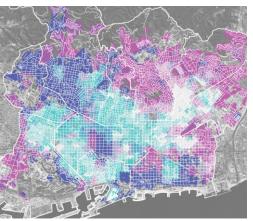
SCIENCE-DRIVEN CRTITICISM

Risks of environmental gentrification and social exclusion

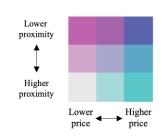
Fight for social justice, greater civic participation, and equity-based policies

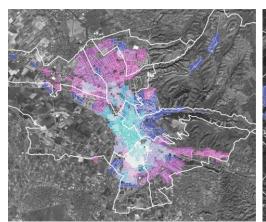
Environmental Gentrification

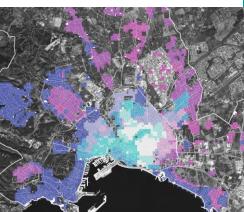
- 1. Displacement due to increased housing prices and real estate speculation in improved urban areas (Anguelovski et al., 2022).
- 2. Concentration of urban improvements potentially leading to areas exclusive to elites and investors.













Participation issues

1. Procedural Criticisms and Participation Issues

- 1. Strong governmental top-down approaches in policy implementation (Dudley et al., 2022).
- 2. Fast-tracked urban initiatives during the COVID-19 pandemic with limited public consultation.
- 3. Copy-paste policies promoted by international think tanks (C40)

2.Intersection of Political Views

1. Left and right converging in opposition to expert-led top-down planning.

2. Shared criticisms across political spectrums emphasizing participation and

equity concerns.





Risks of environmental gentrification and social exclusion

Fight for social justice, greater civic participation, and equity-based policies



Going forward

COVID experience has accelerated the spread of conspiracy theories

- We never though pandemic lockdowns could happen, and they did, so why not believe in future climate lockdowns?
- Recognize and differentiate between conspiracy-fueled criticism and valid concerns.
 - Counter-narratives emphasizing benefits over loss, engaging beyond partisan lines
- Participation issues and conspirancies are meeting points between left and right. (N. Klein, 2023; Kristensen et al., 2023)
 - Unconventional political alliances (Fainstein and Novy 2023; Liekefett 2023).
- Distributional justice is a key predictor of policy acceptability (Kallbekken & Sæælen, 2011; Semple & Fountas, 2022).
 - · Implement strategies ensuring benefits and burdens are equitably shared
- Strip critics of valid arguments: focus on participation and gentrification!
 - Enhancing Participation and Adaptability
 - We need context-driven, participatory planning that reflects local realities
 - Implement gentrification plans and promote counter-gentrification strategies.



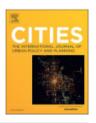




Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Cities







Pathways to 15-Minute City adoption: Can our understanding of climate policies' acceptability explain the backlash towards x-minute city programs?

Oriol Marquet a,b,*, Laia Mojica , Marta-Beatriz Fernández-Núñez , Monika Maciejewska C

- a Geography Department, Autonomous University of Barcelona Edifici B, Campus de Bellaterra, Cerdanyola del Vallès, 08193, Barcelona, Spain
- b Institute of Environmental Science and Technology (ICTA), Autonomous University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain.

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: 15-min city Policy acceptability Conspiracy theories Urban planning

ABSTRACT

In recent months, 15-min city policies have faced significant backlash across social media, in opinion pieces, and even through street demonstrations, casting doubt on the future of x-minute city policies as effective tools in the fight against climate change. The protests and backlash not only challenge the effective implementation of x-minute city policies, but also highlight our lack of understanding regarding which acceptability factors affect public reactance to this new kind of urban policy. This paper reviews the existing literature to reveal the four main factors shaping policy acceptability. It then juxtaposes these factors against the common criticisms leveled at the 15-min city model. This comparative analysis not only illuminates the limitations of applying traditional policy frameworks to the x-minute city context, but also identifies critical gaps in the existing literature. By bridging this divide, we aid policymakers in navigating the spectrum of public skepticism of the 15-min city model, from addressing and debunking conspiracy theories to engaging with scientifically-grounded critiques. Our findings offer a roadmap for transforming these innovative urban planning concepts into widely embraced solutions for climate change mitigation.



c Cosmopolis Centre for Urban Research, Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Brussels, Belgium

References

- Amorim-Maia, A. T., Anguelovski, I., Chu, E., & Connolly, J. (2023). Governing intersectional climate justice: Tactics and lessons from Barcelona. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, eet.2075. https://doi.org/10.1002/eet.2075
- Anguelovski, I., Connolly, J. J. T., Cole, H., Garcia-Lamarca, M., Triguero-Mas, M., Baró, F., Martin, N., Conesa, D., Shokry, G., del Pulgar, C. P., Ramos, L. A., Matheney, A., Gallez, E., Oscilowicz, E., Máñez, J. L., Sarzo, B., Beltrán, M. A., & Minaya, J. M. (2022). Green gentrification in European and North American cities. *Nature Communications*, 13(1), 3816. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-022-31572-1
- Conn, S. (2014). Americans against the City. Anti-Urbanism in the Twentieth Century. Oxford University Press.
- Dudley, G., Banister, D., & Schwanen, T. (2022). Low Traffic Neighbourhoods and the paradox of UK government control of the active travel agenda. The Political Quarterly, 93(4), 585–593. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.13198
- Fainstein, S., & Novy, J. (2023). Right-wing populism and urban planning. Journal of Urban Affairs, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2023.2200950
- Freeman, D., Waite, F., Rosebrock, L., Petit, A., Causier, C., East, A., Jenner, L., Teale, A.-L., Carr, L., Mulhall, S., Bold, E., & Lambe, S. (2022). Coronavirus conspiracy beliefs, mistrust, and compliance with government guidelines in England. *Psychological Medicine*, 52(2), 251–263. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291720001890
- Kallbekken, S., & Sæælen, H. (2011). Public acceptance for environmental taxes: Self-interest, environmental and distributional concerns. Energy Policy, 39(5), 2966–2973. https://doi.org/10.1016/i.enpol.2011.03.006
- Klein, N. (2023). Doppelganger. A trip into the mirror world. https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/453962/doppelganger-by-klein-naomi/9780241621301
- Kristensen, J. B., Henriksen, F. M., & Mayerhöffer, E. (2023). Did covid-19 blur partisan boundaries? A comparison of partisan affinity and source heterophily in online alternative news-sharing networks before and during the covid-19 pandemic. Social Media + Society, 9(3), 20563051231192963. https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051231192963
- Kussy, A., Palomera, D., & Silver, D. (2023). The caring city? A critical reflection on Barcelona's municipal experiments in care and the commons. Urban Studies, 60(11), 2036–2053. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221134191
- Liekefett, L., Bürner, A.-K., & Becker, J. C. (2023). Hippies next to right-wing extremists?: Identifying subgroups of antilockdown protesters in germany using latent profile analysis. Social Psychology, 54(3), 123–135. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000509
- Nwokora, Z. (2023). Ignore, rebut or embrace: Political elite responses to conspiracy theories. *Political Studies Review*, 14789299231193570. https://doi.org/10.1177/14789299231193570
- Oleksy, T., Wnuk, A., Maison, D., & Łyś, A. (2021). Content matters. Different predictors and social consequences of general and government-related conspiracy theories on COVID-19. Personality and Individual Differences, 168, 110289. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110289
- Pummerer, L., Böhm, R., Lilleholt, L., Winter, K., Zettler, I., & Sassenberg, K. (2022). Conspiracy theories and their societal effects during the covid-19 pandemic. Social Psychological and Personality Science, 13(1), 49–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506211000217
- Semple, T., & Fountas, G. (2022). Demographic and behavioural factors affecting public support for pedestrianisation in city centres: The case of Edinburgh, UK. International Journal of Transportation Science and Technology, S204604302200003X. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijtst.2021.12.001
- Trapenberg Frick, K., Weinzimmer, D., & Waddell, P. (2015). The politics of sustainable development opposition: State legislative efforts to stop the United Nation's Agenda 21 in the United States. Urban Studies, 52(2), 209–232. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098014528397





Thank you

oriol.marquet@uab.cat monika.maciejewska@uab.cat

@gemottuab



