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EDITORIAL

Urban Commons and the Right to the City

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In the increasing cosmopolitan condition of our cities inclusionary urban commons are becoming more and more relevant as civic institutions for encounter, dialogue and collaboration. Their non-commodifiable asset experiences increasing issues of social inclusion, participation, privatisation and universal access. The papers included in this issue of *The Journal of Public Space* are focused on the development of the commons' capacity firstly to contingently relate and articulate heterogeneous values and paradigms, personalities, spheres of thought and material and intangible elements; secondly to sustain equity, diversity, belonging by transforming conflicts in productive associations that counter conditions of antagonism to set up critically engaged agonistic ones (Connolly, 1995; Mouffe, 1999, 2008). They include analytical studies, critical appraisals and creative propositions—part of which documenting the City Space Architecture's event at Freespace, the 16th Venice Architecture Biennale—which address the power of the inclusionary urban commons to support the constitution of free, open and participatory networks that enhance social, cultural and material production of urban communities by reclaiming, defending, maintaining, and taking care of the "coming together of strangers who work collaboratively […] despite their differences" (Williams, 2018: 17).
The community production discussed in this issue is crucial for the political mobilization aimed at the reappropriation of the urban space that has been alienated, financialised and controlled by closed circles of expert managers (Butler, 2012: 141–143). It concerns and integrates multiple spheres that construct a safe, healthy, resilient, pluralistic, and democratic society founded on principles of freedom, equality and solidarity (Borch & Kornberger, 2015; Flusty, 1997: 11; Garnett, 2012: 2012–2018): the civic realm that includes justice, law, and morality of the political, the economic domain that encompasses trade and exchange of goods and services, and finally the epistemological field for intercultural intellectual engagement and discourse. By forming context-specific organisational formats, this production enables "self-forming publics to appear, to represent themselves, to be represented" (Mitchell, 2017: 513) in an integral socio-spatial relationality that promotes citizens' participation, responsibilisation and conscious decision making (Villa, 1992). These processes sustain effectively collectivities in the everyday query for political identity and affirmation of citizenship, liberating their relationality from externally imposed constraints. They empower both local and translocal communities in their own relevant contexts, balance power structures and strengthen the exercises of the

fundamental ontogenetic right of citizens to participate in the creation of their own material, cultural, and social spaces, both at the individual and associated levels.
The discussion of problems affecting urban commons has progressively grown in the last three decades and concentrated on the critique on the decay of their public agency (Hardt & Negri, 2009; Harvey, 2011, 2012; Kristjansdottir & Sveinsson, 2016; Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], 1996; Manfredini, 2017, 2019; McQuire, 2008; Purcell, 2002, 2014; Stanek, 2011; Susser & Tonnelat, 2013; Sennett, 1977, 2008, 2018; United Nations, 2017). Fundamental references in this discussion are theories on the modern crisis of political sphere and citizenship rights that have addressed how the market economy has transformed public space into a pseudo-space of interaction (Arendt, 1958) and how the passive culture of consumption has led the state and private sectors to colonise the public sphere and alienate citizens from their political dimension (Calhoun, 1992; Habermas, 1991 [1962]). Key elaborations have addressed the specificity of the contemporary urban condition of increased segmented publics and counterpublics (Benhabib, 2000; Fraser, 1990; Harvey, 2007) with critical stances individually articulating crucial questions concerning spatial control (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008a, 2008b; Foucault 1995; Harvey, 2003), privatisation (Dawson, 2010; Lee and Webster, 2006; Low, 2006; Minton, 2012; Soja, 2010;), spatial justice (Low & Smith 2006; Mitchell, 2003), socio-spatial segmentation (Dawson, 2010; Harvey, 2003; Hodkinson, 2012), consumption and alienation (Debord, 1983 [1967]; Firat & Venkatesh, 1995; Miles & Miles, 2004), and selective deprivation of public space (Davis, 1990; Harvey, 2003; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Sorkin, 1992).
Furthering this discussion, the articles of this issue provide innovative insights into one of the major socio-spatial challenges to urban-resilience building, the test related to the recent transformation of the socio-spatial and technological frameworks of the commons: the development of both physical and functional redundancy in emerging mobile and digitally augmented spatialisation patterns of associative collaboration, *vis-à-vis* the augmented vulnerability of their infrastructure, consequent to its expanded control, displacements and financialisation. Arguing that their novel spatialisation patterns have the potential to make the commons *bounce forward* from the crisis caused by the withdrawal of direct state involvement and their subsequent private colonisation, these papers disentangle the complex changes in power relations that affect the exercise of the Right to the City (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1996 [1968]; Purcell, 2002) and the related Right to Difference, shedding light on the capacity of urban communities to reverse the decay of their own political agency and gain full control their production processes and protocols in the pursuit of an open, pluralistic and collaborative Freespace for the sustainable development of the physical, social and cultural dimensions of our cities.

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Systemic Triangulation, a Tool for Complex Urban Diagnosis. The Case of Horsh Beirut

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Abstract
Perceived as a complex system, public space could be examined through the means of complexity thinking. Complexity thinking not only offers a new urban terminology delivering interesting insights on the city and its public space, it also offers new tools that could deepen our understanding of their major issues. In this paper, the complex case of Horsh Beirut is diagnosed with one of these tools: Systemic Triangulation. As a trans disciplinary tool for relational diagnosis, Systemic Triangulation acknowledges the inscription of urban problems in structural, functional and dynamic continuums, establishing the relationships between them, and projecting interactions between the system and its environment. This paper searches for the implication of this method, based on non-linear representations of urban reality, in public space design and management. And explores to what extent the systemic approach could give us fresh answers on classic urban problems such as dysfunctional green public spaces and spatial segregation.

Keywords: complex systems, Horsh Beirut, public space, complexity, systemic triangulation, urban diagnosis

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Introduction: Horsh Beirut diagnosis with Systemic Triangulation

What is there in common between the ecology, a company, a city, an elephant, a cell? Nothing, if we content ourselves with examining them with the classic instrument of knowledge, the analytical approach. But a lot, however, if we go beyond this conventional approach to highlight the specific rules of organization and regulation of these systems, and observe their analogous complexity.

The analytical approach, also known as the positivist approach, is mainly focused on breaking down systems to their constituent parts to analyse them and, then trying to understand the entire system as the sum of these individual components. This approach works well when we deal with sets of things that have few, simple and linear internal relations, such as a machine, a chair, a group of people waiting for the bus. However, by increasing the connectivity between the elements, it's the connections that begin to define the system, and this method doesn't work best. In those cases, such as the study of brains, gardens, companies, beehives and cities, we can adopt the systemic approach, a relational method which supports the understanding of systems in their totality, interactivity, organization and openness (Leloup, 2010: 689). The systemic approach is particularly interested in complex objects of study that are characterized by: imprecision on the constitution and the limits of the object, randomness and instability in time, ambiguity, related to the presence of antagonistic logics, uncertainty and unpredictability (Cambien, 2007: 25). Consequently, problematic urban contexts seem to be adequate cases to experiment with this approach. However, it should be noted that the analytical and the systemic approaches are more complementary than opposed "though irreducible to one another" (De Rosnay, 1975: 107); the systemic approach must therefore be interpreted not as an anti-positivist revolution, but rather as an evolution of the latter. The theoretical shift of urban systems analysis, moving from an analytical mechanism to complexity sciences - from the equilibrium of the system to complex adaptive systems - also requires an alternative thinking from the point of view of planning (Batty, Morphet, Masucci, & Stanilov, 2008; Moine, 2006).

We truly need to rethink the way we understand and design our cities. After thousands of years of progress in urban development, we are falling behind on many subjects. To say the least, cities are not thriving regarding safety, health, efficiency, public life and cohesion issues. Could this be because of how we perceive our cities? Back in the 1950's, when Jane Jacobs was writing Death and Life of Great American Cities, she arrived at a conclusion that city planning was a problem of "organized complexity" which meant "dealing simultaneously with a sizeable number of factors which are interrelated into an organic whole" (Jacobs, 1961: 432). In fact, this is the essence of complexity thinking as a relational way of understanding how systems perform in the real world. Theories of complexity have provided a framework for understanding the city's complexity, unpredictability and chaotic nature (Fontana, 2005: 1; Portugali, 2009: 2). Viewing cities, as complex adaptive systems, complexity thinking discourages approaches that are linear, bounded and overtly analytical. In any complex adaptive system, no one is truly in control of the system, no one has all the information about the system, and patterns of order emerge through self-organization among agents. Individual cells self-organize to form differentiated organs, ants interact and organize to form colonies, and individuals interact to form social networks. This property called self-organization is among many other emergent properties of the urban system that we will search for in our diagnosis of public space, in this case, Horsh Beirut.

Within the urban system, public space is a versatile, multipurpose and adaptable territory, very dependent of the urban practices on the adjacent territories (Poutchytixier & Peigne, 2005: 53), therefore it combines many systemic properties. Accordingly, a city is not only a system. It is a system of systems, where we can identify many urban subsystems like: public space system, transportation system, energy system, social system, communication system, education system, health system, governance system. Information science has been used to improve these working subsystems in the context of *Smart Cities*. In considering these subsystems, managing and regulating there interrelations, each of them can be made smarter, and the city, the system of systems, smarter (Laugier, 2013 :5). But could some urban problems, such as fragmentation or violence in public space for example, be addressed with information science tools alone? Considering the technical limitations, especially on the social plan, what alternative approaches do we have? In fact, the real challenge is to specify tools of complexity thinking that can help us identify complex urban problems and address them. In the paper, we aim to test Systemic Triangulation as a tool for urban diagnosis, and the case of Horsh Beirut serves as a prototype of a complex urban situation.

Horsh Beirut is a problematic park in the heart of Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, with a turbulent history of openings and closers, armed clashes, renovations and advocating for its reopening. It is positioned on the former demarcation line, surrounded by three heterogeneous neighborhoods (Badaro, Chiah, and Qasqas), politically, economically and socially. (**Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.**) During the Ottoman Empire occupation and the French Mandate, Horsh Beirut was a large open pine forest surrounding the growing city. Then, after the Lebanese independence in 1943, it took the name of "Horsh el Eid", or the forest of holidays, for fostering public holiday reunions and celebrations in the heart of the growing city. Later, during the Lebanese civil war which started in 1975, the park took part of the demarcation line, a buffer zone separating East and West Beirut. After being bombed and burned during the Israeli invasions in 1982, it was conceived as a city park in 1992 during the reconstruction phase of Beirut, right after the end of the war in 1990. Throughout its history, why did Horsh Beirut mainly fail to play its role as a public space aiming to connect people, their neighborhoods and the city as a whole? As a complex urban problem, can we still study this case with the classic analytical approach? To what extent can the systemic approach provide efficient methods and tools aiming to achieve greater urban coherence and a "smart" connected city? And what fresh insights could Systemic Triangulation in particular provide us?

The knowledge of Horsh Beirut as a system is gained by examining its *structure*, *function* and *dynamics*, establishing the relationships between them, and projecting interactions between the system and its immediate environment. The "structure" means the multi-scalar physical, spatial and territorial composition of Horsh Beirut. The "function", or purpose, refers to its ability to provide and maintain the protection, comfort and enjoyment of its visitors (Gehl, 2010) and sustain *life* order (Alexander, 2002: 3). The "dynamic" represents its evolutionary process, given the system's environment constraints. The toolbox of complexity thinking is today rich of several instruments of thought. Remarkably adapted to the phase of diagnosis, Systemic Triangulation observes the system through these three different but complementary angles, each one linked to a particular point of view of the observer (Donnadieu & Karsky, 2002: 87). (Figure 1)

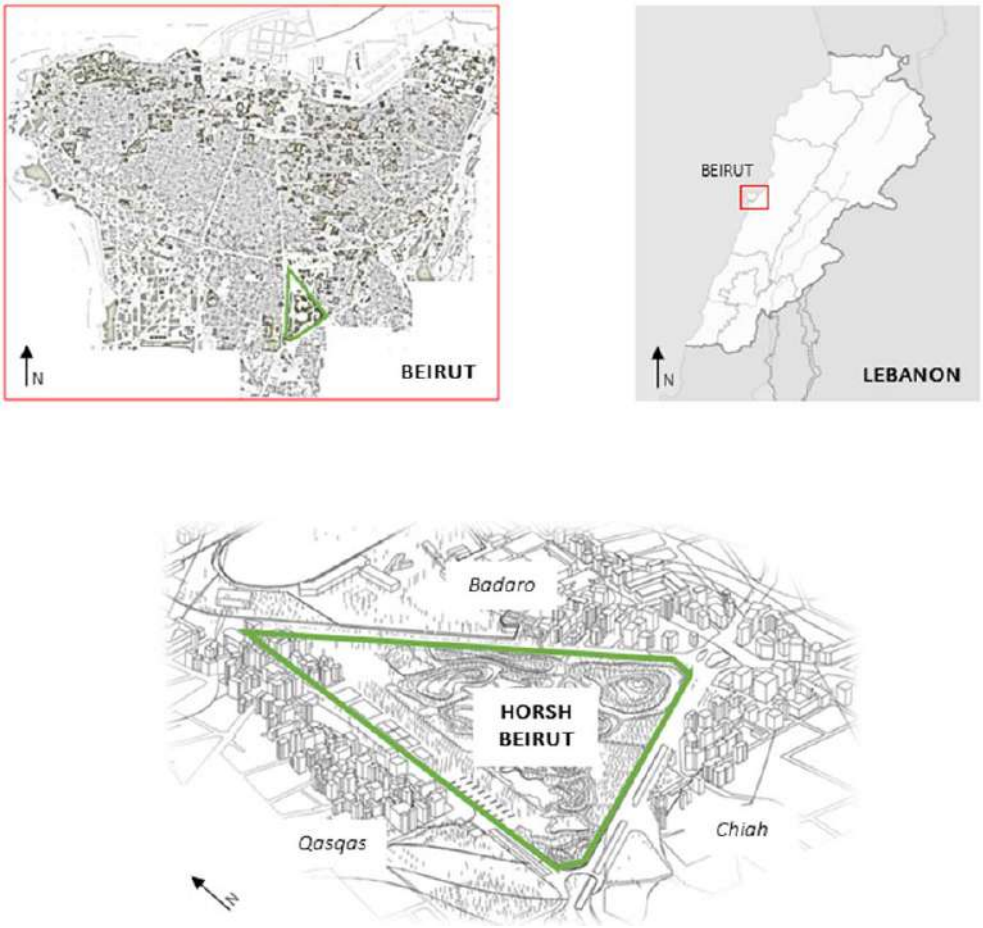

Figure 1. Urban context of Horsh Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

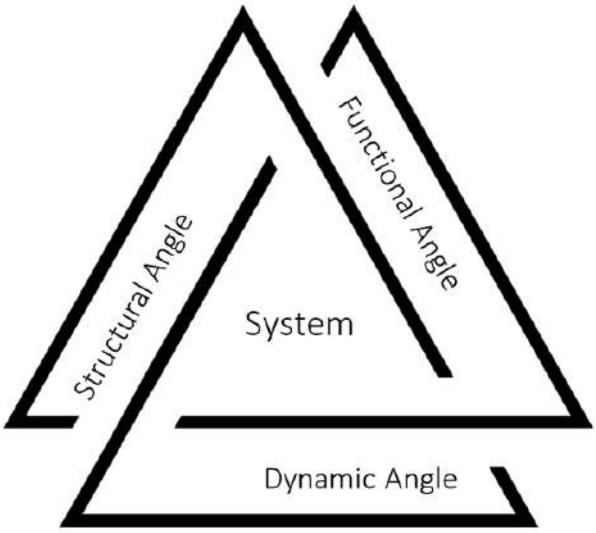

Figure 1. System diagnosis with Systemic Triangulation's three angles: structural, functional and dynamic. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

Since modeling is fundamental for systemic analysis, and in order to achieve a satisfactory yet intuitive understanding of Horsh Beirut, we propose *mind maps* as a system modeling tool. Each of the three angles is followed by a mind map providing us with a particular perspective of the entire system. This gives us a chance to be more objectively aware of the system organization from different perspectives. All the statistics in the paper are produced by the author Joumana Stephan as the results of a survey conducted in June 2017 within her thesis on Horsh Beirut[1]. Furthermore, the boundary of our studied system is shown in red on the map below (Figure **2**), representing the current fenced area of the park. In green, we see the surface of the official lot of Horsh Beirut (Lot 1925) assembling the surrounding neighborhoods where all constructions are actually violations of law. This constitutes the environment of the system.

Figure 2. System boundary and environment.
Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

[1] PhD thesis of Joumana Stephan (2014 until present) co-supervised by Nada Chbat and Nouha Ghosseini from the LU (Lebanon) and Philippe Potié and Paolo Amaldi from UVSQ (France)

The structural angle *or how the system is composed*

It is first necessary to carry out the structural analysis which aims to describe the structure of the system and the arrangement of its various components. The accent is placed much more on the relations between components than on the components themselves, more on the structure than on the element. (
Figure ***3***) The geometric features and territorial environment of a public space could be relatively simple to describe; but what happens there is not predefined and multiple actors will use this space in the most varied ways. Therefore, what's interesting about the structural angle is its relational, vibrant and unpredictable aspect.

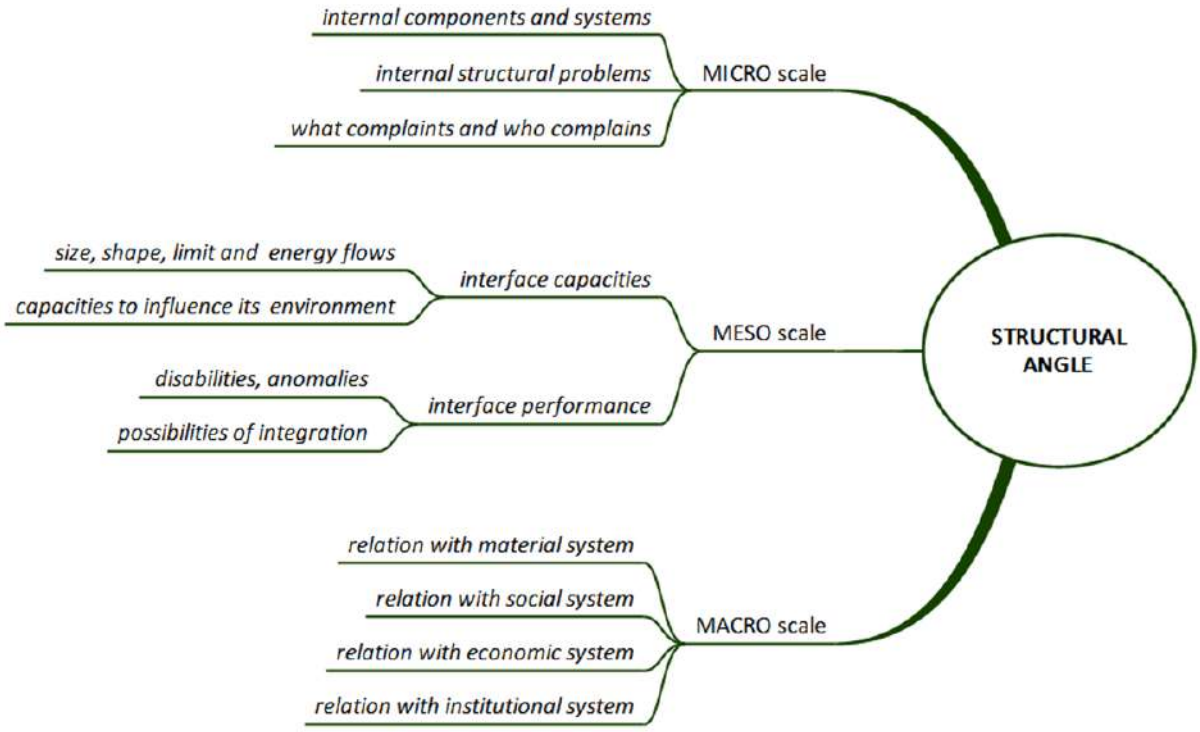

Figure 3. Structural angle model. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

Three scales are adopted:

1. On the Micro scale: Internal structure

Refers to the "mechanical" dimension of the system, its internal components and systems. What structural problems are there inside the park? What are the complaints and who complains?

2. On the Meso scale: Interface

Refers to the interface between the system and all that surrounds it: the size of Horsh Beirut, its shape, limit, information, energy flows, and capacities to act on the environment and to receive visitors. What are the identified overall disabilities of Horsh Beirut as an entity?

3. On the Macro scale: Within the environment

Refers to the human, social, material, legal and economic systems with which the public space is interrelated. What are the broken relations that Horsh Beirut has with its environment?

The functional angle *or what the system does*

The functional angle is especially sensitive to both the relational and vocational levels of Horsh Beirut, where we search for the system's purpose. Not aiming for an exhaustive description, we identify useful knowledge and select clues that are valuable for our analysis, answering: What urban need does the park fulfill? What function does it have in the urban ecological system? And the socio-economic system? And the political system? (
Figure **4**)

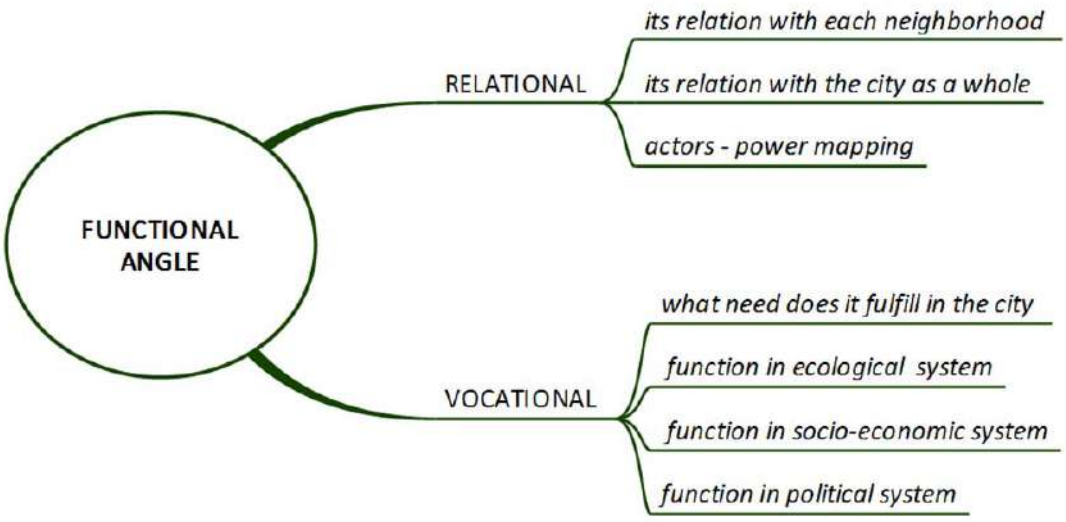

Figure 4. Functional angle model.
Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

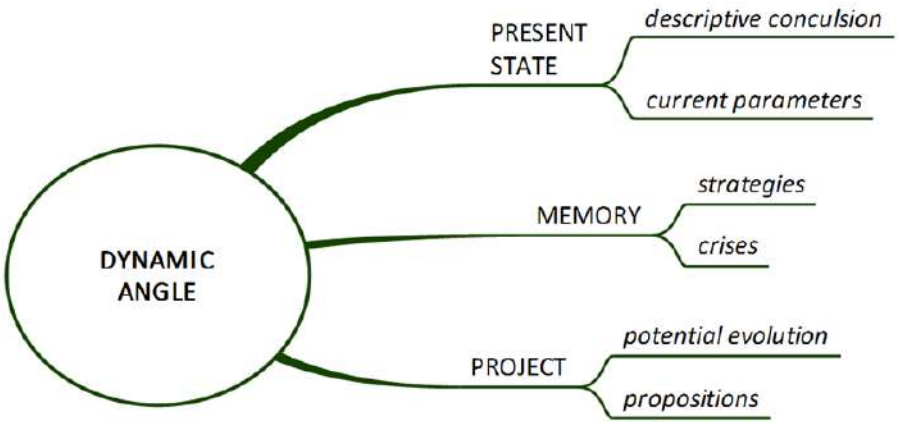

Figure 5. Dynamic angle model.
Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

The dynamic angle *or what the system becomes*

The dynamic angle (or historic or genetic) is related to the evolutionary nature of the system. (
Figure ***5***) Classic urban studies usually tend to build upon historical data in order to understand the development of a certain urban entity. This has obviously led to interesting results. In that case, the observer should have to forge a knowledge of the system's history sufficient to be able to understand its evolution. Nonetheless, given the cyclical and non-linear aspect of the evolution of public space, we study the evolutionary nature of the system, as an entity endowed with a memory and a project, and capable of self-organization (Gérard Donnadieu et al., 2003: 7). In order to do so, we must consider the following questions: What's the current situation of Horsh Beirut? Which objective actions have mainly influenced it and how did we arrive to this current state? Were there any major past crisis and what policies were used? What events provoked the separation of Horsh Beirut from its direct environment and the city as a whole?
All in all, systemic triangulation thrives by combining these three angles. We move from one aspect to another during a spiral process which allows each angle to gain more depth, but without ever believing that we have exhausted this comprehension. It would be wise to always consider each angle of the triangle - and their relevant observations, concerns, and judgments - in the light of the other two. And also it would be good to question if new facts become relevant when we expand the boundaries of our classic reference system. The novelty of this method is that it is intuitive focusing on the links between dysfunctions, uses and vocations. This makes it a *dynamic-oriented* diagnosis rather *event-oriented*, where we search for the complex, circular and multi-scalar interactions and the underlying dynamics of the system.
The entire systemic triangulation tool with its three angles is modelled in the following mind map (Figure 6).

Three angles of the complex and problematic situation of Horsh Beirut.

In Beirut, public space is rare. The only large green public space is Horsh Beirut. Making up to 70% of the city's green space (Shayya & Arbid, 2010: 118). This triangular park situated along the old demarcation line, at the intersection of three neighborhoods, has been mostly closed to the public since the end of the civil war. Between the diversity of its bordering neighborhoods, their recent and ongoing armed clashes, the disinterest of the local authorities and political actors in reviving the park, the continuous threats of private investments inside its borders, the fight of many NGOs for its reopening, and the need for it as a green getaway inside a heavily crowded city, how to perceive the complex situation of Horsh Beirut and how to understand it?

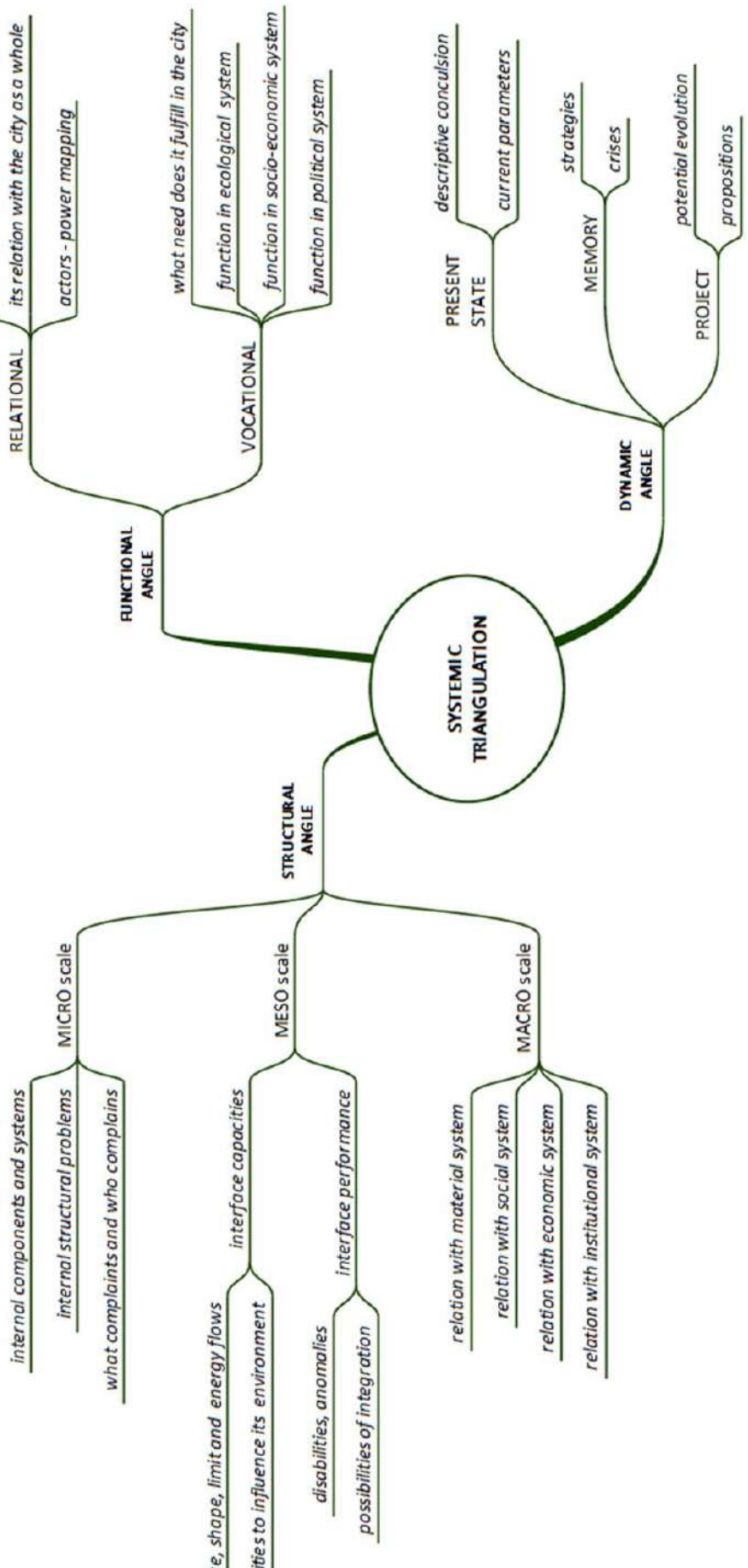

Figure 6. The systemic triangulation tool model. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

1. Structural Angle: the system's composition

1.1 ON THE MICRO SCALE: system's internal structure

Today the park is divided in two parts. The smaller part is open to the public and called Qasqas Garden. The other part (66% of the total surface) has been closed to the public and only accessible by "special authorization" from the mayor of Beirut since 2002, up until June 2016, when it was re-opened to the public for the first time. Fences of steel bars, wire mesh, and barbed wire or trees and shrubs still separate the two parts and their visitors, which creates a kind of social segregation even inside the park. The latter is also threatened by an ongoing illegal construction of a field hospital inside of its limits. (

Figure **7**) Today, despite the fact that the park is classified as a protected natural site since 1940 and is part of the general inventory of archaeological buildings and public landscapes, the municipality of Beirut is continually taking decisions which spark outrage among the park's visitors and local NGOs working on protecting public spaces. Protests mainly cover issues like the loss of public green spaces in Beirut, public policies and decisions such as discrimination based on social class in the access to the park, and the lack of security measures.

1.2 ON THE MESO SCALE: system's interface

Horsh Beirut is a 30-hectare triangle bordered on the west by the Qasqas neighborhood (Sunnite majority), to the north-east by the "La Résidence des Pins" (residence of the French ambassador), the racecourse and Badaro (Christian majority) and, in the South-East, by Chiah (Shiite majority). Its location is peripheral, at the edge of the municipal boundary of Beirut, and alongside the old demarcation line. A high fence surrounds the park which has three main entrances, one from each neighborhood. Qasqas entrance is open, Badaro entrance has recently been opened (May 2015), and Chiah entrance gate has been closed to the public since the end of the civil war for security reasons. 75% of park users access the park from the Badaro entrance while the majority of them actually lives in Chiah (19%). Which means that Chiah residents choose to access from Badaro instead of Qasqas, although Qasqas's has been closed to the public very rarely while Badaro's experienced long periods of closure. This can be explained by the current Sunnite/Shiite socio-political tension. (Figure 8)

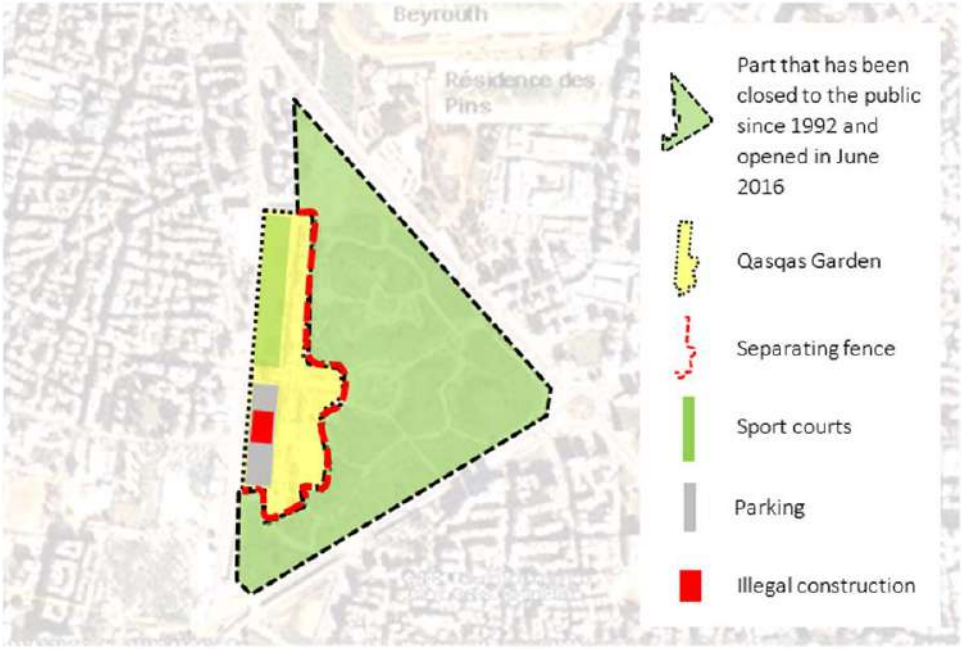

Figure 7. Internal structure of Horsh Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

Figure 8. Park accessibility from each neighborhood. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

Also, the park is surrounded by a strip of wide streets, not equipped for pedestrians, forming a physical barrier between the park and its immediate surroundings (Figure 9).

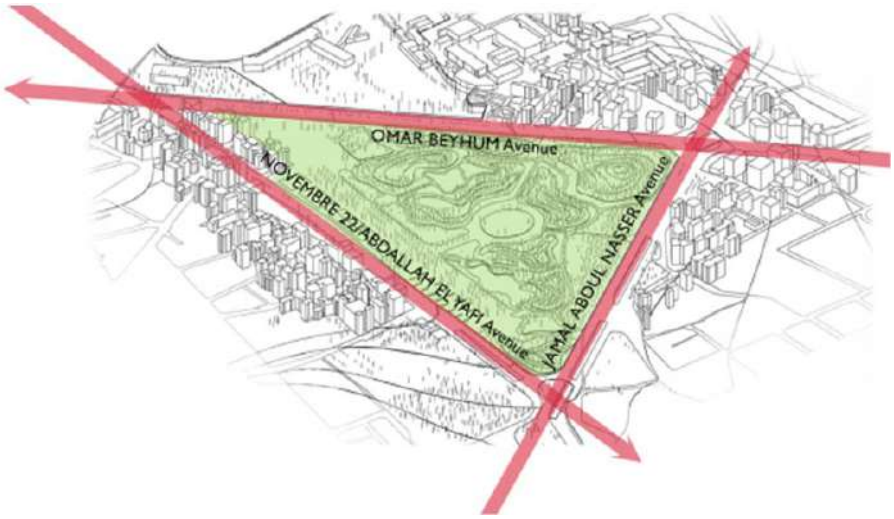

Figure 9. Detachment caused by large avenues. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

1.3 ON THE MACRO SCALE: system within its environment
What's its relation with the material system?
Green spaces in Beirut vary between public and private, accessible and not accessible. Ranging from private to public gardens, school gardens and cemeteries, the following map (
Figure ***10***) shows the main green spaces in Beirut listed in three major categories: blue represents spaces open to the public, orange represents public spaces not accessible to the public, and purple represents private spaces.

Figure 10. Green spaces in Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

In short, green spaces that are accessible to the public are rare. 47 green spaces include only 7 accessible green spaces which are often undeveloped, small and rarely isolated from noise and automobile pollution. Consequently, Horsh Beirut could be considered as part of a dysfunctional public green spaces system in the city.

Its relation with the social system?

Badaro is a neighborhood of Christian majority. Qasqas is of Sunnites majority, and Chiah is of Shiites majority. As shown in the map below, the social system around Horsh Beirut is highly segregated based on confessions. (Figure 11) Since the Sunnites and Shiites conflict happens to be also a political, the resulting urban segregation is both confessional and political.

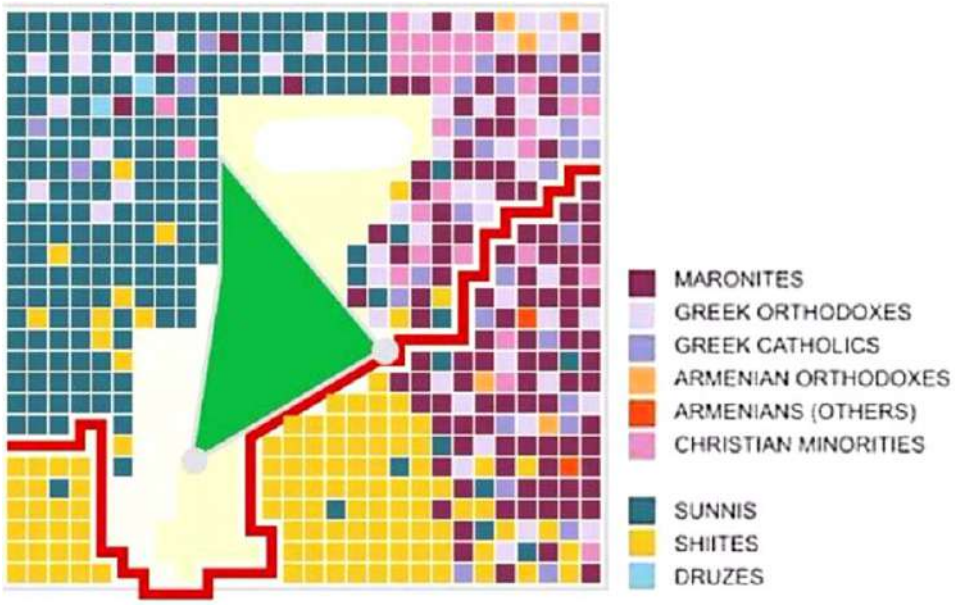

Figure 11. Confessional distribution around Horsh Beirut. Source: Shayya F., & Arbid, G. (2010). At the edge of the city: reinhabiting public space toward the recovery of Beirut's Horsh Al-Sanawbar. Discursive Formations.

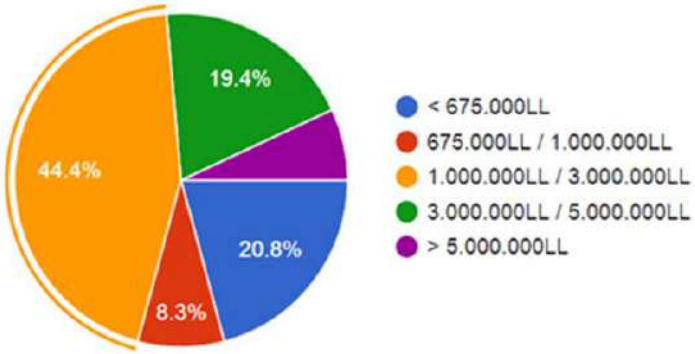

Figure 12. Income averages of park users. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2017

Its relation with the economic system?

The majority of park users belong to the middle class (≈ 44%)[2], directly followed by the class below the poverty line (≈21%)[3].

While, in addition to the planned central gentrification of the Beirut city center, gentrification at the level of neighboring regions is spontaneously emerging. One of the axial extensions of this phenomenon is currently the axis of the old demarcation line, which starts with the city center passing through Sodeco and arriving at Horsh Beirut. (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Luxurious high rise buildings and gentrification. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

[2] The average monthly salary in Lebanon according to the World Bank in 2014 is ≈1.500.000 LL

[3] The minimum monthly wage in Lebanon is 675.000 LL

Also, the largest percentage of respondents usually spend their free time during the day in restaurants (≈29%), with lower percentages going for choices such as a green public space like Horsh Beirut (≈24%), a mall (≈17%), a gym (≈11%), among others. This shows the role of consumerism at the heart of leisure activities of Beirut, by choice or by lack of alternatives.

Its relation with the institutional system?
Horsh Beirut is surrounded by a multitude of cultural and educational facilities, both public and private. It is also surrounded by a large number of religious facilities divided between Muslim and Christian neighborhoods. (
Figure ***14***)

Figure 14. Institutions around Horsh Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

In conclusion, Horsh Beirut is modelled via the structural angle in the map below (Figure 15).

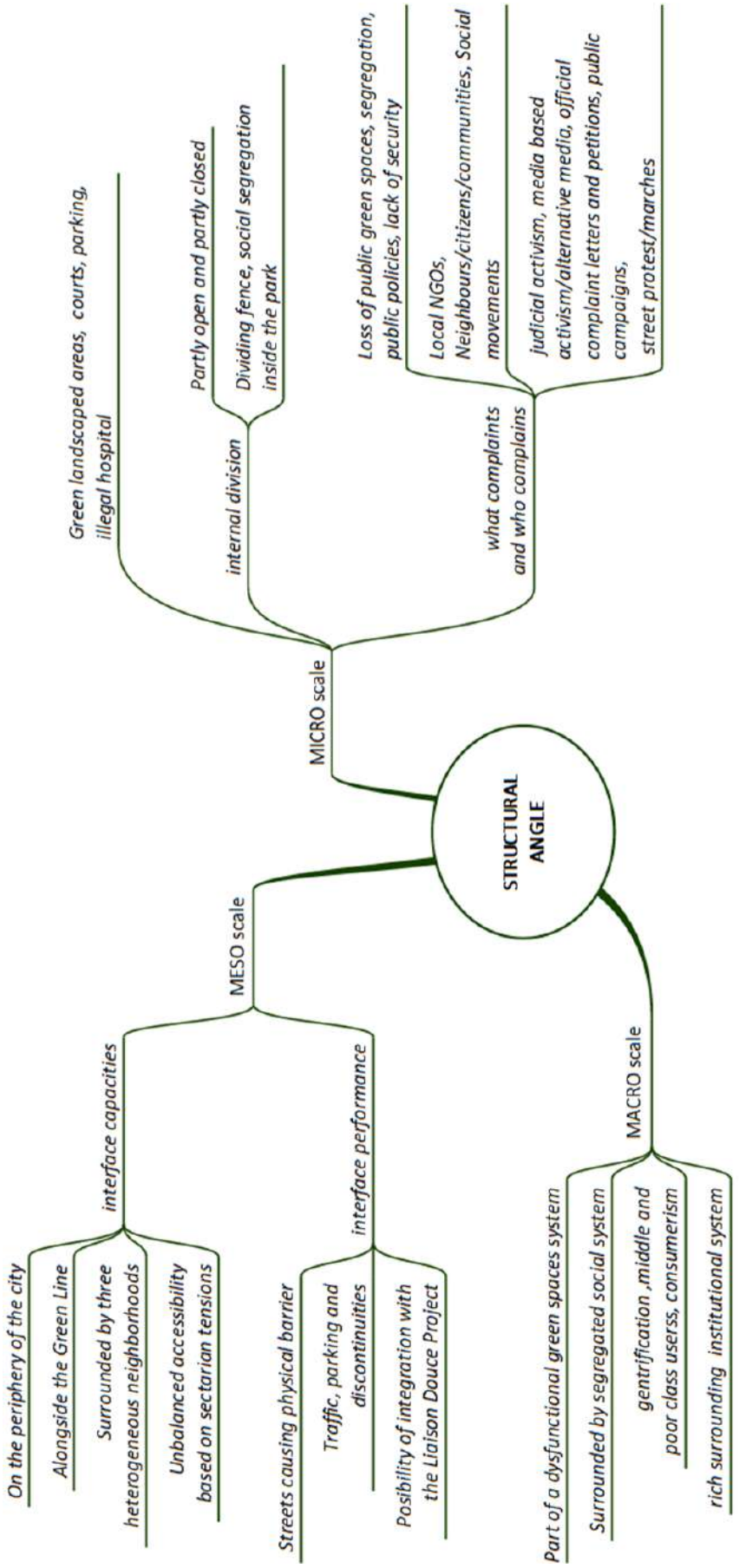

Figure 15. Structural angle model of Horsh Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

2. Functional Angle: the system's contribution

2.1 RELATIONAL: its relation with each neighbourhood

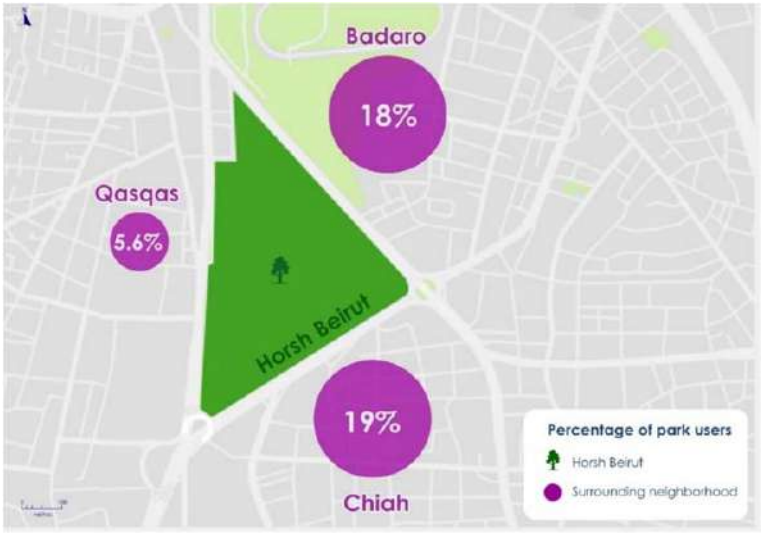

Figure 16. Percentage of users based on place of residence in surrounding neighborhoods. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

19% of the park users are Chiah residents, although Chiah entrance has been closed since the end of the war. 18% of the users are Badaro residents. And only 5.6% are Qasqas residents, despite the proximity to Qasqas garden, the part of the Horsh that has being rarely closed to the public. (
Figure ***16***) These results show an unbalanced relation of the system with each of the three bordering neighbourhoods.

Its relation with the city as a whole

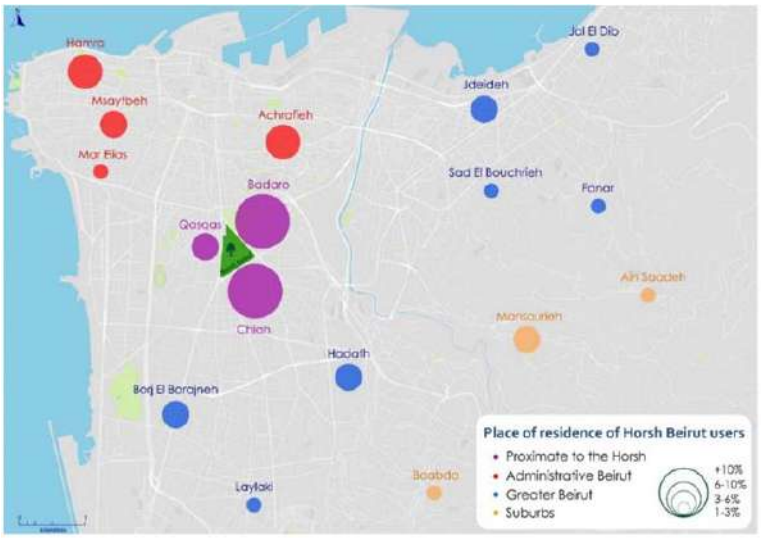

Figure 17. Place of residence of park users. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

21% of park users are residents of neighborhoods within the municipal limits of the city, 21% are residents of the greater Beirut, and 6% are residents of the suburbs. The highest percentage of users (43%) live in proximity to the park (in Badaro, Chiah or Qasqas). This means that Horsh Beirut is not playing its role as a park on the scale of the city, but only as a neighborhood garden. (
Figure ***17***)

Actors: Power mapping
Main actors and stakeholders and the nature of their relation with Horsh Beirut and with each other are modelled in the map below (
Figure ***18***) showing a lack of collaboration. Nahnoo NGO is playing the role of the key coordinator between different stakeholders especially the residents, the municipality and the governor. While the latter have limited coordination with other stakeholders such as research and information centers.

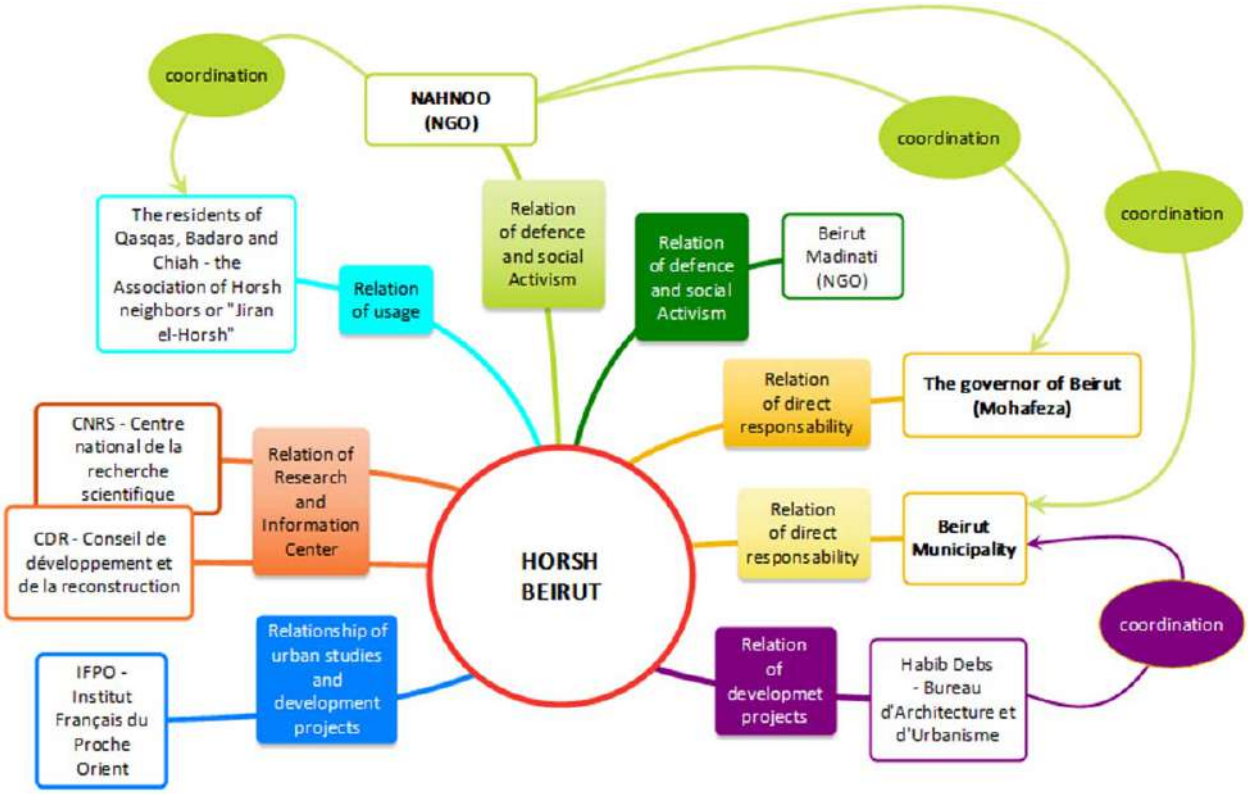

Figure 18. Power mapping of Horsh Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan. 2019

2.2 VOCATIONAL: What need does it fulfill in the city?
Among the provenance areas of users within the administrative boundaries of Beirut, the largest percentage of users come from Hamra and Ashrafieh neighborhoods. (
Figure ***19***) It is remarkable that these two neighborhoods include the main two large public gardens of the city: Sanayeh garden (Hamra) and Sioufi garden (Achrafieh), and yet their residents still choose to visit Horsh Beirut. "*(I) prefer Horsh when seeking calm*

and relaxation, public gardens are usually small and crowded" one respondent (age 68) said. "*It gives a better "out of the city atmosphere*" another respondent (age 26) declared. Horsh Beirut seems to have the advantage of size while other gardens are small and crowded.

Its function in the ecological system

Beirut takes its name from the Phoenician word "Beriet" or the Egyptian word "Barût" which translates to "Sanawbar" (Pine) in Arabic. This explains the association of Beirut with its unique pine forest or "Horsh Beirut". It historically consisted of a large green stretch, located at the southern entrance of Beirut, which helped stop the sand dunes creeping into the city because of the southwest winds, and which provided Beirut with fresh air full of the pleasant pine trees aroma (Al-wali, 1993). It still plays the same role but at a much smaller scale due to its surface reduction over time. Formerly, the large stone pine forest's surface exceeded 1.25 million m2. In 1982, it was burned down during the Israeli invasion which destroyed most of the pine trees. During the civil war (1975-1990), many trees were also damaged and burned by fire. Today, after its post-war renovation in 1992, the park covers 330,000 m2, which makes only 26% of its original surface area. It is still though the largest green space in Beirut (Shayya, 2010). The stone pine (botanical name: *Pinus pinea*) also known as the Italian stone pine, is a tree from the pine family (Pinaceae) native to the Mediterranean region and characterized by a tall trunk and branches spreading in the form of an umbrella.

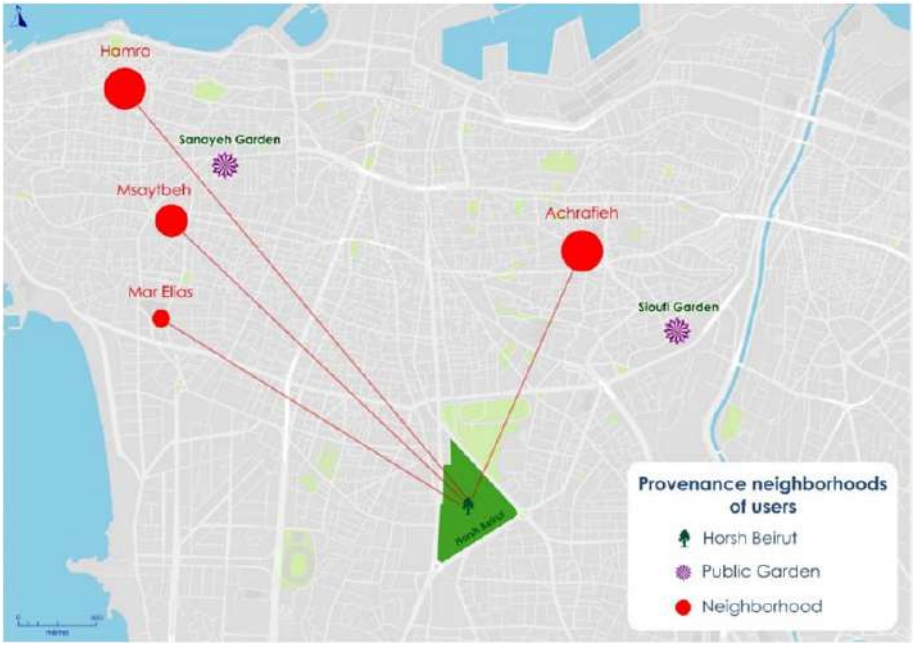

Figure 19. Provenance place of users within administrative Beirut.
Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

As a forest, Horsh Beirut was only planted with stone pine, while its redevelopment as a park has introduced several other species which has resulted in an even greater biodiversity. According to Paul Abi Rached, ecologist and president of the association TERRE-Lebanon, there are various kinds of forest trees inside the park today, such as

pistachio and oak, besides several species of fruit trees such as pomegranate, olive and bitter orange trees, and ornamental trees like palms, Jerusalem thorn, blue jacaranda, frangipani, bay laurel, and others. According to Abi Rached, this biodiversity attracts a *great variety* of birds which take refuge inside the park. Shayya (Shayya, 2010: 161) confirms that the trees of Horsh Beirut "constitute a significant sanctuary for birds and other wildlife" and lists 32 species identified inside the park like the White Pelican, European Bee-eater, Redstart and Spotted Flycathcher. Among the most important bird species present in the park is the Cuckoo. Being insectivorous, Cuckoo birds (Figure ***20***) help get rid of insects, worms and caterpillars, especially harmful hairy species avoided by other birds. A disease caused by one of these poisonous hairy caterpillars that feed on pine needles, better known as "pine processionary", has been spreading to Horsh Beirut since 2001. It sags the branches of trees, takes off their needles, before killing them slowly. The decline in the number of their main predator, the Cuckoo bird, allows their population to increase. Although Cuckoo birds are not globally endangered, in Lebanon, they are listed as rare birds, mainly because of irresponsible hunting practices.

Figure 20. Cuckoo (grey female). Source: The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB), www.rspb.org.uk

Finally, besides biodiversity, Horsh Beirut is also crucial for chemical and bacteriological purification, thermoregulation and fixation of dust, tarry and oily products. However, mismanagement, irresponsible practices, climate change, age and vulnerability of trees have led to the proliferation of the disease which threatens this rich ecosystem in the heart of the city.

Its function in the socio-economic system

The degradation of Horsh Beirut's situation has had many socio-economic impacts. It mainly caused the progressive loss of attachment in the communities, as well as the loss of traditional practices, such as the dynamic holiday's festivities which used to be held inside the Horsh inducing social inclusion and providing income for local vendors. This will eventually lead to the loss of livelihood of the sector. Around 79% of users consider Horsh Beirut to be a good place to meet new people. And around 93% think that it could play a role in reconnecting bordering neighborhoods. But since Horsh Beirut is actually creating a physical barrier between the neighborhoods, it's actually playing the opposite role: one of socio-economic segregation.

Its function in the political system

Horsh Beirut has played a crucial role during the civil war due to its strategic position, being part of the "no man's land" alongside the demarcation line. Unfortunately, and due to the political decisions and long periods of closure since the end of the war, it still plays that same role today. By a conscious political decision, or by accident, it is actually an element of social, sectarian and political division.
In conclusion, Horsh Beirut is modelled via the functional angle in the map below (Figure 21):

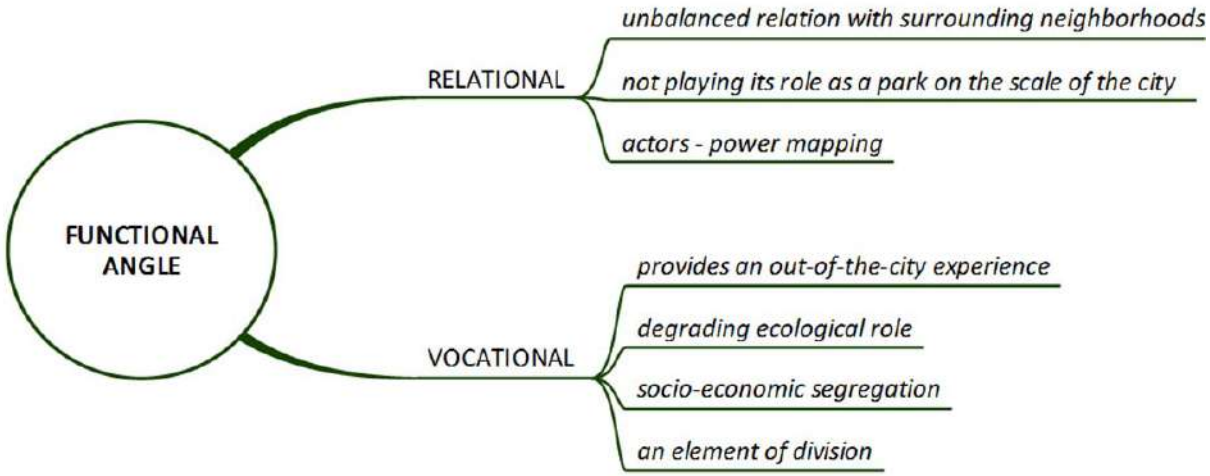

Figure 21. Functional angle model of Horsh Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

3. Dynamic angle: the system's evolution

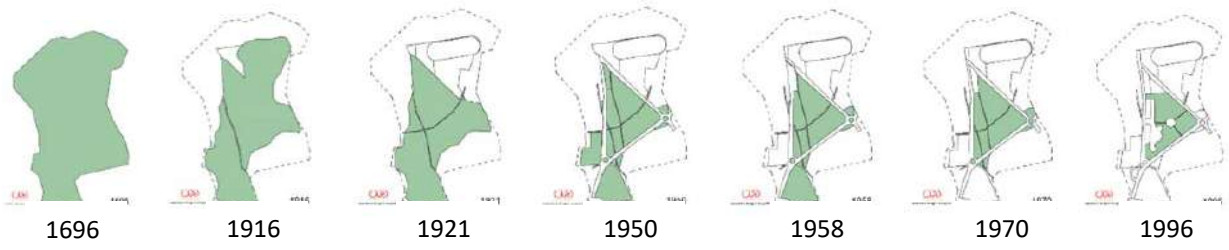

Figure 22. Horsh Beirut's morphology evolution. Source: Our reproduction of a GIF published by Nahnoo NGO

Despite a dramatic surface reduction (Figure 22) and the fact that Horsh is classified as a protected natural site since 1940, the municipality of Beirut recently took the decision to build a military field hospital inside Horsh Beirut's plot (plot 1925). This sparked outrage among the park's visitors, neighbors and the civil society working on protecting public spaces. On 9 February 2017, hundreds of people gathered in protest asking the municipality to stop its *nibbling* policy.

3.1 STRATEGIES: Lebanese policies evolution on green public space

Plan Danger (1932) was the first urban planning proposal submitted for Beirut, under the French mandate. The five-year plan included municipal codes and provisions for public spaces and gardens, but was never approved. In 1943, the First Ecochard Plan was published by the French Urbanist Michel Ecochard, followed by the Second Ecochard Plan (1964) proposing the decentralization of the urbanization of Beirut by the identification of "new cities" around Beirut. This plan has neglected infrastructure as a whole, including green spaces. In 1954 the First master plan for Beirut was approved based on Ecochard's plans.

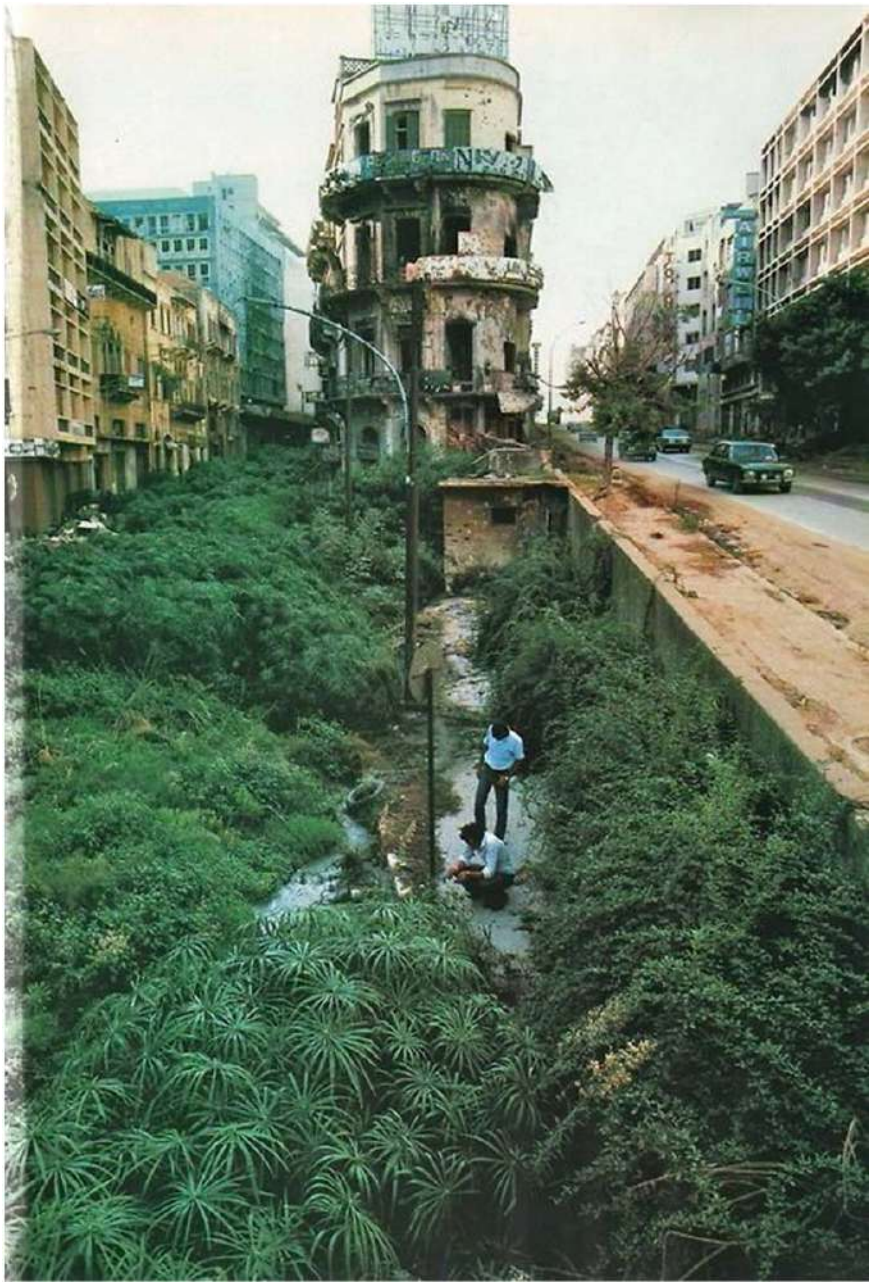

Figure 23. Green Line, 1983. Source: Personal collection of Gabriel Daher

But it did not mention green spaces. Between 1975 and 1990, the Lebanese civil war caused the deterioration of the already existing green public space. Interestingly, the years of war have allowed an abundant plant proliferation along the border line, which gave it its name: the Green Line. And turned it into a buffer zone between East and West Beirut (Figure 23).

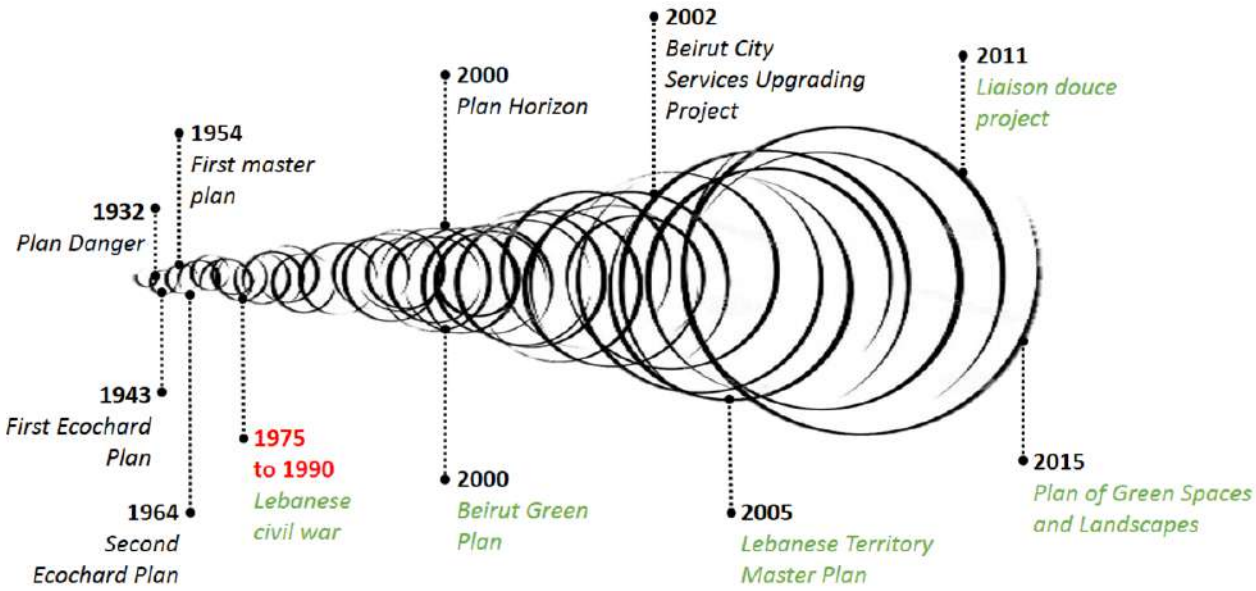

Figure 24. Lebanese policies evolution on green spaces featuring in green the few stages which highlighted their importance. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

In 2000 the Plan Horizon by the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) was carried out by Solidere[4] and focused on reconstruction. Green public spaces were still not mentioned. Also in 2000, Beirut Green Plan was funded by the Region Ile-de-France and developed by a French landscaping agency, Interscène. The role of the plan was limited to a simple reference document at the municipality of Beirut. In 2002, the Beirut City Services Upgrading Project was finished by the CDR, it included in its description a redevelopment of green spaces. But, in reality, the first phase of implementation, led by Dar Al Handasah Nazih Taleb & Partners, and the 2nd phase, led by Associated Consulting Engineers (ACE), covered only the road infrastructure. In 2005, Master Plan for Lebanese Territory by CDR provided a strategy for land, water and waste management, but mentioned green spaces only in the form of natural preservations rather than green pockets in urban areas. The Liaison Douce project, a collaboration between the Ile-de-France region and the Municipality of Beirut was launched. The studies were completed in 2013, but the project is not yet executed. In 2015, the Plan of Green Spaces and Landscapes was developed by the Municipality of Beirut in coordination with the Region Ile-de-France in Beirut, aiming to strengthen the capacity of action of the Municipality of Beirut in the field of public spaces. (Figure 24)

[4] Solidere s.a.l. is a Lebanese joint-stock company in charge of planning and redeveloping Beirut Central District following the Lebanese Civil War.

This model illustrates the lack of a public green space policy throughout Lebanon's history. Up until this day, the private sector and the business market play a central role in the development of real estate in Lebanon, eventually side-lining the public interest.

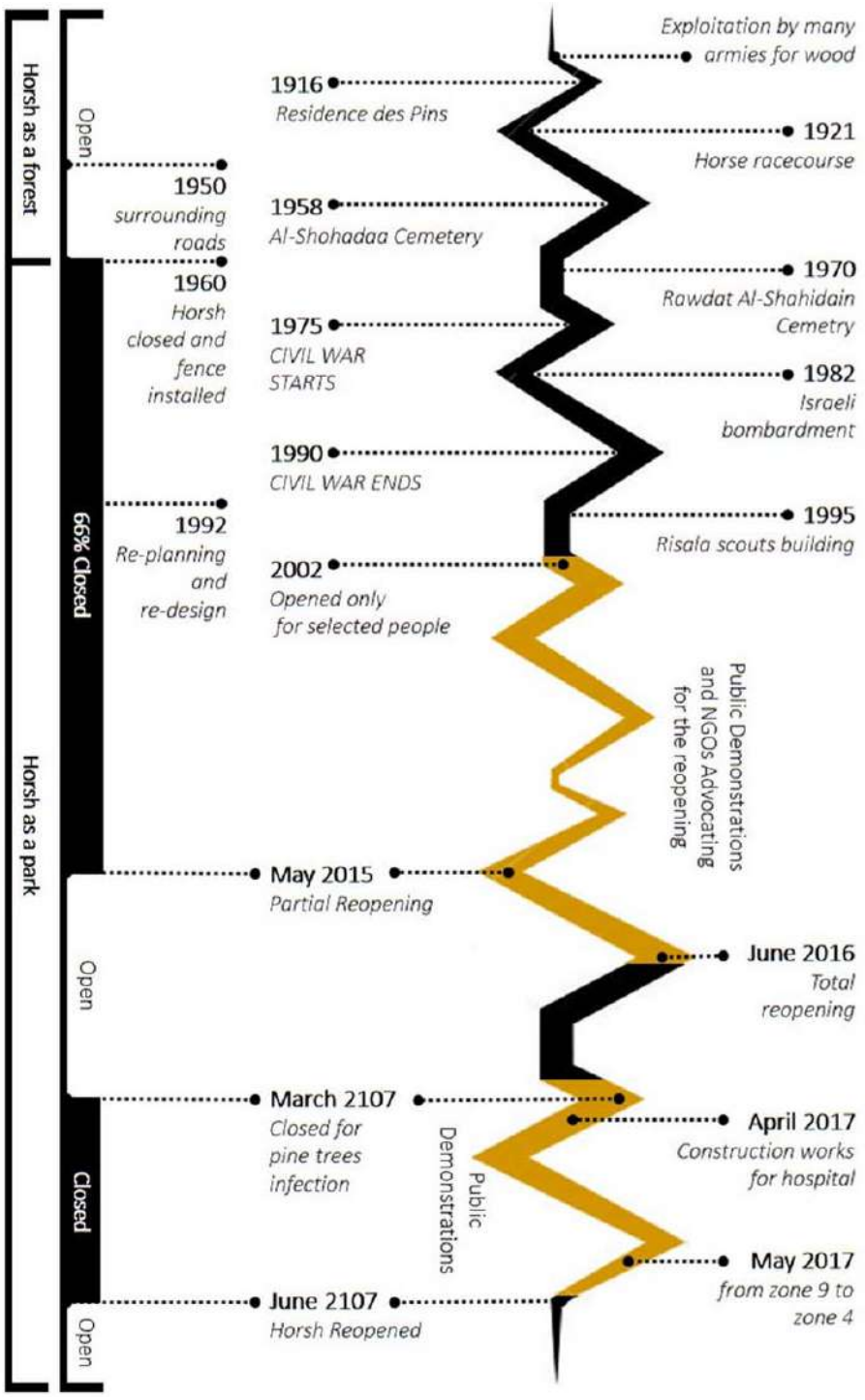

Figure 25. Horsh Beirut crises evolution. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

3.2 CRISES: continuous nibbling of Horsh Beirut

Throughout history, Horsh Beirut as an open forest was exploited by many armies for wood. During recent history, large parts of the forest were segmented-out to become buildings and lands to different public and private institutions.

In 1916, Résidence des Pins area was cut from it. In 1921, the Horse racecourse area was cut from it. In 1950, roads were planned inside it. Then, in 1958, Al-Shohadaa Cemetery area was cut from it. In 1960, it got fenced and closed. In 1970, Rawdat Al-Shahidain Cemetery area was cut from it. During the civil war, between 1975 and 1990, its condition deteriorated until it was entirely burnt after Israeli bombardment in 1982. After the war ended, it was re-designed and re-planned in 1992. In 1995, Risala scouts building was built on the Horsh plot. In 2002, the Horsh was opened only for selected people with special authorization. After many years of activism for the reopening of the park, it was finally reopened to the public on May 2015 but only for once a week. The NGO campaigns (mainly Nahnoo) and public protests persisted until it was entirely open to the public on June 2016. The park was closed again by the Municipality on March 2017, the official cause was to treat an infection of the pine trees, which was condemned by the public. On April 2017, construction works suddenly started inside the park to build a military field hospital. This was followed by many public protests up until June 2017 when the Horsh was opened again. Meanwhile, on May 2017 a law was approved by the council of Ministers to move a section of the park from zone 9 (protected green areas) to zone 4 (allows the construction of high rise buildings) (Figure 25).

In conclusion, Horsh Beirut is modelled via the dynamic angle in the map below (

Figure 26):

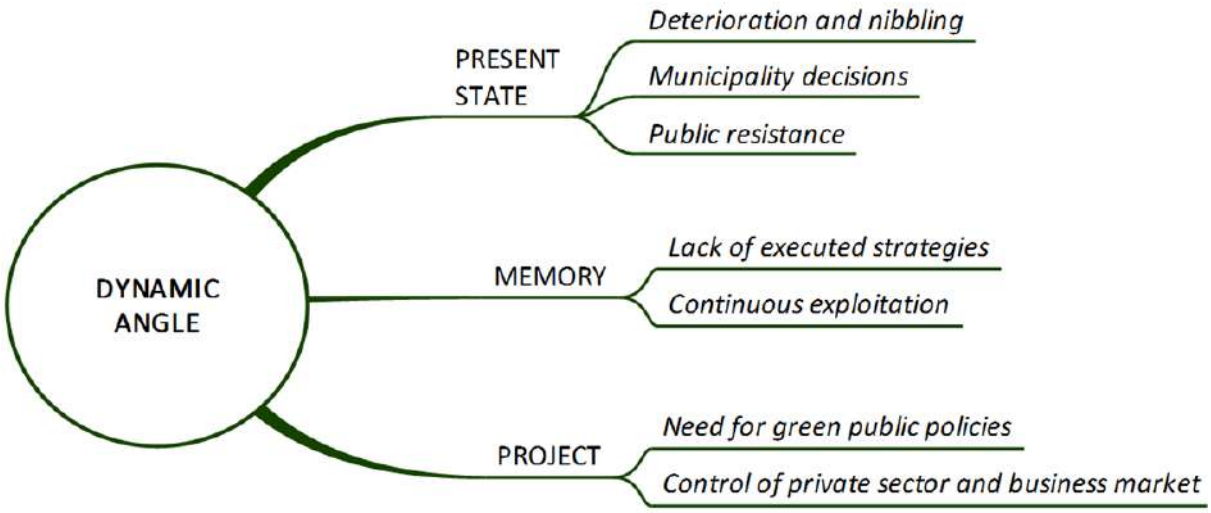

Figure 26. Dynamic angle model of Horsh Beirut. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

Discussion and conclusions: Emergent properties of Horsh Beirut

In the study, the focus is on local interactions and how they give rise to emerging phenomena on the macro scale of the entire urban system. Global organizational patterns emerge, often chaotic in a dynamic world in constant evolution, where nothing is fixed. We model the latter in an attempt to capture these local causal links and how they bring out unexpected patterns of long-term behavior. While diagnosing the situation, we avoid an exhaustive description of the components by detailing the events. Contrariwise, we push back events seeking to model the dynamics behind them, what really drives the system. The main underlying dynamics deduced from the results of our diagnosis of Horsh Beirut by Systemic Triangulation are modeled in the figure below. (Figure 27)

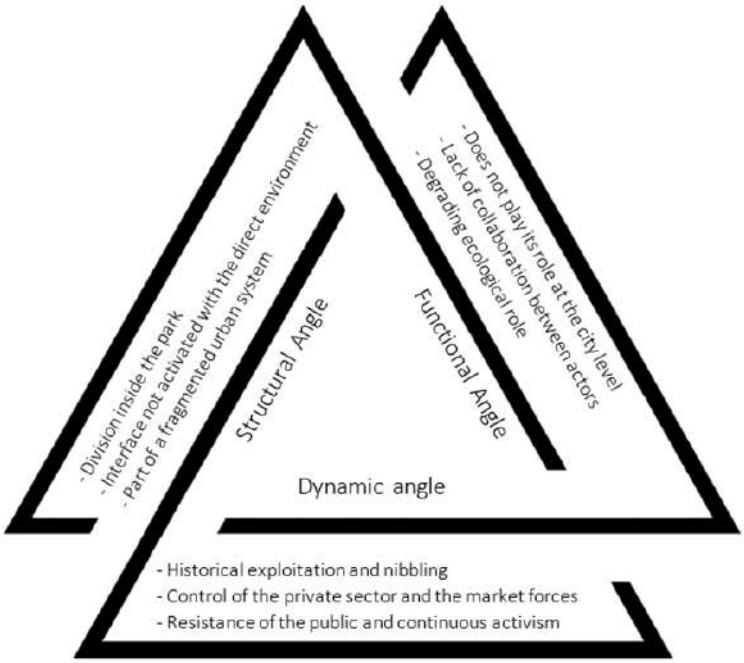

Figure 27. Conclusions of the underlying dynamics of HB based on the Systemic Triangulation diagnosis. Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

The results prove that public space has the properties of a complex adaptive system, with Horsh Beirut being the complex final product of more than the sum of its parts. First, despite historical exploitation, degradation and nibbling strategies, it remains a rich ecosystem, which makes its basic ecological dimension. In addition, Horsh forms with the surrounding districts a complex social entity controlled by emergent properties. Therefore, it's a socio-ecological entity. But as the social dimension is closely associated with the sectarian and political dimension in Beirut, it is a socio-political ecological entity. The results also allow us to identify different human and information flows passing through the system, both showing problems and discontinuities, such as: unbalanced accessibility based on sectarian tensions, poorly informed public about the park's problems, lack of coordination between the different actors and lack of transparency between local governance and the public. Consequently, because of the

large number of components of this entity, which have strong connectivity in the form of networks, energy flows, as well as many emergent properties, Horsh Beirut could be considered a *complex system*, more specifically a socio-political ecological system. In subsequent studies, a technological dimension of the system could be explored. Furthermore, after studying the evolutionary nature of Horsh Beirut and documenting the different underlying dynamics, we conclude that its past and current usages reveal the ability of people, throughout history, to negotiate their practices in spaces strictly managed and under different types of management. This dimension of adaptability, makes Horsh Beirut a *complex adaptive system*, and the appropriation of public space by people an emergent property that exists in none of the structural, functional or historical components of the park alone.

The diagnosis also highlights a number of emergent properties generated by Horsh Beirut as a system. First, a remarkable property, not detectable at the level of each individual but generated by the interaction of individuals and emerging at the level of the entire urban system, is *fear* associated with collective memory. Appearing in the three angles of the study, this emergent property reflects the residual fear of the other, still present almost 30 years after the end of the civil war. Horsh's positioning consolidates this dynamic.

Second, we detected the emergence of two collective socio-economic trends in the form of systemic properties: (i) *gentrification* on the old demarcation line axis; and (ii) *consumerism* on the scale of the entire city. These two emerging properties disrupt the balance of the system, diverting human flow away from the park, while public resistance and NGO activism could create momentum bringing the system back to its equilibrium state, if the good leverage points were mobilized.

The third systemic property detected is actually one of the most intriguing emergent properties of urban systems (Lonjon, 2017), it's called *self-organization*. In reality, the city is constantly redefined by emergent properties producing the self-organization of a territory manifested by a temporary transformation of the environment (Volpi, 2016: 2). Since complexity is a product of the degree of autonomy and adaptation of the elements in the system, only when the elements have a very low level of autonomy, the system can be designed, managed and controlled in a top-down way. But as the autonomy of the elements increases, as in the context of a contemporary urban territory, this no longer becomes possible, as control and organization actually become distributed, which increases interactions on the local level and effectively defines how the system is developing. This causes self-organization. One must be aware that when agents can self-organize their interaction forms global patterns and emerging states that cannot be previously planned or designed (Batty, 2007). Thus, as opposed to simple linear systems where order typically comes from some form of centralized top-down coordination, order models in complex systems, such as that of Horsh Beirut, appear to be emerging from the bottom-up. Self-organization is an important property of complex systems, and treating a complex adaptive system as a simple system will bring unfavorable consequences (Mitchell, 2009).

Self-organization manifests itself in Horsh Beirut as spontaneous spatial practices such as daily walking and jogging activities on the sidewalk surrounding the park from the outside, as well as the intrusion and appropriation of space by the public when the park is closed. Saksouk-sasso states that public space in Beirut is "the embodiment of an

emerging form of sovereignty" which is "much more dynamic than the modern notion of public space, inextricable from the modern state." She adds: "The informal and communal public space of Beirut does not rest in the property but in practice." (Saksouk-sasso, 2015: 310). Self-organization is also expressed in the form of the activism of local NGOs through their judicial activism, advocacy, official complaint letters and petitions, public campaigns, and demonstrations. Another form of self-organization has also been detected in the form of urban segregation where the residential spatial distribution around the park is based on sectarian and political affiliation. We also noticed discrimination based on social status as well as accessibility oriented by sectarian tensions (
Figure *28*).

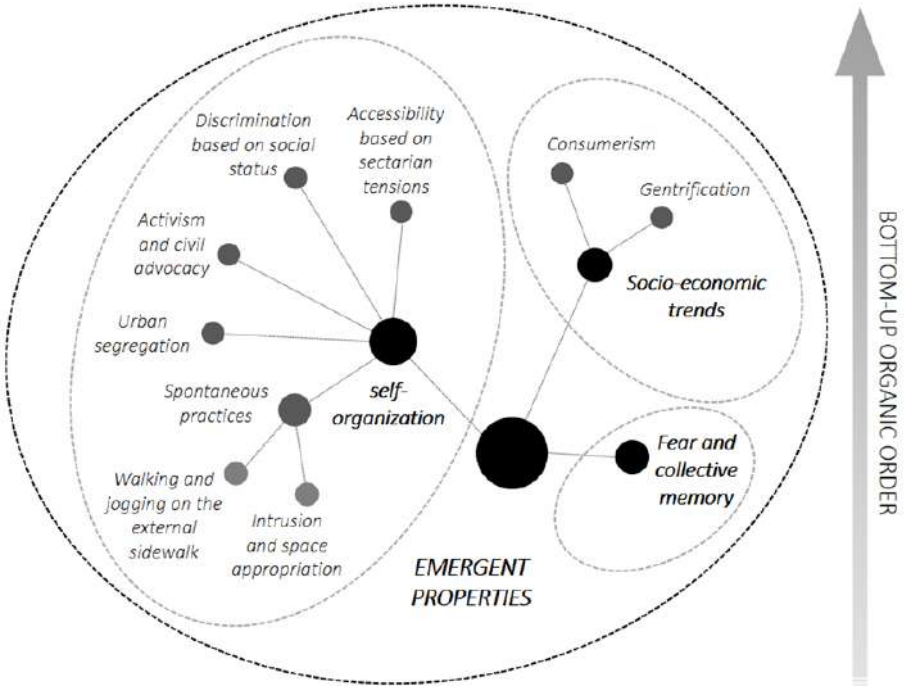

Figure 28. Horsh Beirut emergent properties: bottom-up organic order.
Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

Urban segregation is an emergent socio-political property that structures the system into divided entities controlled by fear of the other. In the case of Horsh Beirut, and for various interdependent factors, the neighbourhoods self-organized according to the sectarian division around the park, which catalysed segregation. To overcome this, it is necessary to implement policies based on a better understanding of the underlying dynamics of segregation. However, a crucial challenge in achieving such understanding is that segregation emerges from local interactions that can produce unexpected and counter-intuitive results that cannot be defined a priori. For example, the majority of individuals in a certain community could be very open and not intend to practice segregation: the results show that about 79 % of users consider Horsh Beirut as a good place to meet new people and about 93% think it could play a role in reconnecting

neighbourhoods. However, segregation emerges anyway from the collective dynamic on the scale of the community, which could in return have serious consequences on the latter. It is impossible to attribute the emergence of segregation to a single cause. And it is important to keep in mind that this is a non-linear and multi-scalar process characterized by constant feedback loops, where the so-called causal mechanisms of segregation can also be affected in the long term. (
Figure *29*) Therefore, it is necessary to seize segregation by giving priority to the process rather than the product (Batty, 2006).
This discussion demonstrates the limited role of government institutions in regulating segregation mechanisms. Since emergent properties cannot be controlled or created by strategy, they can only be induced by regulating feedback loops (
Figure *29*).

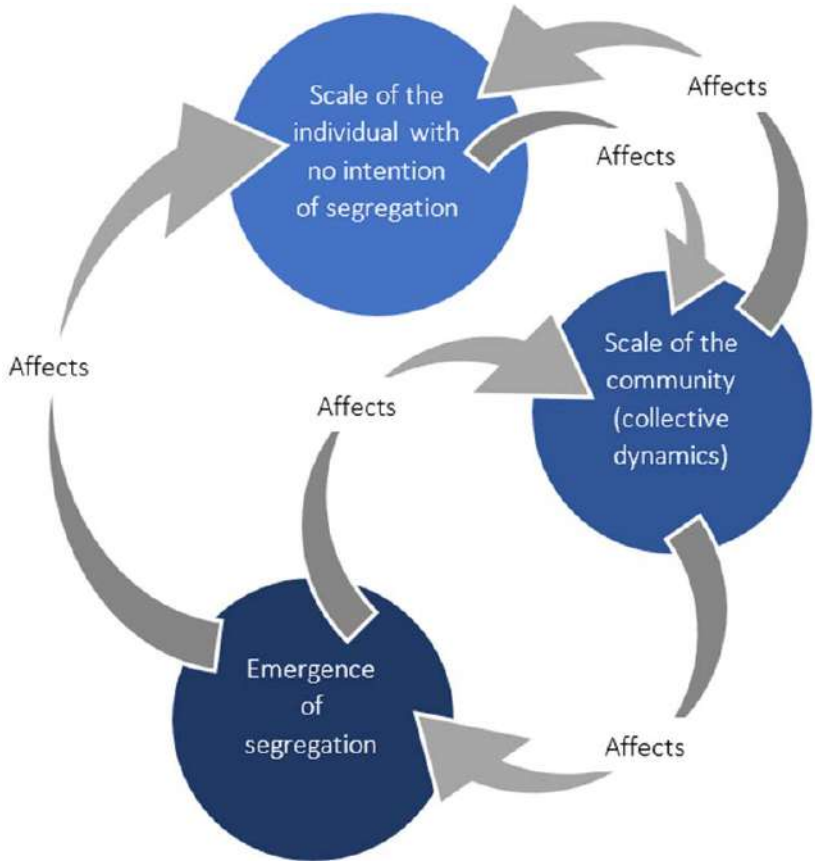

Figure 29. The underlying non-linear and multi-scalar dynamics of socio-spatial segregation.
Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

Which makes us question the idea of order in the city. The results show that strategies used by park managers throughout its evolution follow a top-down mechanistic order. (Figure 30) To further understand underlying dynamics of the system it will be crucial to differentiate between organic order, embodied by emergent properties, and mechanistic

order imposed by classical governance. When systems have too little structure, they are too close to chaos, they become too sensitive to be disturbed. When they have too much structure, that they are too close to a static order, they become too rigid to deal with changes. Therefore, for a complex adaptive system to remain in place, it's important to be balanced at the edge of chaos. According to Youngblood (Youngblood, 1997), this equilibrium has the effect of self-organizing the system, thus creating a level of order superior to that of an imposed order - a more creative and stable order than an imposed order. So, in the organic vision, rigor is not an objective, contrary to the mechanistic vision. Order in the mechanistic view is an imposed order that stems from a centralized authority while order in the organic view emerges from disorder. The order in the organic view is not characterized by calm, but rather by a self-organizing model (Sanders, 1998). Systems (natural or man-made) that imply this emerging order concept, dynamic rather than static, have *life* according to Alexander (Alexander, 2002: 33). And so, planners should aim to preserve the natural order of living structures for more liveable and vibrant cities (Gehl, 2010).

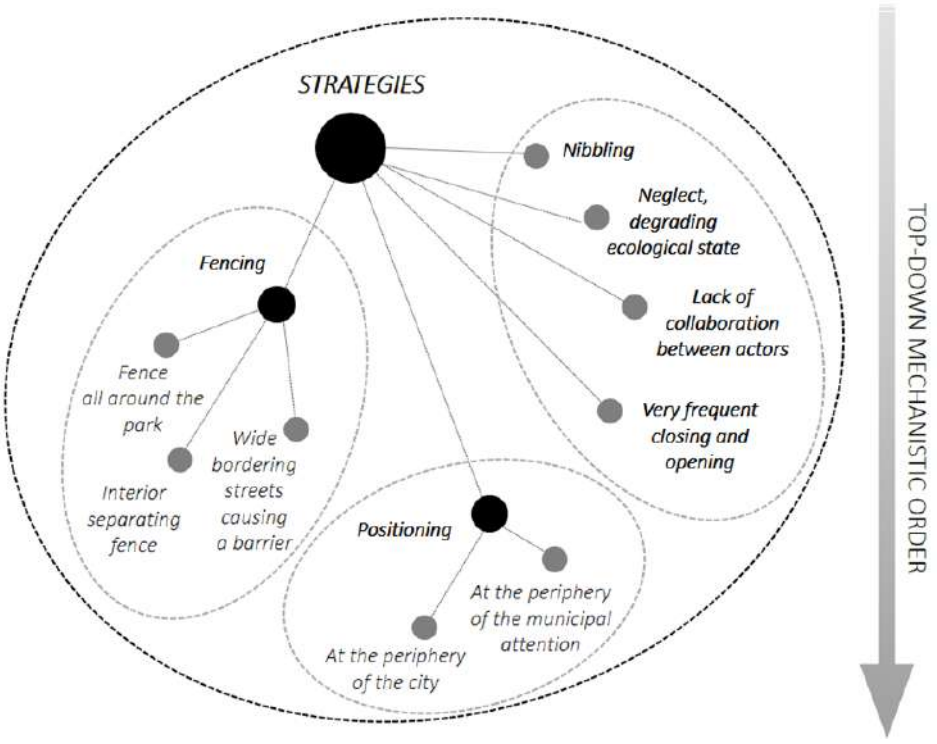

Figure 30. Horsh Beirut strategies: top-down mechanistic order.
Source: Joumana Stephan, 2019

The results show that the top-down mechanistic order imposed on Horsh Beirut by current official strategies takes several forms. First, there is a deliberate closure strategy: a separation fence inside the park, a fence all around the park, and large adjacent streets causing a barrier between the park and its surroundings. In addition, its positioning puts it not only on the physical periphery of the city but also on the periphery of the municipal attention. The results also show continued nibbling strategies

of the park surface in favour of privatization and corporate market, as well as negligence leading to a degrading ecological state, a lack of collaboration between the actors and an alternation of opening and closure decisions which does not leave the time to the public to appropriate it (Figure 30).

Since the end of the war, the Lebanese state has been pursuing a deliberate policy and carrying out physical interventions aimed at rendering the public space devoid of any political measure and depoliticizing the urban space, which has helped to make Horsh Beirut for example, a closed system devoid of any dynamics. As we have seen, closed systems are stuck in a false mechanistic state. This has contributed to the isolation of the park and aggravation of the tension between its bordering neighbourhoods.

Clausewitz, Prussian general and military theorist, states in a famous quote: "war is politics by other means". While Michel Foucault reverses his thesis declaring: *it is politics that is the continuation of war by other means*. Foucault's statement seems to be more adequate for the case of Beirut's public space.

In conclusion, the study of green public spaces, like Horsh Beirut, as complex adaptive systems, which are dynamic, open, and characterized by uncertainty and unpredictability, offers important possibilities for analysis, but also poses many challenges for design and management. Since emergent properties are, by nature, uncontrollable, the very nature of urban design is questioned. What kind of approach is appropriate for such systems? What should be our level of intervention? How to manage self-organization and emerging order? Should we learn the ability to take advantage of unintended and unforeseen results? Perhaps, our perception of the planners' role should change, to be redirected towards detecting synergetic opportunities and catalysing positive emergent properties.

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When Accessibility of Public Space Excludes.
Shopping experience of people with vision impairments

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Abstract
The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006) recognises access to consumer goods and services in the mainstream private market as essential for full participation in society. Nevertheless, people with impairments rarely enjoy the same rights and consumer experience as non-disabled individuals. This paper argues that (in)accessibility of public space is an important factor shaping how accessible the private market is for people who do not 'fit' conventional norms and standards. It demonstrates how category-driven accessibility provisions in some geographical areas and not in others segregate disabled people within certain providers, create social and consumer isolation, and become a marker that accentuates difference and separation between disabled consumers who live in accessible districts, and the rest of the population. To illustrate the case, the paper uses empirical evidence from mystery shopping in retail outlets and qualitative interviews with people with vision impairments who live in the 'Blind district' in Lithuania. The district was developed by the Soviet Union (1949-1990) to boost people with vision impairments' participation in the socialist labour market economy.

Keywords: accessibility, public space, shopping, consumer, disability, vision impairments, Soviet Union

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Consumerism as a form religion (Varul, 2015) and political participation (Stolle et al., 2005), inherent part of citizenship (Miller, 2007, Guckian et al., 2017, Guthman et al., 2016), means to shape and communicate identity (Hill, 2011, Hamilton, 2010) and social class (Lange and Meier, 2009), or source of pleasure and leisure (Stobart, 1998, Wearing et al., 2013, Blackshaw, 2013). Such and similar connotations are often used when talking about the relationship between retail markets and citizens in Western societies. Consumer participation has become a part of a modern reality (Bauman, 1988), and shopping in retail outlets is a natural activity of everyday life (Brusdal and Lavik, 2008). An individual's journey to a shop is often perceived as a spontaneous activity, which entails more than just a trip from A to B in order to procure a needed item. When traveling to shops, people make a number of decisions, such as to which shop to go, which route or transport means to choose, or when to go shopping. Public environment is one of the factors shaping the outcome of such and similar decisions, especially if one travel to shops as a pedestrian. For instance, some people consider directness (Hoogendoorn and Bovy, 2004, Hughes, 2002), shortest and quickest distance (Borgers and Timmermans, 2005, Seneviratne and Morrall, 1985) and safety of the route (Brown et al., 2007, Weinstein et al., 2008). Others tend to choose itineraries that are aesthetically pleasing, have nice architecture and a positive social environment (Brown et al., 2007), offer shelter from undesirable weather, have wide sidewalks and are more quiet than others (Guo, 2009, Guo and Ferreira, 2008, Guo and Loo, 2013, Seneviratne and Morrall, 1985). Hoogendoorn and Bovy (2004:188) describe pedestrians as 'subjective utility maximisers', who found their pedestrian choice on maximal 'predicted utility of their efforts and walking'.

Public environment is aimed at providing 'average' citizens with comfort and convenience (Imrie, 1996, 2000, Freund, 2001). Consequently, it creates visible and invisible obstacles (Hanson, 2004) for pedestrians who do not 'fit' predefined standards and norms. Steep and high curbs, uneven or crumbled sidewalks (Fänge et al., 2002, Matthews and Vujakovic, 1995), lack of ramps, various crossing-related barriers (Abir and Hoque, 2011), insufficient lighting and limited places to rest (Rosenberg et al., 2012) often impede into people with mobility impairments and wheelchair users' experiences (Eskytė, 2019). Limited availability of audible traffic lights (Ivanchenko et al., 2010), drivers' ignorance of white or long cane users (Eskytė, 2014, 2019), lack of directing information in Braille and alternative formats (Crandall et al., 2001) and limited installation of integrative tactile paths (Imrie, 1996) are some of the reasons that prevent people with vision impairments from independent, stress-free and safe interaction in public space. Likewise, the lack of visual aids and information signs (Imrie, 1996) often make people with hearing impairments' migration in neighbourhoods and cities they live in challenging. On the other hand, peer-interaction- related concerns such as safety and lack of support often shape people' with learning difficulties and cognitive impairments' pedestrian choices and contribute to the exclusion from interaction and participation in public space (Bertoli et al., 2011, McClimens et al., 2014).

Visible and invisible obstacles in the public environment (Hanson, 2004) that cause discomfort, restriction and exclusion (Imrie and Kumar, 1998) emerge due to ableism – 'ideas practices, institutions, and social relations that presume ablebodiedness, and by doing so, construct persons with disabilities as marginalised, oppressed, and largely

invisible 'others" (Chouinard, 1997:380). Goodley (2014: 21) suggests that "ableism's psychological, social, economic, cultural character normatively privileges able-bodiedness; promotes smooth forms of personhood and smooth health; creates space fit for normative citizens; encourages an institutional bias towards autonomous, independent bodies; and lends support to economic and material dependence on neoliberal and hyper-capitalist forms of production." The philosophy has had a great effect on the development of built environment. According to Relph (1981:196), 'modern landscapes seem to be designed for forty-year-old healthy males driving cars'. Consequently, all Western (Imrie, 1998) and non-Western cities (Freund, 2001) are created by and for non-disabled society members, and only a limited variety of individuals may use and freely function in the public environment (Freund, 2001).
The ethos of ableism in public space is complemented by auto-centred systems and developments (Imrie, 2012, Moody and Melia, 2014). Roads, streets, street crossings and other elements are shaped around motorised vehicles (Hamilton-Baillie, 2008, Guo and Ferreira, 2008, Freund and Martin, 1997). Even the introduction of a shared space concept is delivering little, if not counterproductive, benefits for pedestrians, especially to those who do not 'fit' the norm (Imrie, 2012, Karndacharuk et al., 2013, Kaparias et al., 2013, Beitel et al., 2018, Essa et al., 2018). Poor design and inadequate provisions create pedestrian-vehicle conflict (Kaparias et al., 2013, Vedagiri and Kadali, 2016) with more severe implications for disabled pedestrians (Imrie, 2012, Eskyte, 2015, 2019). People with impairments often experience spatial isolation (Kitchin, 1998), are located within an officially defined travelling timeframe (Freund, 2001) and their spatial behaviour is restricted. Current approach to and practice of developing public space create 'no go' areas (Kitchin, 1998:346) that mirror modern ideals for aesthetics (Imrie, 1998), same-able-bodied understanding (Matthews and Vujakovic, 1995) and prioritise non-disabled wealthy males (Relph, 1981). This conditions disabled people's travel choice and freedom as well as restrict their pedestrian participation.
Since interaction in public space and pedestrian experience is an important part of shopping (Eskytė, 2019), it seems reasonable to question the impact of public space on disabled consumers' participation. Nevertheless, before engaging in this discussion, some clarity on how disability is understood in this paper is necessary. I adopt the social model perspective that positions 'impairment' as a feature or physical limitation of particular individuals (Oliver, 1983, 1996), and 'disability' as something imposed on top of people's impairments, by the way they are 'unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society. To understand this it is necessary to grasp the distinction between the... impairment and the social situation, called 'disability', of people with such impairment' (UPIAS, 1976:3-4). According to Oliver (1983:23), the understanding of impairment and disability from the social model perspective 'involves nothing more or less fundamental than a switch away from focusing on the physical limitations of particular individuals to the way the physical and social environments impose limitations upon certain groups or categories of people'. In such a context, society's reaction to impairment (Morris, 1993), unequal power relations between disabled and non-disabled people (Barnes and Mercer, 2003, Campbell and Oliver, 1996) and social barriers and prejudice (Shakespeare, 1996) are key reasons for exclusion, marginalisation and oppression.

Shifting the attention back to how public space shape disabled people's shopping and customer participation, the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) (2006) recognizes access to consumer goods and services in the mainstream private market as essential for full participation in the society (art. 9.2b). Alongside the call for markets accessibility, the Treaty requires taking appropriate measures to ensure that disabled people have access, on equal basis with others, to buildings, roads, transportation and other indoor and outdoor facilities (art. 9.2a). Nevertheless, academic, policy and advocacy communities provide ongoing evidence of inaccessibility of public space and its disabling impact on lives of people with impairments. While a number of studies address disabled people's interaction in public space (Butler and Bowlby, 1997, Kitchin, 1998, Imrie and Imrie, 1996) or shopping experience (Baker, 2006, Baker et al., 2007, Baker et al., 2001, Kaufman-Scarborough, 1999, Kaufman-Scarborough, 2001, Kaufman-Scarborough, 2016, Bashiti and Rahim, 2016), the two dimensions are rarely linked together. In fact, there is hardly any research that goes beyond issues such as physical barriers in public buildings, inaccessibility of indoor retail premises, or the attitude of shop assistants. For instance, what do we know about how accessibility of streets and pavements shape people with impairments' decisions where to purchase? How pedestrian density impact disabled people's shopping time and duration? How maintenance of streets and sidewalks is related to their engagement in customer participation? How accessibility of public space impact willingness to pay and how it is related to customer loyalty?

We know precious little about the way accessibility of public space shape people with impairments' shopping and customer participation. The aim of this article is to add to the issue of matter. To be precise, shopping experience of people with vision impairments is used as a case study to demonstrate that fragmented accessibility provisions or provision of accessibility only in particular geographical spaces construct disabled people's vulnerability, exclusion and inequality in the mainstream retail market. To this end, the paper draws on an international qualitative study that focuses on an accessible shopping chain in the EU single market. It extracts accounts of people with vision impairments and Blind people who live in a 'Blind district' in city X, Lithuania. The focus on this particular group is two-fold. First, people who live in the 'Blind district' often are a 'silent' group of disabled people's population. Their experiences are often approached and interpreted in the context of accounts of disabled people who live in different parts of the city. Leading a life in a neighbourhood which was designed for a particular group might be significantly different from living in a 'mainstream' neighbourhood or district. Hence, it is important to focus on how public space and build environment of the 'Blind district' shape people with vision impairments' interaction with and participation in society. Second, while socialist city planning is well discussed in literature, there is little known how former development of build environment aimed at planned economy and participation in the labour market shapes people's current interaction with and in a city of a consumerist society. Hence, the paper adopts the social model perspective and looks at how former soviet city developments shape current customer participation of people with vision impairments. First, literature concerning socialist city planning is reviewed. Then light is shed on how built environment and public space used to be developed in areas specially designated for people with vision impairments. Then the design and broader study, which looks at customer interaction in public space as a part of an accessible shopping chain, is

introduced. The empirical discussion explores how former development of public space either 'lock in' or 'lock out' people with vision impairments from shopping and broader engagement with private providers. This is followed by a discussion on how poor maintenance of public space contributes to the exclusion. The paper concludes with a discussion of the findings and implications for future research.

Socialist city planning

Industrialisation, planned economy and heavy industry provided the foundation for the socialist city planning. Urbanisation, labour concentration in cities and increased people's migration from rural to urban areas required a particular planning (Grava, 1993). Fisher (1962: 251) describes this as an 'active planning, that is, the active projection of economic activities (allocation of resources, distribution of income) as opposed to the passive forecasting of spontaneous development'. The city was positioned as a fundamental element of the supreme communist community, representing centralisation, standardisation and uniformity of social organisation across the Union (Thomas, 1978, Fisher, 1962, Bertaud and Renaud, 1997, Temelová et al., 2011). Most importantly, city aimed to serve for the government's interests (Grava, 1993) and was concerned 'with the location and distribution of economic productive forces: industry, power, and transportation' (Fisher, 1962:252).

Microrayons are the best example of city planning premised on the achievement of the socialist goals (Clapham, 1995, Kostinskiy, 2001). Commonly described as 'superblocks followed the high-rise buildings in a park' (Grava, 1993:13) they provided a high number of affordable accommodation (Permain and Roberts, 2012) and the impression of 'sameness' and 'normality'. While some of the neighbourhoods were well equipped with nurseries and schools, the majority had weak social infrastructure, health care and recreational facilities, and often were unsafe (Grava, 1993, Temelová et al., 2011, Černič Mali et al., 2003). The design of microrayons and flats was highly standardised aiming to introduce a classless society and to effectively maximise limited resources (Fisher, 1962). On the one hand, the goal of resource maximisation has been partly achieved in some parts of the Soviet Union (Fisher, 1962, Alexandrova et al., 2004, Temelová et al., 2011). On the other hand, instead of creating a classless society and introducing the same conditions to the residents, it created division, spatial isolation and reinforced ghettoization of some groups of the population. For instance, Fisher (1962) reports the division of Polish population based on their marital status or number of children. Alexandrova et al. (2004) provide some evidence suggesting that individuals belonging to different economic classes used to be located in different parts of city Tomsk, Siberia. Similarly, professionals with higher education and highly demanded skills that were needed for effective work in factories used to get flats in neighbourhoods close to the workplace (Fisher, 1962) and often had better accommodations (Sasnovy, 1959, Kulu, 2003). Contrarily, people with the lowest education status usually lived in the worst quality housing and in the neighbourhoods with limited possibilities for spatial and economic mobility (Dangschat, 1987). In a similar vein, ethnic minority groups were usually accommodated in remote areas and in neighbourhoods far away from city centre and local residents. As an example, aiming to secure more prestigious neighbourhoods for native Russians (Temelová et al., 2011) and to ensure demographic control (Fisher,

1962) ethnic minority groups used to be accommodated in the city offside far away from local population (Ladanyi, 1993). Poor transportation and undeveloped infrastructure were often used as a means to cut off 'undesirable' groups from accessing and interacting in the city (Alexandrova et al., 2004) and to make them an invisible part of the population. Such practices define individuals and their experiences, ascribe them with a certain social status and position, signify their difference and deviation from those who are perceived as 'normal' and expected citizens as well as reinforce oppressive social relationship between society members (Imrie, 1996, Laws, 1994). Drawing on Wacquant's (1998) work, Bauman (2001) notes that such practices physically and morally distance segregated groups; strengthen homogeneity among the group members and contrast them with heterogeneous mass outside the 'ghetto'.

The politics of exclusion and social distancing (Phillips, 2009) required to make people with impairments invisible and hide them from the 'non-invalid' population (Dunn and Dunn, 1989, Fefolof, 1989). Contrary to ethnic minority groups, spatial isolation of disabled people used to be achieved either by lodging them in institutions (Phillips, 2009, Tobis, 2000) or by providing special accommodations in certain areas and not in others. For instance, Temelová et al. (2011:1830) reports that during Soviet times disabled individuals in the Czech Republic were gathered into a special neighbourhood in Kročehlavy, where they were accommodated in '255 municipal dwellings concentrated in a long prefabricated blocks'. Research conducted by Sasnovy (1959) and Morton (1980) suggest that individuals who acquired impairments in the World War Two and 'invalids' with particular diseases often were provided with better housing conditions, accommodated in special parts of the microrayons and were entitled to various housing-related privileges (Madison, 1989). However, despite relatively better conditions, the neighbourhoods often were characterised by stigmatisation, limited access to and low level of education and high level of unemployment (Temelová et al., 2011). On the other hand, aiming to boost planned economy and exploit all available 'resources', the Soviet Union used to develop neighbourhoods and labour market infrastructure for specific groups of people. People with vision impairments and Blind people was one of the groups to whom special neighbourhoods with certain labour market facilities had been developed across the Union. Often called 'Blind districts' the neighbourhoods had special public space and built environment arrangements aimed at achieving labour market and planned economy goals.

The 'Blind district'

Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union several times. The longest and most recent period lasted approximately 50 years (1940-1990). Like other Soviet countries, Lithuania went through the majority of processes typical to the Union, including the socialist city planning, including the development of neighbourhoods aimed at harnessing people with vision impairments as a labour force. While academic literature on the topic is scarce, archives of organisations for people with vision impairments suggest that usually this group of population was not dispersed throughout cities but used to be accommodated in certain districts. These were often located near schools or workplaces adjusted to the needs of people with vision impairments, as they did not 'fit' either mainstream education or labour market (Dangschat, 1987, Grava, 1993, Madison, 1989).

The Soviet government was the driving force behind the practice of segregation and was

supported by activists with vision impairments, who emphasised people's integration in the labour market. The statement made by Avižonis P., one of the leaders of Blind Lithuanians community at that time, illustrates the logic: 'smart social policy does not require benefits or alms, but the development of residual skills and agency for productive work' (LASS, n/a). The state and civil society invested in the provision of accommodated work places, enabling people with vision impairments to actively and efficiently contribute to socialist economy goals. The majority of taken actions were successful and production grew rapidly. Consequently, in 1958 the government released an official decision to start a systemic development and building of block-houses for people with vision impairments in the neighbourhoods close to the nurseries, schools and factories that were already adjusted for their education and work. During thirty years (1958-1998) the Union of Blind Lithuanians has built around 100,000 square metres of industrial, domestic and cultural purpose buildings, and more than three thousand flats and other objects, usually located around the factories accessible to people with vision impairments (LASS, n/a).

Accessible work places and flats used to be located in certain districts, usually microrayons, and not dispersed across a city. Consequently, people with vision impairments were often isolated from participation in education and labour market outside the districts they lived in (Eskytė, 2014). On the one hand, systematic provisions of needed adjustments and accessibility in particular geographical locations were employed as a tool to 'erase' people with vision impairments from the mainstream population as they did not 'fit' an ideal image of a 'perfect' Soviet citizen. On the other hand, such arrangements enabled people with vision impairments to better meet imposed expectations of a productive labour force, and to efficiently contribute to the wealth of the Soviet Union and socialist economy.

Districts developed for people with vision impairments shared some similarities as well as differences with districts for the non-disabled mainstream population. With regard to similarities, aiming to provide an illusion of sameness and classless society, housing for workers with vision impairments tended to conform to building standards of a particular town or city. As an example, typical microryaons and block-houses in small towns, such as Švekšna, were smaller compared to the developments in bigger cities such as Kaunas or Vilnius (LASS, n/a). In addition, at the first sight microrayons for workers with and without vision impairments used to look identical (Fisher, 1962) and the construction in both types of neighbourhood was fast and careless (Temelová et al., 2011), causing challenges and inconvenience for the inhabitants.

With regard to differences, the most significant one was a pedestrian underpass. The overview of the LASS history (LASS, n/a) suggests that in 1975 in one of the districts where the majority of residents had vision impairments and a number of adjusted education and work setting operated, a pedestrian underpass was built. Later a number of pedestrian underpasses were built across the country, but only where a number of people with vision impairments is high. The development was usually jointly financed by the government and the Lithuanian Blind People's Union. The underpasses were perceived as a way to release individuals with vision impairments from crossing busy and intense streets and to provide a safer environment and better conditions for their journey from home to factories, libraries, shops and bus stops (LASS, n/a). While Alexandrova et al. (2004) demonstrate how limited or poor provision of transport

infrastructure and urban facilities were used as a means to isolate 'problematic' groups in 'special' and remote neighbourhoods; the provision of facilities that to some extent meet people with vision impairments' accessibility needs was used to 'keep' them in particular geographical spaces. While the goal behind the spatial isolation of the 'undesirable' groups was their disconnection from and absence in the rest of the city (Alexandrova et al., 2004), people with vision impairments' spatial segregation employed as one of the ways to boost their efficiency in and contribution to the socialist economy (Fisher, 1962) and to keep them invisible in a broader context of the society (Phillips, 2009).

The provision of safer and more accessible environment and public space in certain districts and not across the city diminished people with vision impairments' free and independent participation in labour market and community, and perpetuated their ghettoisation. Segregated neighbourhoods gradually acquired the 'Blind district' name. This has embodied the discourse and practice of exclusion, stigmatisation and otherness. The 'Blind district' name remains entrenched by and is communicated via public artefacts such as bus stops or street names, and is alive in disabled and non-disabled individuals' every day vocabularies (Eskyte, 2015). While due to recent changes in the real estate market and social policy people with vision impairments get more dispersed across cities, a great number of them or their family members with vision impairments remain in the initial districts. This is because several work places and education institutions as well as private retailers offering needed adjustments are available in the neighbourhoods and not outside them. Similarly, while the development of the rest of the city is founded on ablest assumptions (Eskytė, 2019), certain accessibility provisions in built environment are present in the district this not being the case outside it.

Researching consumer participation in the context of built environment and public space

International qualitative study combined mystery shopping and semi-structured interviews with disabled consumers (Lithuania and the UK) with semi-structured interviews with and observations of civil society and private market players (national (Lithuania, the UK) and international (EU)). The accounts shared by disabled consumers with vision impairments who live in one of the 'Blind districts' in Lithuania provide the foundation for this article. The qualitative data is used to demonstrate how provision of accessibility only in certain parts of a city and absence of a holistic approach construct disabled people's spatial isolation in the mainstream private market shape their 'shopping map' and prevent broader engagement with the city they live in.

Mystery shopping and qualitative interviews

Mystery shopping and qualitative interviews were employed to investigate consumers with vision impairments' experiences and to demonstrate how provision of accessibility in some parts of a city and a lack of an over-arching approach shape the 'shopping map' of people with vision impairments' and limit their consumer participation in the mainstream private market.

Mystery shopping is a form of participant observation where the researcher interacts with the research participants being observed and stems from the field of cultural anthropology (Miller, 1998). The method is widely used in marketing (Miller, 1998, Collins et al., 2017, Yaoyuneyong et al., 2018) research and offers a possibility to identify different factors in the service delivery process (Jacob et al., 2018, Liu, 2015) and their effect on natural conditions (Grove and Fisk, 1992). It allows to test whether disabled consumers are treated equally or are discriminated against (Morrall, 1994, Wiele et al., 2005, Eskytė, 2019) and to address discrepancies between real and reported consumer and seller behaviour (Friedrichs et al., 1975, Kehagias et al., 2011). The observational data was supplemented by accounts shared in semi-structured one-to-one interviews. This qualitative approach allowed identifying consumer experiences and the meanings that people ascribe to shopping process and outcomes (Gray, 2009). It captured participants' perceptions and opinions about their experiences on the way to shops, and revealed more detailed responses and clarifications of the reasons and motives (Arksey and Knight, 1999) behind choosing certain routes to certain shops (Eskytė, 2019). Accessibility of the research tools and communication means was highly important. The participants could choose from several accessible formats they wish to receive the information in. These included large print, easy read, easy read with pictures both in hard copy and electronic format. Techniques such as simple words and pictures, short sentences, asking one question at a time, and rephrasing questions were used. Self-directed reflections by the interviewee (Rodgers 1999) were also encouraged. The interview guide included a number of questions addressing key stages of an accessible shopping chain (Eskytė 2019). The questions were followed by a list of probes and observation data from the mystery shopping. This allowed for explaining the questions (Bryman 2012) and ensured further elaboration and clarity of the provided accounts (Gray 2009; Ruane 2005).

In total thirty-eight people with mobility, vision, hearing and cognitive impairments and mental health conditions (UK and Lithuania) participated in the study. The discussion in the paper is founded on the data extracted from seven mystery shopping outings and interviews with people with different range of vision impairments who live in the 'Blind district' in city X, Lithuania. All informants were white Lithuanians, whose age varied between 30+ and 65+. They were of different gender, education and socio-economic status, as well as shared similar and unique consumer experience. All informants lived in flats in block-houses in the same microrayon, specially designed by the Soviet Union for people with vision impairments. One participant lived alone, while others lived with partners or family members. Small but diverse cohort of the informants represented and acted as 'information rich cases' and enabled to 'learn a great deal about matters of importance' (Patton, 1990: 181) for this particular group.

The study was underpinned by the social model of disability. It positions social, cultural, historical and capitalist market structures and other external factors as key-determinants behind exclusion and marginalisation of people with impairments as society members (Barnes and Mercer, 1996, Barnes and Mercer, 2003, Barnes and Mercer, 2005, Imrie, 2013, Priestley et al., 2007, Campbell and Oliver, 1996, Oliver, 2009, Oliver, 1990, Oliver, 1994). Consequently, medical diagnoses and impairment-related peculiarities were not in the interest of this study. For the data analysis a thematic approach was adopted. It involved "careful reading and re-reading" (Rice and

Ezzy 1999: 258) of research material aiming to identify the main themes. Alongside the pattern identification within the data (Fereday and Muir- Cochrane 2008), individual or unique cases were noted down. The interviews were repeatedly read, aiming to find commonalities or contradictions among the unique cases.
In order to demonstrate how provision of accessibility in some geographical locations and their lack or absence throughout the city creates people with vision impairments' spatial exclusion and elimination from equal customer choice and participation, the discussion of the empirical data is divided into three parts. First, the focus is on how accessibility provisions in particular geographical spaces 'lock people in' certain parts of the private market. The discussion then draws on how inaccessible city design 'lock people with vision impairments out' from broader participation in and interaction with private retailers. Finally, the role of maintenance of public spaces in shaping experiences of consumers with vision impairments is addressed.

'Locked in' by urban design

Accessibility provisions and adjustments available in the 'Blind district' have a double effect on people with vision impairments' consumer participation and experience. On the one hand, they provide safer and less stressful access to certain providers, enable easier navigation in the neighbourhood and provide more independency. On the other hand, the provisions shape people's choices and decisions where to shop. Participants' narratives suggested that food, domestic, cleaning and IT products are usually purchased within the district. To illustrate, Rolandas (male, age 41-64) said:

> *When I go to or from work, in my street there are few kiosks, so there I buy meat, milk, raw meat, and prepared food. I do not have any problems there. And it is very easy to reach the place as it is on my way home. Here, in this shop [another shop on the same street] I can buy everything that I need for my computer. It is easy to reach these shops as they are here.*
> (Rolandas, male, age 41-64)

Similar account was shared by Ramune who buys products for everyday cooking or cleaning from 'local' businesses, and travels to shops outside the district only for 'special' items:

> *I go somewhere else only if I need something special that I cannot find here. For instance, when I need abstergents that I like I take a bus and go there.*
> (Ramune, female, age 18-40)

The narrative of 'usual'/'local' *versus* 'special' shopping was common in other participants' accounts. They often linked 'usual' shopping with shopping within the 'Blind district' that typically happens every day and does not require special planning or arrangements. Meanwhile, 'special' shopping was usually linked with the acquisition of items that are unavailable at the retailers operating in the district. It is important to note that the foundation for the distinction was not so much product features- related, as it was linked to the providers' geographical location, and the journey to shops outside the district. It seemed that accessibility within the district and a lack or insufficiency of it in

other parts of the city form values and complexity that customers with vision impairments ascribe to shopping. While non-disabled population usually value and categorise consumer experience because of product or service delivery characteristics (Campbell, 1997, Carrigan et al., 2004, Mittal and Kamakura, 2001, Otieno et al., 2005, Torres et al., 2001, Yuksel, 2004), people with vision impairments whose consumer mobility is shaped by public environment (Eskytė, 2014, 2015, 2019) seem to emphasise geographical location of private providers and the experience of reaching them. They position these as important factors shaping their attitudes toward and ascribed value to shopping in certain locations.

Similarly, Juozas referred to 'serious' shopping. He identified shopping as 'serious' when he needs to travel to other parts of the city and for this reason is usually accompanied by his daughter:

> *If we need to do a serious shopping and to go somewhere else, I always go with my daughter. She is the boss on that. But you know… sometimes I don't mind to pay more, if it means that I can go and buy a packet of cigarettes on my own.*
> (Juozas, male, age 41-64)

It seems that due to accessibility of and familiarity with the 'Blind district' some participants equalise consumer experience outside it with a burden or additional effort that is not directly related to acquisition of goods and services. On the other hand, their accounts about shopping in the neighbourhood were accompanied by narratives of comfort, confidence and independence. Juozas' reference to a higher price that he sometimes needs to pay for certain products sold by the providers operating in the 'Blind district' was not an exception as well as his willingness to do this was common in other informants' narratives. The majority of the participants seemed to be willing to pay more in order to secure independence when travelling to shops. Hence, while non-disabled shoppers' eagerness to pay a higher price is often interpreted as an evidence of consumer satisfaction with goods, services and service delivery (Baker and Crompton, 2000), for shoppers with vision impairments accessible location of retail outlets is an important factor shaping their loyalty and limited objection to pay more.

Accessibility provisions in the 'Blind district' shape people with vision impairments' involvement with and loyalty not only to sellers but also to service providers. Shared accounts suggested a variety of services that are used mainly because of their accessible location. All informants expressed their preference to approach shoemaker, and leisure and finance service providers that are in the neighbourhood and are easy to access by the pedestrian underpass. For instance, Juozas noted that he prefers to have his shoes fixed by the 'local' shoemaker even though the price is higher than in some other places outside the 'Blind district':

> *Maybe the price is not the best, but it is the most convenient place and I can go there without any major advance planning.*
> (Juozas, male, age 41-64)

In a similar vein, Ilona (female, 41-64) noted that she is aware of a number of sport clubs outside the district that offer various services and may better meet her needs.

However, she prefers going to the 'local' sport club as this saves her time and does not cause additional stress:

> *I know that in the Z neighbourhood there is a sport club, which apparently is very good and provides lots of additional services such as massage and different spa treatments. My cousin goes there and she is really happy. I go there occasionally, usually on the weekends, when I have more free time. Even though I could afford the price, I can't afford the time and stress that I feel when I go to the city. You see, I have too much this kind of experience in my daily life and try to avoid it as much as I can.*

Similar reasoning for which provider of goods and services to approach was evident in the majority of the informants' accounts. This suggests that accessibility of built environment and public space plays an important role in shaping people with vision impairments' consumer choice and experience. They seem to choose goods and service providers that are in accessible locations, and are easy to reach. Respectively, private market actors who operate in inaccessible locations are avoided. Accessibility of the 'Blind district' shape the factors according to which people with vision impairments measure and value providers and form attitudes towards price. In other words, in environments that are accessible 'islands' in inaccessible cities, certain market principles are reshaped as in the context of making consumer choice and decision on a payable price, quality of goods and services and service provision are

'Locked out' by urban design

Inaccessibility of the city outside the 'Blind district' further prevents people with vision impairments from exploring a bigger map of the private market. Discussing their consumer experiences outside the district, the participants constantly referred to obstacles such as crumbling pavements, curbs, similarity of street and sidewalk colours, and inappropriate maintenance of the built environment among others. Even though similar obstacles are present in the 'Blind district', due to limited possibility to travel, individuals become aware of and familiar with these barriers. Consequently, they develop coping strategies and have better opportunities to actively engage in shopping and other kinds of consumer activities. In the meantime, activities outside the 'Blind district' are often associated with challenges, uncertainty and special preparation. To illustrate, Juozas noted:

> *You can go there [to the city outside the district], but you will face a lot of challenges. You have to have a special navigating system or some kind of special plan or a map, but still you can't be sure that you will not fall into a pit or hit the pillar or face any other obstacles that were not there yesterday.*
> (Juozas, male, age 41-64)

Other participants shared similar concerns and this suggests that the city outside the district is often associated with obstacles, challenges, dependency and potential harm. Such practice indirectly shapes people with vision impairments' ghettoisation in the 'Blind district', and may lead to spatial division between 'here' and 'there'. In such a context inaccessible city landscape becomes a spatial marker that generates

exclusionary practice (Imrie, 1996) and signifies a difference between individuals as consumers and citizens operating in the two kinds of environment. Insufficient accessibility provisions outside the neighbourhood reinforce social inequality, disablist social values and continue boosting people with impairments' marginalisation. Physical isolation not only limits individuals' mobility and denies rights but also erases the opportunity for people with and without vision impairments to interact with and become aware of each other.

Research results from a broader study of the project suggest that consumers with vision impairments who live in other parts of the city usually spend between fifteen to thirty-five minutes traveling to retail outlets. On the other hand, individuals who live in the 'Blind district' usually reach chosen shops in three to seven minutes. In spending less time traveling to a shop, people who live in the discussed district have less time and opportunities to engage into pedestrian or public transport user roles and activities, social networks and communities, and to acquire consumer information provided in public spaces. Finkelstein (1994: 2-3) notes that 'travel does not just mean moving from one place to another. It also entails seeing the world from a particular viewpoint and, more importantly, sharing common experiences with fellow citizens'. Having a restricted access to the city outside the district and fewer possibilities to freely travel and operate within it, people with vision impairments who live in the 'Blind district' may acquire different experiences and interpretations of the world to these of individuals and consumers operating outside it.

Access to and participation in the rest of the city is further limited by an insufficient provision of audible traffic lights. All informants noted that while there are few audible traffic lights in the district, the situation in other parts of the city is opposite. As an example, Ramune said:

> *How do I cross the street in general in the city? I look for traffic lights. If there were audible traffic lights it would be much easier.*
> (Ramune, female, age 18-40)

Similarly, Rolandas noted that in the 'Blind district' he is independent and feels safe as he can cross intense traffic streets by using either the pedestrian underpass or audible traffic lights. However, this is not the case in other parts of the city. To illustrate, he said:

> *Drivers do not care whether you are Blind or not. Usually they do not slow down even if they see your white stick. And then there are no audible traffic lights and sometimes there are no traffic lights at all, so it gets a bit tricky. Then I usually trust my hearing. Firstly I listen to cars 'whizzing' on my left, then rush and stop somewhere in the middle of the street and listen to cars 'whizzing' on my right. It is dangerous, especially in mornings, and I never know how my gamble will finish, but sometimes or I would say often, this is the only way to cross the street*
> (Rolandas, male, age 18-40).

Audible traffic lights in the 'Blind district' enable people with vision impairments to be more independent and mobile citizens and consumers. Additionally to providing more

opportunities for participation in the social life together with their non-disabled peers, accessibility provisions such as audible traffic lights seem to distract the attention from impairment and erase culturally and socially formed difference between disabled and non-disabled individuals. As an example, Juozas said:

> *These beeping traffic lights are forever here and if some of them sometimes stop working than we realize how helpful they are. When they work there are no problems: you can reach any shop, bus stops, friends and work place without thinking how to cross the street and to not be hit by a or wait for people, who you could follow when they cross the street. Audible traffic lights that we have here not only provide more safety but also an opportunity not to be different from others. Then other people who do not have vision impairments do not notice us because of our blindness and we are more or less equals.*
> (Juozas, male, age 41-64)

Recent policy instruments could have opened up the door to the rest of the city for people with vision impairments. However, they lack a continuum approach to accessibility and may further reinforce spatial isolation. Specifically, the Rules for Mounting Pedestrian Crosswalks in Lithuania (LRV, 2012) do not specifically refer to the provision of audible traffic lights. In addition, although Rubric IV of the aforementioned rules oblige to consider disabled people's needs (section 59) and provide basic adjustments for mounting pedestrian crossings, sections 61, 62 and 65 establish that different accessibility elements should be set only 'where there is a flow of disabled people'. Since Lithuania has regained independency less than thirty years ago, it is not surprising that areas which under the soviet regimen were used as means to isolate people with impairments from the rest of society have remained inhabited by disabled people more densely than other parts of the city. Consequently, the 'flow of disabled people' in such areas is bigger than elsewhere. The application of quantitative measures instead of quality- oriented criteria maintains exclusion and spatial and social division practices established by the Soviet Union. Provision of accessibility in some areas and a lack of over-arching approach continue restricting individuals' participation in social and political life and restrain their spatial and economic mobility. In addition, in associating audible traffic lights with disabled people, the policy instrument disadvantages other groups (eg children, parents with young children, people using mobile phones) who may benefit from such devices but live in districts where 'the flow of disabled people' is not big enough.

'Locked in' by poor maintenance of public space

The 'Blind district' seems to be more accessible than the rest of the city. However, improper maintenance of public space in the neighbourhood exclude some people with vision impairments and especially older, from shopping and other types of consumer experience. For instance, Hilda noted that she goes shopping only in late spring and summer because then various build environment elements and barriers are more visible than they are in autumn or winter. The female then becomes an indirect shopper, whose consumer role is exercised on behalf of her by a third party:

> *I give her [the daughter] the list of products that I need and she buys. It is so great that she lives not far away from my home, so I do not need to struggle in the street*
> (Hilda, female, age 65+).

This suggests that even within the area that was intentionally designed to accommodate people with vision impairments, some individuals do face barriers. In Hilda's case, poor street lighting in the dark seasons of the year eliminates her from shopping and converts into a dependent consumer, whose shopping time and product choice depend on social or support networks. Being isolated from shopping Hilda and other individuals dealing with similar situations are prevented from active and passive socialising (Graham et al., 1991), embedment into social networks and communities (Miller et al., 1998, Eskytė, 2019), and experience of shopping as leisure activity (Miller and Kim, 1999). In addition, Hilda decides only the list of products; and the brand, package and choosing process itself is decided and experienced by others. In such a context, poor maintenance of built environment plays an important role in diminishing her consumer control and provides an illusion, that the purchase is an outcome of her own decision (Kishi, 1988).
Juozas (male, age 41-64) addressed similar challenges caused by improper maintenance of the district in winter. He noted that since the snow changes 'the scenery of pavement' and it gets easier to get lost, a failure to remove snow and ice from pedestrian sidewalks decreases his and other individuals with vision impairments' control and mobility in public space, may cause physical injuries as well as change shopping and consumption practices and habits. This suggests that accessibility should not be understood only as physical environment or its design. Contrary, it should be approached in its full complexity. A failure to adopt an over-arching approach is likely to transform accessible environments and spaces into inaccessible and unusable, and eliminate disabled people's freedom and rights that are taken for granted by non-disabled society members.
Due to accessibility of the district and inaccessibility of the rest of the city the informants are well familiar with the neighbourhood. This shapes their resilience and coping strategies that enable overcoming the obstacles. It was evident that the most common practice is to choose familiar and 'tested' routes. As an example, Hilda said:

> *I have my summer way to the shop, to the bus stop and to the Centre. I know them by heart, and this is the only reason why I haven't broken my neck yet.*
> (Hilda, female, age 65+)

A similar account was shared by Ramune:

> *Wherever I go, I have my itineraries, which are secure and I know that they will not put me in trouble.*
> (Ramune, female, age 18-40)

While learnt routes and itineraries enable the informants to feel more secure and free, they limit their consumer mobility. The usage of the same and learnt traveling routes dominates novelty and spontaneous shopping choices and decisions, and shape the pattern of acquiring goods and services from the same providers.

Conclusion

The accounts shared by the research participants towards their consumer experience in the 'Blind district' are broadly illustrative of how provisions of accessibility in certain spaces but not in others may create exclusion and segregation. Disabled people's movement positions accessibility as a precondition for people with impairments' independent life (CRPD, art. 19) and full and equal participation in society (CRPD, art. 9). Limited or absent access to the built environment, to transportation, and to other facilities that are open or provided to the public lessen people with impairments' opportunities to equally and successfully engage in various everyday activities. In aiming to ensure equal access, and respect and dignity, accessibility has to be addressed in all its complexity, with physical environment, transportation, and provision of goods and services being linked together in a systematic and holistic way. The provision has to be founded on the assurance of equality and participation, rather than treated as a means to achieve strategic and capitalistic goals.

This was clearly opposite to the experiences of mystery shoppers with vision impairments, who constantly emphasised how certain accessibility provisions within the 'Blind district' and their absence or lack outside it, isolate their consumer experience within the neighbourhood and exclude from broader participation in the mainstream private market and society. Indeed, as Rolandas (male, 41-64) argued, 'if similar provisions and practices were not only here [the 'Blind district'] but in the whole city, it would be different'. For people with vision impairments, then, accessibility provisions only in selected areas and environments and a failure to provide unrestricted chain of movement in the outside spaces and in-between them, create ghettoisation, social and consumer inequality, and marginalise their status in society and the market. They draw boundaries of the shopping 'map' and position some of the market players as 'no go' providers of good and services. In addition, the imbalance of and inconsistency in the accessibility provisions accentuate difference and separation between people with vision impairments, who live in the 'Blind district', and the rest of the population. This is very likely to strengthen power imbalances associated with the fact that non-disabled people are free to purchase from retailers in and outside the 'Blind district' whereas people with vision impairments' shopping are confined to the district. This may generate stigma and cement perceptions of difference and separateness.

The insights gleaned from the mystery shopping and consumer interviews suggest that fragmented accessibility provisions in built environment and public space have a negative impact on consumer mobility, choice and the extent to which freedom in the private market is exercised. In turn, this tailors the participants' loyalty to certain providers, and their values and attitudes ascribed to shopping. Being spatially segregated in the market, some people with vision impairments do not object paying more if this allows securing consumer independency and control over purchased items or services. As Hilda (female, age 65+) noted 'it is not cheap, but it is here'. This calls into question the awareness of retailers operating across the city of changes in and diversity of a potential clientele segment, and their initiative to attract different customers.

The participants' experiences also pointed out to double consumer exclusion. While a failure to approach accessibility of public space as a continuum in all its complexity restricts people's independency and equality compared to non-disabled individuals, improper maintenance of public environment creates additional forms of consumer exclusion. It was suggested that maintenance of public space founded on ablest

assumptions converts accessible spaces into inaccessible and unusable and reinforce social and consumer exclusion of certain populations.

It was evident in the participants' narratives that accessibility of public space has a direct impact on how accessible the mainstream private market is to consumers who do not 'fit' conventional norms and standards. At the same time the broader discussion suggested that accessibility provisions per se neither resolve exclusion- and inequality-related experiences, nor create environments wherein people with impairments are not stigmatized but enjoy rights and opportunities that non-disabled individuals take for granted. Accessibility, indeed, has to be untied from its basic definition and technical standards, and approached in all its complexity. It has to consider links between different elements of and in public space, people's identities, feelings and emotions in the environment, and intend to create spaces that are accessible to and usable by *all* people despite their belonging to different administrative categories. However, creating public space that is accessible to everyone is hardly possible (Mace, 1988, Mace, 1998, Goldsmith, 2011, Imrie, 2000, Imrie, 1996). Consequently, the adoption of a universalist approach aimed at the whole population in combination with group-targeted provisions is often seen as a means to ensure that spaces and artefacts are accessible to and usable by as many people as possible (Imrie, 2013, Imrie and Hall, 2001, Mace, 1988, 1998).

Focusing on the 'Blind district' also suggested that responsible and sustainable planning and provision of accessibility should take into account the 'story' of a particular public space. Understanding the history of buildings, streets, monuments, transport infrastructure, and other elements as well as their relationship with other public spaces is important for developing environments that are friendly to people and aimed at their empowerment rather than control.

The interaction between population-targeted and group-targeted provisions, connectivity of the provisions, and the 'story' of public space impact accessibility of the public environment. This interaction has to be interpreted in light of changes in policy and population (Figure 1). While the study introduced the significance of how these changes shape societal interactions and practices, more empirical research is needed to investigate the phenomenon in more detail.

This paper provided some insight into the under-researched issue of how public space shape accessibility of the mainstream private market to consumers who do not 'fit' conventional norms and standards, yet further investigation is needed.

Future research should address the way barriers and accessibility provisions on the way to shops shape disabled people's consumer identity and their consumerist lifestyle practices. We know precious little about the impact of public space on people with impairments' shopping habits, decision making and consumer agency. In addition, the paper suggested that when accessibility is provided in some geographical areas and not in others, people with impairments are likely to be excluded from free participation in the market and limited to providers that operate in accessible areas. Consequently, more investigation is needed into how group-targeted provisions in public space shape other aspects of disabled people's everyday life (romantic relationship, career choices, hobbies, civic participation, etc.) and their exercising of human rights.

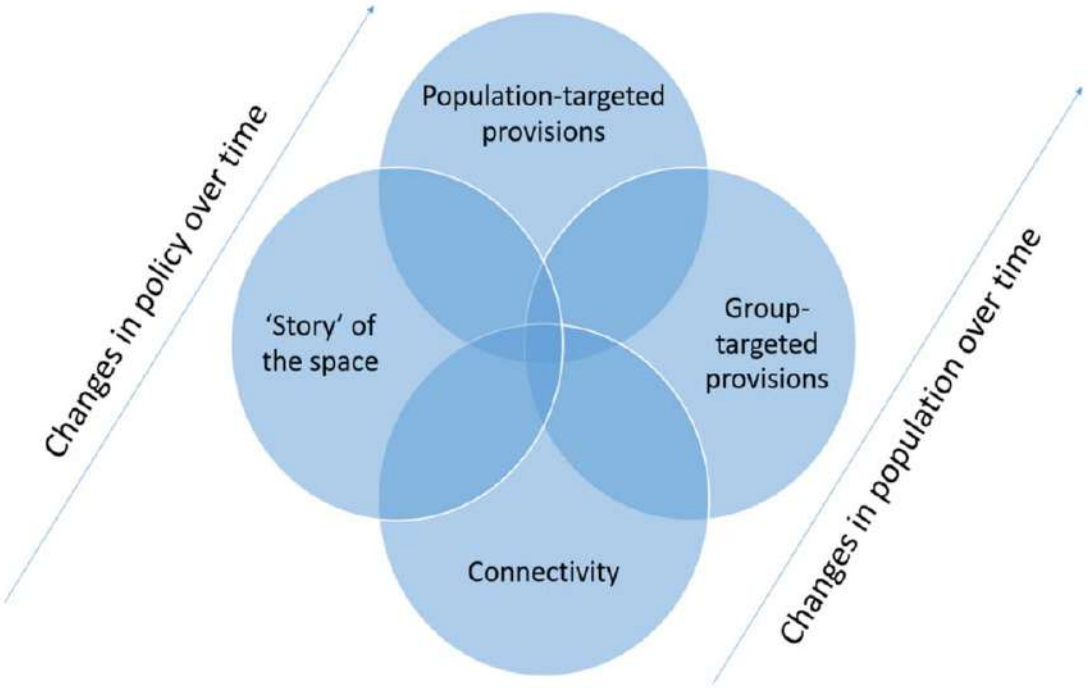

Figure 1 - Factors impacting accessibility of public space

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City Branding and Public Space. An empirical analysis of Dolce & Gabbana's Alta Moda event in Naples

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Abstract
This article focuses on the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of D&G held in Naples in June 2016. For this event iconic places of the city were used as the backdrop of the Alta Moda Fall/Winter 2016 collection. For a few days, access to different areas of 'Centro Storico' (the Neapolitan's downtown) were closed to the general public generating controversial opinions on the phenomenon of privatization of the public space.
The study presents an empirical analysis of the video produced for the event and it focuses on the elements that characterize Naples as a cultural artefact capturing the authenticity of Southern Italy and simultaneously meeting the brand values of D&G. The findings revealed how the urban space becomes a tool to emphasize the core values of the fashion brand and how this process enhances the image of the city as a historical and cultural centre, essence of Mediterranean and Italian culture.

Keywords: city branding, public space, Naples, Dolce & Gabbana

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Introduction

[...] We love the streets. It is still like the 1950s here, in a way.
This is a place that hasn't lost its roots and we appreciate that.
We enjoy big cities and technology and embracing the future
but to understand the life of the Italian people
you need to see their roots. [...]
We spent a lot of hours exploring the streets.
And very quickly we fell in love with this place.
We love the contrasts, between fashion and life,
between modern and classic.
And the people… they are all very sincere and dramatic
– very movie actor.
(Dolce & Gabbana on Facebook)

In the past few years, renowned fashion firms have used urban spaces to link the image of a city to their brands and products and vice versa. Fendi used the Trevi Fountain in Rome as a catwalk and Chanel introduced Cuba to the world staging a fashion runaway in the city centre of Havana. However, the fashion brand to pioneer this trend was Dolce & Gabbana (hereafter D&G), with its Alta Moda fashion show in the city centre of Naples in June 2016. After that, they made it their trademark signature and D&G continued to occupy urban spaces around Italy. In September, during the 2016 Milan Fashion Week, they hosted a banquet in Via Montenapoleone for 400 guests and celebrated the opening of the new D&Gs' flagship store in Milan. Likewise, the same year they used the city of Palermo and Naples to showcase their collections. These events re-open the debate on the use of public space for private branding purposes. This study focuses on the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of D&G held in Naples last June 2016. For a few days iconic places such as Palazzo Donn'Anna, San Gregorio Armeno and Borgo Marinari, were used as the backdrop of the Alta Moda Fall/Winter 2016 collection (Figure 1).

For the event, access to different areas of 'Centro Storico' (the Neapolitan's downtown) were closed to the general public generating controversial opinions on the phenomenon of privatization of the public space.

Given the international exposure produced by D&G including their shows, presentations, and advertising campaigns, the brand was exempted from paying occupancy of public land to the municipality of Napoli. The fashion brand however contributed with consistent donations, which were used by the municipality to restore parts of the city such as buildings and monuments, used as a stage for the fashion shows. As such, the central question of this article is to explore how the use of temporary events can have a positive outcome for the city and the local community. Although the use of city branding to attract private funding and investments has been well documented (Dinnie, 2011; Cleave *et al.*, 2016; Dastgerdi & De Luca, 2019), few studies have examined how urban spaces are used to emphasize a process that has an impact on both the image of the city and brand identity.

Figure 1. The locations chosen for the thirtieth anniversary of Dolce & Gabbana.

In this article, the thirtieth anniversary of D&G is examined through an empirical analysis of video and media created for the event (Hall, 2006). The study focused on elements that characterize Naples as a cultural artefact that captures the authenticity of Southern Italy and meets the brand values of D&G. The analysis revealed how the urban space is used to emphasize the core values of the fashion brand and how it enhances the image of the city as a historical and cultural centre as the essence of Mediterranean and Italian culture.
Furthermore, the results suggest that this type of mutual branding between public and private, can be a valuable tool not only for promoting the city but also in the maintenance of historic and cultural heritage. These temporary partnerships can have a positive impact on the regeneration of urban structures as well as promoting cities as cultural and fashion symbols.
The manuscript is organized as follows: a review of the concept of space in its public and private domain; the city from physical entity to narrative text; the analysis of the video; a conclusion explaining how private interests can benefit the community.

Cities, private and public realm

According to Aldo Rossi (1982), the city, or more specifically its architecture, represents represent the stage of all human activities; the almost permanent physical condition of spaces is animated with the mutating actions of the people who inhabit them. Hajer & Reijndorp (2001) argued that spaces are never fixed, the public domain comes into these spaces being in flux, often extremely temporarily. Richard Sennett (1978: 39) defines a city as "...a human settlement in which strangers are most likely to

meet". In paintings of the French Impressionists, the flow of people is merged with the architecture of the city and the street becomes the place that facilitates the civic exchange and social interaction.

Amanda Burden (2014), urban planner and former director of the New York City Department of City Planning, stresses that cities are about people: where people go and where they meet are central to the functioning of the city. In her view, the public spaces between buildings are more important than the buildings themselves; some of the most transformative urban initiatives are currently occurring in these public spaces. Similarly, Crowhurst-Lennard and Lennard (2015) argued that urban public space is the single most important element of a city's liveability.

Recently, many studies have provided evidence of the significant role played by public spaces in increasing a city's attractiveness by encouraging local business investment and improving local living conditions (PPS, 2000; Leinberger & Berens, 1997). Over time the use of public spaces has evolved gaining more complex functions. Currently new types of spaces are flourishing, and old typologies are being retrofitted to meet the needs of the contemporary society (Metha, 2015).

However, over the course of the twentieth century, the public sphere appears to have become increasingly fragile. The urban transformation initiatives implemented in the 1990s designed to expand consumption and privatization, led to public space crises. According to Cuthbert and McKinnel (1997), these trends caused a shift in terms of responsibility from public to the private sector. During an interview with Jennifer Sigler the Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas (2000), argued that the nature of a city has changed radically from being public to private. Provocatively, he describes how each urban activity is always more based on commercial transactions. According to Banerjee (2001), places such as bookstores, cafes, shopping centres, hotel lobbies and rooftop terraces are becoming the new urban spaces of contemporary society. Oldenburg (2009, 2) defines these collective spaces as a "third place" in "which people relax in good company on a regular basis". However, the need for new types of social spaces may lead to the supremacy of private over public interests with the consequence of "…abandoning the principle of free, open and democratic access in favour of a policy of actively restraining and excluding those deemed not to belong" (Graham 2001: 365).

One of the distinguishing features of public space is its accessibility of use. The distinction between public and private is not always a rigid dichotomy, there are a number of intermediate transitions where differences may disappear (Rossini, 2014). Similarly, Carmona (2015: 400) argues that often the spaces of a city "…are owned and managed through multiple complex arrangements, many of which are not clearly public or private".

In many contemporary urban developments, public spaces are often used for private activities, and private spaces allow for collective use generating a range of intermediate hybrid conditions (Rossini et al. 2018). According to Manuel de Solá-Morales (1992) public space should influence the private sphere giving a public character to buildings and places that, without it, would be only private. In other words, urbanizing the private: that is, making it part of the public realm. However, if the urban richness of the contemporary city resides in the collective spaces that are not strictly public or private, but both simultaneously (de Solá-Morales, 1992) how can the collaboration of public and private sectors contribute to the delivery and management of successful urban

spaces? How can a regulated partnership between public and private benefit the public life of our cities?
Nowadays, the private sector's ability in the management of public space must be considered, however, the challenge of this phenomenon it is to find the right balance between public and private interests as well as safeguarding the public realm. The Rockefeller Center in New York, for example, is one of the most visited destinations in the city but is managed and owned by the private sector. Initially, this space, which hosts one of the most famous ice skating rink of the world, was reserved only to the users of the complex, however, only after the opening to the general public, it was possible to appreciate the full potential of this collective space that, through the sensible composition of its architectural forms, creates an intense place of social activities (de Solá Morales, 1992).

Identity and beauty, the power of the city

Why did we give up beauty?
Why did we eliminate it from our cities?
... yet we have always known it.
The loss of beauty coincides,
has always coincided, with the death of the city.
(Cervellati, 2000: 35)

Parthenope was the name of the siren who, unable to seduce Ulysses with her voice, threw herself into the sea and died. According to Greek mythology, Parthenope's death has generated the city of Neapolis. Defined by Benedetto Croce (1927) as a paradise inhabited by devils, Naples, since its origins, has always been a city of contrasts, where the opposites encounter and create an unstable but perfect balance. Perhaps the beauty of Naples lies in this continuous search of balance; the strength of its identity emerges from its history which have inextricably linked the city to its territory and its traditions. In 'L'arte di curare la città', Pierluigi Cervellati (2000) argues that the beauty of a city can be characterized by many aspects, but in order to define its identity one must acknowledge the history of the territory as part of its culture. In his view, the beauty that characterizes most Italian Cities is in the essence of their urban structure and the capacity of adapting this structure to the needs of contemporary society. The rediscovery of urban centres, after the dark years of the 1970s, has in fact created a new city branding phenomenon. Cities like New York, Barcelona and most recently Milan have invested in promoting themselves with strategic intent to attract investment, people and capitals.
The Milan venue of Fondazione Prada (Figure 2), conceived by architecture firm OMA-led by Rem Koolhaas, is characterized by an articulated architectural configuration which combines seven existing buildings with three new structures (Podium, Cinema and Torre). The project has transformed a distillery dating back to the 1910s into a new arts centre, where a building clad in 24-carat gold leaf, has become one of the most symbolic elements of the urban regeneration in this area of the city.

Figure 2. Prada Foundation, Milan (Source: Authors).

This sophisticated cladding gives a new value to a generic building and reminds the imaginary city of Beersheba, made of "...pure gold, with silver locks and diamond gates..." (Calvino, 2001: 252), described in the kaleidoscopic novel Invisible Cities written by Italo Calvino, and where each city has its distinctive quality. The book contains a series of short chapters, each of which is intended to give rise to a reflection which holds good for all cities or for the city in general (Calvino, 1983).

City has been studied as a text on its own having its citizens as first authors acting upon and shaping its space (Karimzadeh *et al*., 2013). The city is also found to reflect symbols of a community and its cultural artefacts representing the identity of a national culture (Hall, 1995). At the same time, it also becomes part of other texts like the Victorian London described in Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* (1837-39).

Some other scholars have interpreted the city as a system of signs (Barthes, 1987; Hiemslev, 1963; Saussure, 1974) and bridged signifiers and signifieds and applied these concepts to provide socio-cultural changes. Some scholars have focused on the signs reflecting the fast-pace in which developing cities in South East Asia have changed and how the city landscape shows their economic development (Robbie *et al*., 2003). Jaworski & Thurlow (2010) also edited a volume to highlight how the linguascape of a city informs its inhabitants about the identities interacting with each other weaving a collective memory. Restaurant billboards, for instance, provide information about the food identity localization and map the population of the city. Likewise, street vendors reflect the social class of the neighbourhood as well as their signage, and also buskers and street artists, graffiti, street fashion, ads, they all reflect the city identity which can

be unpacked by looking at the material placement of signs advocated as "geosemiotics" (Scollon & Scollon 2003: 2).

City as a brand

Brand identity, first theorized by Kapferer (2008) in 1986, is unpacked into a brand concept that incorporates both tangible (e.g. quality of the product) and intangible features (i.e. the idea behind which the brand is associated with), hereafter synthesized into the terms 'values'. Brand identity is built thanks to a name, a logo and particular symbols that are immediately recognizable. These elements work as the communication system for the brand and characterize the brand heritage (Fabris & Minestroni, 2004). Being D&G a high-end fashion brand, its value proposition and selling point lies into its brand identity and the maintenance of a dream (Corbellini & Saviolo, 2007). The key-elements in this dream are: people, legend effect, product, and the country of origin (CoO).

Identity is usually constructed through the presence of the family, the founder (people), and the parent house (place of origin) as elements driving advertising discourse (Fabris & Minestroni, 2004). In the case of Dolce & Gabbana, established in 1985, the brand identity is directly linked to the two founders and designers Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana. Domenico Dolce from Sicily is responsible for the leit-motif of Southern Italy in the brand collection. As stated on the website Dolce & Gabbana's value proposition is based on its "strongly distinctive style and solid DNA, based on artisan sartorial tradition and Mediterranean culture of Italy"[1].

The legend effect, interwoven with the product element, 'heritage' (Aaker, 1996) plays a major role, in Italy, where Renaissance is a component of brand history and is reflected in the product design and advertisements to enact intertextual references that contribute to the Renaissance effect (Belfanti, 2015a; 2015b). 'Made in Italy', for instance, triggers the immediate associations to art, craftsmanship and this *savoir faire* that is translated in product quality (Kapferer, 2008; Okonkwo, 2007). Likewise, the sense of belonging to a specific country is mediated by its history, language and culture to culminate to a "collective identity" (Donskis, 2009: 74).

The CoO of a brand, in D&G, is further narrowed down into the South of Italy, which also stands for the major source of inspiration for product design and discursive representations of Italianicity. Dolce & Gabbana's Italianicity is grounded on the idea that when a product is labeled with the national brand it becomes linked to the country itself (Bucci *et al*., 2011). Brands, benefiting from their association with their CoO, remain eternal through time by revamping their heritage and relying on nostalgia (Dion & Mazzalovo, 2016).

On the association between brands and places of origins, scholars such as Kim *et al*., 2016 have elaborated on the *Italian Fashion Case Study*. They focused on Florence specifically as a city that captures its relationship with fashion based on the historical development of the label 'made in' and the mutual branding enacted on each other. Florence has also been investigated as a place of fashion based on the Pitti Uomo event (Aiello *et al*., 2016) that makes the city the first destination for menswear fashion in

[1] *Dolce & Gabbana website*, http://www.dolcegabbana.com/corporate/en/group/profile.html [Last access 27/12/2017]

opposition to women's wear in Milan. Florence gained a lot of attention as the city of fashion (Capone & Lazzaretti, 2016) not only for iconic events, but also because it is home to brands such as Salvatore Ferragamo and Gucci that created museums to celebrate their brand identity and link to the city (Bertoli *et al*., 2016). Those private initiatives create synergies and interactions among the different stakeholders in the territory (Caroli, 2014), and empower the city (Jansson & Power, 2010).
It is nothing new about brands associating themselves to cities, as it is an established practice: Tiffany & Co. with New York, Prada with Milan, Gucci and Ferragamo with Florence. However, in this sense, Southern Italy, and Naples investigated as a compound of cultural artefacts in relation to brand identity, are a peculiar case as the city is known for its long tradition of sartorial workshops for menswear and cameo jewellery but has never been associated to the fashion system. Cities forge their own brand, defined as the "purposeful symbolic embodiment of all information connected to a city in order to create associations around it" (Lucarelli & Berg, 2011: 21). Studies on the marketing of urban places have populated the literature since a long time and the interest has increased even more because of globalization, competition and hypermobility of capitals. Studies span from the definition of the city as a mere commodity to socio-cultural entities (Kavaratzis, 2004), to the involvement of social innovation policy and architectural theory and practice (Reem et al., 2012). Most studies examine city branding from an architectural and design point of view (Lau & Leung, 2005; Muratovski, 2012). Other studies shift attention to the representation of the cities to the outside world (Hospers, 2009).
Additionally, discussing city branding, the attention of scholars has increasingly moved to the effects of events such as the Olympics (Waitt, 1999; Zhang & Zhao, 2009; Herstein & Berger, 2013), sports competitions (Westerbeek et al., 2002; Smith, 2005), trade fairs (Kowalik, 2012), Expos (De Carlo et al., 2009) and some city events (Liu & Chong, 2007; Richards & Wilson, 2004). In all studies, the target audience of the city representation are tourists. Scholars identify the events as branding tools to create global city images, and more specifically 'public relations' for cities (Xue et al. 2012). Some other studies focus on media and advertising of cities (Avraham, 2000), others on the storytelling around cities created to project the desired image of the city (Sevcik, 2011). Nickerson and Moisey (1999) define city branding as the relation between people and the city, more relevant to the present study.
The literature shows the research gap in combining diverse disciplines to investigate the identity of urban places in relation to events.

About the event

Before the event, Domenico Dolce, in an interview, explained that the purpose of the fashion show in Naples was to enrich the brand and tie it to the Italian culture in all its facets: art, architecture, but also 'mozzarella', 'pasta', and all those elements that make Italy famous in the world[2]. Dolce visited San Gregorio Armeno earlier to meet the inhabitants and talk about the need to limit the access to the inhabitants of the city

[2] *D Repubblica*, https://video.d.repubblica.it/moda/dolce-and-gabbana-a-napoli-l-alta-moda-come-non-l-avete-mai-vista/5490/5629?refresh_ce [Last access 27/12/2017]

(Figure 3) to give the opportunity to the international guests who would join the event to explore Naples[3].

Figure 3. Borgo Marinari, one of the places chosen for the celebration of the thirties anniversary of D&G (Source: Authors).

The creations presented in the fashion show, including 50 pieces of jewellery, 99 women's outfits and 98 men's outfits, were inspired by Dolce & Gabbana's muse Sophia Loren and Neapolitan culture. Models wore Maradona's t-shirts, dresses with St. Gennaro's crown (Figure 4), dresses embroidered with horseshoes, red horns, and other elements, which guests could find in the shops in San Gregorio Armeno after the show[4].

The major of the city, Luigi De Magistris, at the time was interviewed to discuss about the inaccessibility of the areas used for the show and presented the initiative as an important milestone to the international exposure of the city[5] (Figure 5).

De Magistris highlighted how such event could bring incomes to the city, resources to restore the areas used for the event, but also job and sales opportunities in local stores that showcased their creations to international guests[6]. On top of that, he used the

[3] *D Repubblica*, https://video.d.repubblica.it/moda/dolce-and-gabbana-a-napoli-l-alta-moda-come-non-l-avete-mai-vista/5490/5629?refresh_ce [Last access 27/12/2017]

[4] *1843 Magzine*, https://www.1843magazine.com/features/the-frockstar-treatment [Last access 27/12/2017]

[5] *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LJVvPg_QGUM [Last access 27/12/2017]

[6] *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LJVvPg_QGUM [Last access 27/12/2017]

term "contamination"[7] to define the event, as an encapsulation of Naples, its icons. This definition was synthesized in the video of the campaign analyzed for this chapter. Contamination also includes the encounter between the international guests, captivated by the enchantment of the city, and the inhabitants who welcomed them.

Figure 4 (left). A dress of the fashion show inspired by San Gennaro, the patron saint of the city (Source: https://www.coolchicstylefashion.com/2016/07/runway-dolce-gabbana-alta-moda-fashion.html)
Figure 5 (right). Dolce & Gabbana's advertising campaign in Times Square in New York (Source: Authors).

Research methods

The dataset used for the discussion is the video created by the brand for the occasion (1:15 mins) and retrieved from Dolce & Gabbana's YouTube channel.[8] We also included authors' participation to the event secondary data from D&G website, media coverage of the event and the following advertising campaign in our analysis. The video has been divided into different frames and 18 scenes have been identified as representative sample of instances of mutual branding between the brand and the city based on the use of cultural representations of Italianicity. Based on the interpretation of the frames as signifiers and signifieds, the visual construction and realization of the meanings has been matched with the branding function reflecting the brand agenda behind the video.
The analysis of the video created by the brand to share the media event shows the relation between selected signifiers and signifiers representing the mutual contribution between brand and city in terms of cultural identity. The interactive semantics from

[7] *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LJVvPg_QGUM [Last access 27/12/2017]
[8] *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jKyI7-jVYMU [Last access 27/12/2017]

Kress & van Leeuwen (1996) has been deployed to understand the engagement of the viewer with the scenes, in combination with the observation of the sequence of frames drawing upon Nervino's (2017) sequential construction of social media posts.

Preliminary findings

The video Fall/Winter 2016 advertising campaign shot in the first weeks of July culminated with the Alta Moda Fashion Show held on 9 July 2016 and published on YouTube on 29 July 2016 collected over 45,000 views. The sophisticated arrangement of sounds and colours offer a 360 degree-portray of Naples. It opens with a "tarantella napuletana", a folkloristic Southern Italian dance. The use of music immediately contextualizes scenes, that construct a full narrative and tell the story of the encounter between the brand and the city impersonated by the models and the inhabitants of the city respectively.

The frames of the video, analysed as carrier of the elements of Italianicity branding the event, are unpacked in Table 1 in terms of visual constructions and branding functions enacted.

Table 1 Findings

Timeframe (seconds)	*Visual construction*	*Branding function*
	PART 1	
0:00 - 0:09	- Sequence of frames contextualizing the event. A summary of places and characters involved are presented.	- Identification of the city and cultural contextualization
0:09	- In the background is a close-up of Bianca Balti's face. - At her back it is possible to recognize Via San Gregorio Armeno. - Overlapping the name of the brand 'DOLCE & GABBANA' and the hashtag to semantically categorize the consequent branding and user-generated content '#NAPOLI'. The hashtag as such will gather all the content available about the city.	- Identification of the specific places within the city and celebrity endorsement. - Bianca Balti is the protagonist of the campaign. - The choice of the hashtag, carrying the name of the city only, will merge the D&G campaign with the content disseminated in the social media about the city identity. In this way the one-time event will become part of the city heritage.
0:012-0:25	- Sequence of frames which portray the models and the inhabitants of the city in interaction.	- Overview of the events from different angles suggesting that the different participants and actions are occurring simultaneously in a big party.

	PART 2	
0:25	- Shops with billboards naming the food products.	- Food culture used as attention grabber in the photo.
0:26	- Male models in front of a street shop in Via dei Tribunali.	- Food culture used as attention grabber in the video.
0:27	- San Lorenzo Maggiore in via dei Tribunali - Female models drinking coffee	- Food culture used as attention grabber in the video.
0:30	- The encounter between models and inhabitants of the city. A hug and a kiss welcoming the brand as an old friend.	- Food culture used as attention grabber in the video.
0:42	- A female model walking in piazza San Gaetano in Via dei Tribunali. - The inhabitants are waiting for her to pass as they would with a procession of a saint.	- The city in this scene becomes a catwalk and the inhabitants are in the front row.
0:51	- A runway of female models in the streets and all female inhabitants are in the front row.	- The city in this scene becomes a catwalk and the inhabitants are in the front row.
0:52	- Male models in Via dei Tribunali eating pizza	- Food culture used as attention grabber in the video.
0:56	- Female models walking in Piazzetta Nilo	- City as a catwalk
0:57	- Male models walking in the streets - Billboard of a coffee shop 'Caffe' Capparelli' on the background	- Coffee is part of Italian lifestyle. It brings the brand closer to the inhabitants of the city.
0:58	- Female models walking out from the church of San Gregorio Armeno	- The runway is metaphorically compared to a religious procession in which the models replace the statues.
	PART 3	
1:00	- Female models entertaining the inhabitants of the city dancing 'tarantella'	- Southern Italian elements characterize the campaign - It is a homage of D&G to its source of inspiration
1:02	- The models become street dancers to entertain the inhabitants of the city	- Southern Italian elements characterize the campaign**.** It is a homage of D&G to its source of inspiration.

1:03	- Male models walking in the streets	- The brand becomes part of the city
	PART 4	
1:11-1:15	- 'DOLCE & GABBANA #NAPOLI' and on the background San Gregorio Armeno with its street shops and stall selling magnets and objects with the symbols of Naples and Italy	- The brand is emphasizing its source of inspiration: the authentic Italian life recognized in the South, and Naples in particular

Table 1 shows the unfold of the story. This first part of the video shows a cultural exchange between models and inhabitants of the city. The models learn cultural rituals of life in Naples and it suggests how Dolce & Gabbana embeds Italianicity in its concept and consequently in its products. Following the time frames, the first sequence (0:00-0:09) shows the Decumani chapel, whose image is presented in a position of power (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) dominating the scene. These first seconds of overview of the place along with the soundtrack serve as contextualization of the story. Within this time frame, the models start walking along Via dei Tribunali (0:01) and it is possible to recognize elements, which recall both religious and profane symbols such as the crow of saints and horseshoes embroidered into jackets. While looking at the models walking along the street the viewer's angle equals (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, 2006) to the models and it creates the effect of being in the front-row of the show while watching the video. The time frame 0:02 shows Saint Biagio Church, represented in a power position, together with the San Gregorio Armeno, known as the street of cribs (0:04). The camera takes the viewer in the front row seat of the runway (low angle) where one can see the models as part of a religious procession in which Bianca Balti, the leading model of the campaign, appears as a holy icon in a position of power.

Throughout the video, facial expression of Napoli's citizens play an important role, each and every character incarnates the image of the city happiness, bitterness, anger, defeat, all strong emotions, which describe the passion of the city. Male models seem to be spectators of a catwalk dominated by women and in the sequence of gazes a dialogue is established between them.

The time frame 0:09 is a close-up of Bianca Balti with the wording "DOLCE & GABBANA #NAPOLI". D&G chose the hashtag carrying the name of the city and disseminated the content via social media. Thanks to this, the one-time event will become part of the city media heritage. The time frame 0:12-0:25 recaps all the places introduced in the first 12 seconds in a sequence under the form of a prism which shows different places from different perspectives (Nervino, 2017). This first part of the video shows a cultural exchange between the models and the inhabitants of the city. The models learn cultural rituals of life in Naples and this suggests how Dolce & Gabbana embed Italianicity in their concept and consequently in their products.

In the second part of the video, the contamination starts with an ascendant climax. Reaching the time frame 0:25 male models talk with each other in Piazza San Gaetano in Via dei Tribunali in front of a bakery 'Panificio Forno a legna'. The billboard of the bakery highlights 'mozzarella di bufala' from Aversa is available. Buffalo mozzarella is

made by local factories in Campania (the region which Naples belongs to) and is distributed worldwide, under the regional brand. This is the first example of food ('pasta'(0:26), 'caffe"(0:27)) to characterize Italian authenticity and quality while reaching San Lorenzo in Via dei Tribunali. The time frame 0:30 portrays a shop selling traditional pastries 'sfogliatelle', signature sweets from Naples.
The different scenes show the encounter of models and inhabitants in-between food culture. This eliminates the distance between brand and city by blending the two into one Italian icon. It culminates in the time frame 0.43 when models and inhabitants hug each other and start dancing. In the time frame 0.57 coffee is used as the element to bring together models and inhabitants.
In the third part of the video, the contamination reaches the peak. The following seconds 1.00-1.03 show models and inhabitants dancing 'tarantella' and it seems now that the brand has become part of the city. At 1.07 the music stops and the video continues with the sounds of the city, some wind, steps, and dogs barking.
The fourth part, D&G and Naples are one. Time frame 1.11-1.15 is a triumph of the brand in the street, models are smiling at each other, and have blended into the city where they walk confident to be part of it. The last time frame is a shot of San Gregorio Armeno with a booth with magnets on sales which recap the symbols of Naples' tradition, and again the wordings "DOLCE & GABBANA #NAPOLI".
Overall, the video tells the story of the encounter of the brand incarnated by the models and the city impersonated by the inhabitants. Throughout the video the models acquire the cultural traits of the city mainly through food and mingling with the inhabitants through dancing and singing. At the end of the video, the models seems to be more familiar with the city and "contaminate" it, as described by De Magistris. The models shift from being the protagonists of the catwalk to being a part of the city. There is no longer a difference between stage and audience, by the end of the show, all has merged together.
The presence of people of the city disrupts a key feature of high-end brands' advertising campaigns. Usually, brands define controlled settings and situations in order to preserve their brand aura and positioning; however, in this case the presence of city's inhabitants to animate the scene create a kind of uncontrolled setting. In fact, media coverage has not missed the chance to highlight how, while featuring the inhabitants of the city, D&G also featured other popular brands among them such as Armani, Givenchy and Louis Vuitton accessories, which happen to be worn[9]. D&G accepted the cons of an uncontrolled settings on exchange for the benefit of being associated with the iconic city of Naples, and for the purpose of engaging the community to show the city in its authenticity (Figure 6).

[9] *Vanity Fair*, https://www.vanityfair.it/fashion/borse/16/06/23/dolce-gabbana-pubblicita-armani-jeans [Last access 27/12/2017]

Figure 6. D&G in the iconic world of the caricatures of celebrities like politicians, singers and TV personalities exhibited in via San Gregorio Armeno. The street is crowded, especially during the Christmas period, with hundreds of artisan workshops with colorful displays of Nativity scenes (Source: Authors).

Discussion

The celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of D&G revealed how distinguished urban spaces, and especially the historical city, are a perfect stage for fashion brands and advertising campaigns. D&G's event was focused on highlighting a specific narrative; the vibrancy and the most distinctive aspects of Neapolitan people to reinforce stereotypes such as theatrical aspects and their adherence to the Southern Italian popular culture. Obviously, the question is whether this image is the most suitable to relaunch the future of a city which is unable to attract new businesses and therefore create alternative jobs opportunities.

Unlike some of Italy's major tourist cities such as Venice, Florence, and partly Rome, Naples is not yet affected by a musealisation process (Figure 7), its downtown is fully inhabited by multiple stories and tradition of its citizens. The 'Neapolitan renaissance' initiated in the first decade of 2000 with Antonio Bassolino then mayor. He started a process which slowly changed the negative reputation of the city for being chaotic and dangerous. In 2018, according to the Italian Institute of statistics, Naples was one of the most visited Italian cities and the trend in 2019 was even better. Furthermore, new redevelopment projects such as the transformation and implementation of the city's subway system has created new opportunities to regenerate public spaces in different districts as well as decongest the city's notorious traffic.

Figure 7. The 'inhabited' ancient Roman theater of Neapolis situated in the core of the downtown (Source: Authors).

In this regard, it is not a coincidence that D&G's event rode the wave of the cultural regeneration of Naples. The event became an instance of exploration of alternative ways to promote a specific image of the city. The analysis showed that the event generated a positive impact on the regeneration of urban spaces as well as promoting cities as cultural and fashion symbols. The thirties' anniversary of D&G, the recurrent use of Southern Italian elements in their creations, and the Fall-Winter 2017 advertising campaign threw Naples on the catwalks, and shopping windows of the whole world and projected the city in the fashion system.

However, despite this global exposure, which enhanced the city's brand internationally, some criticism was made on the fact that the fashion show constructed only a stereotypical representation of Naples. Furthermore, another issue was related to the exclusivity of the event. Popular tourist destinations of the city were closed to the general public for almost 60 hours creating problems to residents and tourists (Figure 8).

As described, the free usage of different areas of the city granted by the municipality of Naples was compensated by D&G with donations used for different purposes. As Anna Paola Merone noted in a Corriere del Mezzogiorno article published on 05 July 2016, almost 40 thousand euros were used for security and cleaning, a figure to which must be added a donation of 50 thousand euros for the Decumani area and 15 thousand euros for the lease of Castel dell'Ovo as well as other private funds to rehabilitate different buildings and monuments.

Figure 8. A small crowd gathered outside the limited access area used for the show. (Source: Authors)

This event opened a debate regarding the use of private investment to redevelop the cultural heritage and historic districts. Nowadays, it is hard to supply the lack of financial resources that many cities face, and it may be necessary to consider the adoption of public-private partnerships (PPP) to enhance the condition of the urban environment. These funding mechanisms often require continuous incentives which can encourage urban investment through tax relief or through property tax specifically earmarked for the development.

The city of New York for example, established in the early 1980s the policy of the Business Improvement District (BID). This policy allows organizations formed by private property owners and businesses to pay a special tax to cover the expense of providing their district with services beyond what the local municipality offers in their area. This type of policy was first introduced in Europe in the 2000s, in countries such as the Netherlands (Bedrijven investeringszones), Germany (Neighbourhood Improvement Districts), in Great Britain, Serbia and Albania. In Italy, these kinds of PPP are not common, however, in recent years they are becoming more popular. In Milan for example the municipality has started several pilot projects importing the BID concept from New York.

The BID model creates a reliable funding source to supplement services and programs to an area of the city. These services typically include public safety, marketing of a neighbourhood brand and planning efforts. The popularity of the BID model grew because they offer the ability to respond more quickly than the public sector to the changing needs of the business community. Moreover, the private sector prefers

dedicated funding sources and control over planning and programming offered by BIDs (Stokes, 2006).
In Naples the adoption of BIDs could facilitate the creation of alternative tourist destinations. In the city there are strong manufacturing traditions with neighbourhoods that were once specialized for the artisanal production of jewellery, textiles, clothing and leather goods. However, the rising popularity of Naples as a rediscovered travel destination is increasing the massive opening of small businesses related to the food industry. Undoubtedly, these food-related activities are crucial for the economy of region and the city, but a more long-term vision for the future of the city would be necessary to consolidate this favourable moment.
The BIDs could successfully leverage private funding and catalysing efforts to reinstate the role of Naples as a creative and Mediterranean cultural hub of south Italy. For instance, the institutionalization of a city's creative districts (CCD) section within the municipality could help to elevate, differentiate and distribute the tourist flows in different areas as well as facilitate the adoption of alternative branding strategies. Potentially, the CCDs in partnership with the private sector will focus on the reactivation of the jeweller's district (i.e. Borgo degli Orefici), on the reorganization of the food areas, but also on the creation of a new art and design district as well as several specialized manufacturing zones related to a brand-new fashion district.

Conclusion

As argued, the synergic strategies between public and private, if well regulated, could facilitate the management and the maintenance of strategic areas of the city, reinforce the image and branding identity as well as open alternative ways to attract new businesses, commercial investors, consumers and tourists.
It must be acknowledged that the dichotomy between private and public space has always been a topic of central importance for the understanding of urbanity and the development of cities. In this regard, as the role of the private sector has increased, the proliferation of different types of urban, hybrid spaces has followed (Nissen 2008). According to Cho et al. (2016, 5) the traditional distinction between private and public realm "seems to be somewhat problematic and insufficient for understanding the contemporary contexts of emerging new hybrid urbanities and modes of publicness." The study creates room for intersection of cultural, branding and urban studies to further theoretical contribution to the development of frameworks to analyse cities as texts carrying an evolving narrative and its semiotization across media. Furthermore, the study enriches the literature about branding and CoO with the urban perspective, often disregarded by marketing scholars. Additionally, this article contributes to the existing literature and re-opens the debate of public space use with a set of new tools to generate value for the city and its inhabitants thanks to partnerships with private entities. A value, which does not necessarily entail monetary transactions but agreements on mutual benefits to produce and reproduce a long-term positive impact. Further research will look at the resemiotization of these types of events considering different media together with similar instances, given the conspicuous use of cities as stage for fashion brand's campaigns. A larger corpus of data with a wide range of case studies will be analysed to identify patterns and trends of this phenomenon. In this regard, the study of several events and cities, will draw attention to the impact that

branding can have on urban regeneration as well as providing scholars with a framework for future applications and policy makers for more proof of concepts to support the practice.

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Envisioning atmospheres of spectacle and activism. Utopia and critical urbanism instruments for the reclamation of the fragmented territories of the WALL and the MALL.

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Abstract

Woundedlands are places of crisis of the civic sphere where architecture contributes to escalate the agency of forces that annihilate associative, differential and commoning processes. They are exemplary expression of the destructive capacity of contemporary technology to increase control, abstraction and exclusion. This paper addresses two salient Woundedland types: the WALL and the MALL. The WALL—a harsh boundary displacing and negating access to the stranger—epitomizes the increasing instances of unmovable and unforgiving socio-spatial divides. The heavily armed Korean Demilitarized Zone is chosen as an egregious walling example. The MALL—a supreme urban embodiment of digitally enhanced urban de-commoning and homogenizing forces—typifies the post-consumerist spectacular production of implanted and exogenous pseudo-civic centralities. The heterotopic metropolitan centre of Sylvia Park—the main *malled* centre in New Zealand—is selected as a representative instance of the dissociative enclaves of spectacle. Two major phenomena characterize the spatial production of these Woundedlands: *pervasive translocalization*—the diffusing mobilization of territorialization patterns—and *multiassociative transduction*—the iterative production of combinant and immersive metastable spatialities. This paper presents design proposition sets that address these phenomena and reimagine these *Woundedlands* as productive utopias: W*onderlands* of reappropriated and (re)creational spatialities. These are cultural responses to the contemporary mode of production, challenging and transmuting its alienating apparatuses. They recast symbols of geopolitical and mercantile warfare into possible analogue worlds with a rich mix of instrumentalities that support existing counterforces. They have metastable spatialities that affirm the emerging forms of communing, relationality and differentiation of the digitally augmented social networks. The propositions contribute to a better cultural understanding of the current spatial paradigm. Alternative discursive frameworks of coordinated narratives with scenario-based and context-specific sign-value articulations support tightly crafted chains of recoded elements that leverage on the agency of desire. Allegorical fabulatory proses envision (extra)ordinary commoning machines for pluralism, justice and jouissance affirm the value and necessity of utopia.

Keywords: public space, urban commons, transductive translocalisation, Korean demilitarised zone, shopping malls

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Part I

Framing spatialities

Pervasive *translocalisation* and multiassociative *transduction* are key phenomena of contemporary spatial production that critically challenge the integral resilience of present-day urban communities. Their progressive diffusion and dynamism are profoundly transforming our society. *Translocalisation* is the constant redefinition of territorialisation patterns due to an increasing mobilization of people and things that dissipate the continuity, cohesion and permanentness of traditional social and spatial networks. Reconfiguring territorial patterns involves migrations on all spatial scales, from the local to the global, with progressive temporal instability (Brickell and Datta, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Kazig, Masson and Thomas, 2017). *Transduction* is a transmutative operation that implies the coming together of heterogeneous forces in either progressive, iterative processes or irregular ones that restructure given domains into provisional unities through the diffusion of an exogenous activity (Simondon, 2013 [1964-89]). It produces recombinant metastable spatialities that become increasingly powerful due to the capacity of augmented and mixed realities to create fully immersive and intensely evenemential instances (MacKenzie, 2006).

To address how the effects of these disrupting phenomena redefine the roles, mission and instruments of architecture in our lived, perceived and conceived everyday spatialities, the Woundedland project studies contexts where this transition is particularly acute: places where this spatial restructuring incessantly produces conditions of radical deterritorialisations and reterritorialisations. In these places, disruptive and momentous geopolitical expansionist interests of primary global organizations threaten the wellbeing of their communities, undermining their resilience. The WALL and the MALL are the two salient types of these territories in crisis addressed in this research.

The WALL (acronym for *wall with augmented liminality*) is the global epitome of divide strategies that displace and negate access to the stranger. It reifies narratives of sovereignty, instrumentally staging stalled, latent or preposterous conflicts with policed, unmovable and unforgiving boundaries that dissociate the locale by inhibiting migration and networked translocalism. A crucial case of ruthlessly enforced walling is found in the key area of the heavily armed Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) (Horvath, Bența and Davison, 2019). The 250-km-long Demarcation Line separating the two Koreas constitutes the core of a complex array of boundaries originating from the post-WWII-designated border on the 38th parallel (Gelézeau, 2011). Iterations, extensions and mobilizations have resulted in a set of highly contested territories, where exogenous interests exert tight control through major systemic apparatuses. The DMZ is a space where simulation and reality are indiscernible. It constitutes a major global political stage where the representation of highly choreographed dramas intertwines with actual confrontations and tragedies. The parallel plays enact pieces oddly co-written by authors of multilayered geopolitical hegemonic apparatuses in unstable internal alliances and wavering external conflicts. Scarcely coherent aims, volatile strategies and erratic tactics inform this permanently activated political stage, making it a *resonance machine* (Connolly, 2005) governed by a multiplicity of semi-dependent apparatuses that often direct their "characters" to perform solipsistic dialogues and absurd practices. Powerful simulative mechanisms tightly curate and control public perception, expression and understanding,

cobbling together objective, symbolic and experiential authenticities that range from the fabrication of spectacular and eventful encampments to the construction of demonstrative prosaic and ordinary settlements. Examples of the former are the *harmoniously* designed Joint Security Area, the *fuori scala* Panmunjom flagpoles and the *experientialised* Third Tunnel of Aggression (the main infiltration underground passages turned into primary "dark tourism" attractions). Instances of the exogenous pseudo-civicness of the latter are the *idyllic* Peace Village in the Northern part of the DMZ and the *assimilatory* Strategic Villages engrafted within the Civilian Control Zone on the Southern side of the DMZ (Seo, 2018).

The MALL (acronym for *mall with augmented liminality*) is the emerging shopping-centre type that in recent years has supplanted the urban centrality of the fixed, everlasting, cathedral-like and fully embedded placeness of the modern American-style mall (Ritzer, 2005: 6–9). The MALL has redefined itself to become an iterating simulative urban core that is at the same time an *assembling* agent characterised by multiplicity and eventuality, and an *assembled* element with functionally recombinant, swiftly scalable and swinging situated placelessness. Consumption has expanded to the point of exhausting even its supreme affirmative institution. The depletion of the geographical referentiality of the prototypical *generic space* of the consumption cathedrals of the networked city (Koolhaas, 2002) has generated an allotype of post-consumption that merges the complex spatialities of flow (Castells, 2000) with the ambivalent meta-public common spatialities of the post-civil urbanity (Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008; Manfredini, 2017;). The MALL, as a more-than-consumerist and digitally enhanced technosphere of spectacular transduction, reformulates the question of the Right to the City by instantiating a completely new condition of what Lefebvre (2003 [1970]) describes as the impoverished "urban world reduced to its economic elements" (35). It indeed constitutes a sort of public space driven by, as Harvey (2008) poses, the relentless dynamics of capital accumulation that, to expand the surplus production at a compound rate, has "the perpetual need to find profitable terrains for capital-surplus production and absorption" (24). This condition is at the core of the MALL's relentless global pervasion in urban spaces with neoliberalism-driven governance, such as the main Australasian cities. Here, the MALL representative was found at Sylvia Park, one of the main metropolitan nodes of the polycentric urban area of Auckland, New Zealand. As an epitome of the modern urbanisation process, Sylvia Park mall alienates itself morphologically, typologically and socially from its prime historical, cultural and environmental context. Its urban area with low population density (approximately 19 people/ha) is in strong contrast with the intense 15-million yearly patronage of the 200+ stores mall. Its social and physical infrastructures are hegemonic, limit community interaction, critically disempower the collective and, consequently, inhibit the pluralistic practices that are core to civic growth.

Counterspatialities

As emplacements at the forefront of the implementation of the most advanced ICT applications, the DMZ and Sylvia Park Woundedlands prominently represent the changing technological framework of our relational life. Given their socio-cultural relevance and popularity—being the top Korean touristic destination and the premier

New Zealand malled urban centre—they are de facto laboratories of the transformation of our collective everyday practices.
With regard to the MALL of Auckland, recent studies have shown how the profusion of the new ICT technologies among all stakeholders have developed the MALL as a new type of civic commons that importantly rearticulates and activates the public sphere (Manfredini, 2019a, 2019b). The abundant evidence of the MALL's outstanding performance in both social and spatial relationality, found with analysis of crowdsourced data from the visual-based geolocative social media platform Instagram, confirms the strong growth of associative forms antagonist to the fragmentation and domination of the hegemonic apparatuses. Network analysis detected an extraordinary community vitality; visual content research captured how the imposed image of the city morphed into collectively reappropriated spatialities of representation and daily routines. Yet, the critical interpretation of these counterspaces—which escalate the associative forms on the basis of the collective, the civic and the political—reveals their subjection to an ambivalent agency (Foth, Brynskov and Ojala, 2015; Fuchs, 2014; Manfredini, Zamani Gharaghooshi and Leardini, 2017). Participatory production—identified as the key triggering phenomenon—manifests an inborn "performative paradox" (Manfredini, 2019a); while introducing counterspaces of differentiation and autonomy that destabilise the hypercontrolled superstructure of the instrumentally politicised and financialised virtualisation of the civic, this kind of production also generates manifold nested heterotopic spheres that heavily rely on the very same superstructure that it opposes.
In the DMZ, investigation of everyday practices showed that analogue occurrences of digitally diffused counterspatial commoning are widespread (Gelézeau, 2011; Kim, 2015; Manfredini, 2019d). Examples range from engagement with momentous identity affirmation actions, such as keeping reunification narratives active by hanging annotated photographs and prayer ribbons on the South Korean Civilian Control Line fence in Imjingak Park in Paju (one of the limits of the civilian access situated some 3.5 km south of the DMZ), images of which are widely circulated on the web, to taking active part in grassroots political movements, such as the masses that took to the streets for civic protests which were coordinated through social media in the South Korean capital, Seoul, to raise awareness of relationship issues between North and South Korea.
The new translocalised and transducted commons strengthen the political and civic centrality of these places by developing site-specific and locally rooted communities of practices and social hubs. These communities establish effective mechanisms that empower the political sphere and reintroduce the right to the networked city in opposition to the overpowering antagonist forces that disenfranchise and dispossess the citizen. The reappropriation of the political dimension of the daily practices and acts at the core of the Woundedlands produce instances of concrete utopias that foreshadow possible alternatives: Wonderlands of reimagined, truly productive and diverse participative common spatialities.

Setting speculative discourses of commoning patterns

The complex apparatuses of the dominating powers are investigated to better understand the significance of specific spatial production resulting from the superimposition of multiple deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation processes. Our studies aim to shed light on the manufacturing techniques and impacts of these

assemblage systems. They address the key elements of crisis in order to develop interpretations that help redefine architectonics of wonder, focusing on the agency of the opposing production patterns. On the one hand, they explore the way some patterns diminish the social, material and cognitive relationality of individuals and communities, eroding the terrain of established commoning practices. These forces are seen, as posited by Lefebvre (1991 [1974]: 50–51), as producing sameness and homogenization ("induced diversity") to create a space of *abstraction* that progressively "set[s] itself up as the space of power." They are exerted by the dominant power of major organizations, working to occlude the public sphere (Calhoun, 1992) and inhibit communicative acting with spatial overdetermination and closure (Sennett, 2018), producing deep wounds in the civic socio-spatial body where societal organs become fragmented, displaced and depoliticized. The civic commons—the most affected institution—are used by hegemonic powers as primary instruments to stabilize and enhance their strength and capacity. Through the establishment and implementation of complex administrative mechanisms and knowledge structures, the commons are cast into propagandistic spectacularised deployments of geopolitical and economic apparatuses. Their conclusive effect is the splintering of communities and the relentless annihilation of the communities' socio-spatial relationality.

On the other hand, there are agencies that support autonomy and self-determination through open, inclusionary, collaborative and commoning-based processes (Linebaugh, 2007). These forces produce and are produced by a *maximal difference* that re-establishes democratic decision making and control on urban life, celebrating both bodily and experiential particularity (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 372; Merrifield, 2000: 76; Purcell, 2003: 578). By affirming the *right to centrality and diversity*, they empower citizens and communities to regain control of spatial production. Through the activation of open exchange and dialogue, they establish "agonistic pluralism" conditions (Mouffe, 2008) with "rich mixes of instrumentalities" (Harvey, 2011: 102) that reassemble the collective dimension of the civic and re-establish commoning practices and institutions that protect the citizens against the attempt of external hegemonic economic organizations to expand their power. Paradoxically, while the transductive capacity of the apparatuses of the hegemonic powers to redefine contexts and create theatrical or spectacular otherness is proportional to its translocalising and transductive potential to abstract and splinter communities and ecologies, dominate behaviours and control perceptions of individuals and groups, at the same time, the intense digital translocalisation and transduction of the apparatuses enable communities to gain independence, self-determination and appropriation of their own spaces.

Part II

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Design strategies for commoning and enjoyment-desiring machines

Individual studies on specific elements of the grand meta-narratives deployed in selected DMZ and Sylvia Park Woundedland assemblages were explored to trigger scenario-based creative speculations that affirm the counterforces instituting commoning machines for cohesive, resilient and productive social, physical and symbolic spatialities of

pluralistic jouissance. Specific *topoi* were used as discursive sites for proses that reimagine utopia. Place-based and sign-value articulations envision alternative spatial conceptions that contrast with the dominative symbolic warfare and spectacular consumerism of the contemporary mode of production. The staged WALL warfare was addressed with critical elaborations that foreground both its dioramic geopolitical theatralisations into a *contingent or meaningless structural form* (Jameson, 2007 [1992]: 126) that adequately frames the practices of reappropriative commoning. The spectacularised MALL was approached as a full-blown heterotopic space where, while citizenship is negated by uncanny financialisation, there is simultaneously a growth of important reassociative counterspatialities that contest the totalising consumption and affirm freedom, participation and land custodianship.

The project proposals are assemblages for the affirmation of the *right to the civic* by supporting the integral wellbeing of citizens and communities, which are designed to deploy the productive agency of desire. They envision couplings of separate and independent entities that institute commons for integrated activities. They outline complex associations of elements that produce *desiring machines* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983: 340 et passim), integrating systems for production, sharing, interaction, encounter, politics, creativity and culture that also generate enjoyment and pleasure.

The propositions result from the integration of two design strategies instituting machinic processes of *translocal restorative infrastructuring* and *transductive restorative recoding*. The first is a strategy developed through a relational method that associates transient (translocal) elements which are spatially and temporally displaced. The recomposition of scattered elements into advanced institutions of the "world in common" is grounded in instantiated critiques of both the abstractive apparatuses and the countering forces. The new commons embody desiring-formation processes, which combine distant and heterogeneous elements in composite assemblages of material and immaterial infrastructures for the activation of the new commons that increase capacity and agency of both local and translocal communities.

The second, the transductive restorative recoding, is a transformational strategy that activates the new infrastructure created through the translocal restorative process. It employs an allegorical, context-specific narrative method that gives consistency and cohesion to the translocal metastable environments. These are scenario-based narratives for the establishment of critical *topoi* of "production of production," where design uses its discursive capacity to create a space for creative engagements with possible worlds (Purcell, 2014), proposing tight signifying chains of fluidly recoded realms of coded institutions: moments of utopia made accessible as parodic or fabulatory proses of the ordinary.

Focusing on the creation of public commons that support socio-spatial relationality between people and their environment, the DMZ and Sylvia Park propositions adopt space-generation processes aimed to establish collective territories and "freespace" where social cohesion and dynamic differentiation empower individuals and communities. Challenging the conventional role of architecture, allegory is used to shape finely tuned machinic narratives involving desire as the driver of change for socio-political (the WALL) and socio-economic (the MALL) conditions of crisis.

The studies do not focus on the necessary pragmatics of built projects; rather, they examine and demonstrate the power of allegory in architecture by deploying super-signifiers that disestablish the exogenous/hegemonic apparatus and recode its

abstractive deterritorialisations. The design propositions reassociate elements by tapping into the limitless/unmitigated potential of narrative, parody and allegory to decipher and critique the existing socio-political spatialities of the chosen WALL and MALL, pulling apart and examining the spectacularised yet covert forces of the systemic apparatuses. The narratives create composite antagonist assemblages to such existing dominant external forces—namely, the political interests of both the local North and South Korean governments and the global superpowers associated with the DMZ, and the economic interests of expansionist forces associated with Sylvia Park. They ultimately reinvigorate the critical discourse on the potential role of space for dialogue in the socio-political and socio-economic contexts of the DMZ and Sylvia Park and, at large, in all civic commons in the age of translocal and transductive territorialisations.

Design propositions

The projects have as primary objective the social, political and cultural reconciliation of the divided spaces. They explore complementary topics that address the tension caused by the disruptive spatial fragmentation, abstraction and spectacularisation of these spaces and study the needs and desires of their disjoint communities. Each topic develops an interpretation that integrates relational, behavioural and perceptive dimensions to shed light on major political and economic issues related to the right to the city. The adoption of new technologies enables the democratisation of these contested spaces implementing *free* spaces of digitally enhanced transductive spatialities (e.g., integrating virtual, augmented and mixed reality). Through an analysis of territorial palimpsests, which use space as the prime medium, the projects engage with specifically situated aspects of complex issues and inform articulated expressions that use critical allegory to envision spatial conditions with alternative modes of social, material and cultural production. Storytelling is used to present new urban commons in which society is no longer prey to the *power* or *commodity culture* of the *disciplinary* spaces of theatricalised geopolitical or economical dominations. Rather, it is supported in its affirmation of by new liberated commons with central, open, indeterminate, translocal spatialities for encounter, sharing and dialogue, where the conflicts of multicultural and diverse components are recognised as positive, creative and productive forces.

Korean Demilitarised Zone

To support the multidimensional reconciliation of the DMZ divided spatialities, the projects explore key elements of the tension between the reality and simulatory spectacle that affect the disjoint communities of the Korean Peninsula along the border. This includes the examination of representative spatialities of local and translocal groups that counter the poverty of social and civic connections by instituting productive relational, behavioural, and perceptive relationalities. Through allegoric narratives of reconciliation, the utopian discourse is formed around super-signifiers that raise complex issues through the association, in nested assemblages, of spatialised elements belonging to the very political conditions of the sites *theatre* (figure 1).

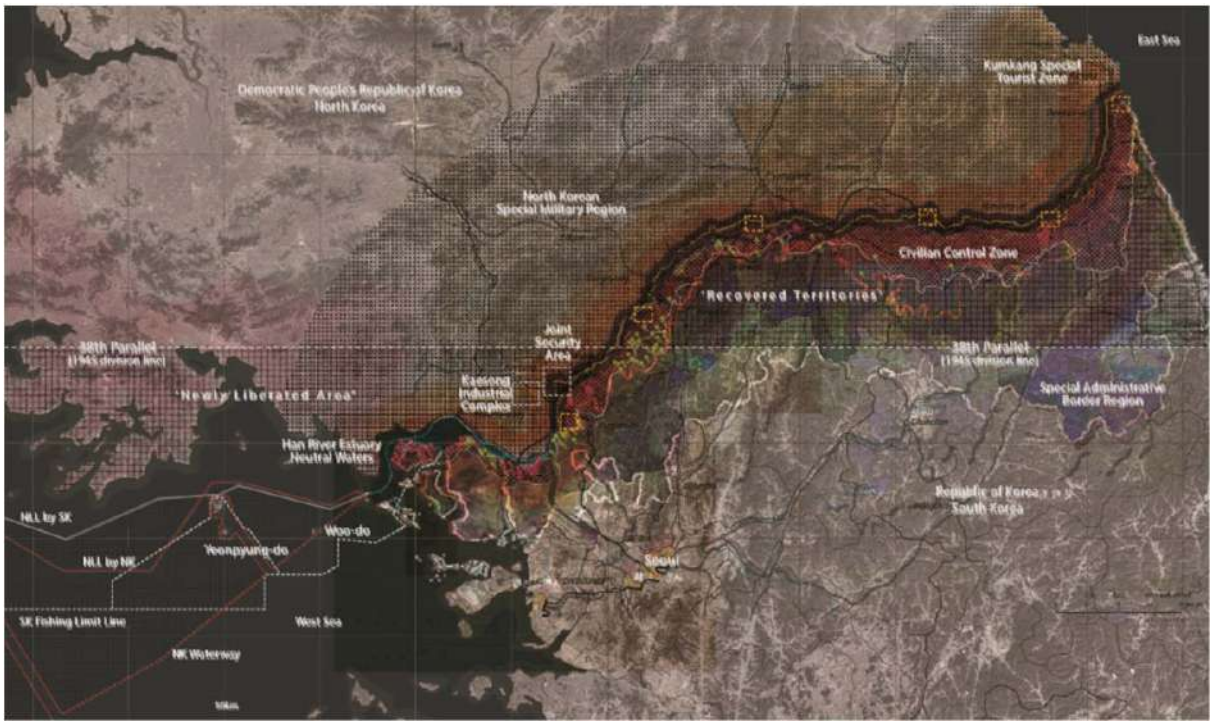


Figure 1. Alex Young-Il Seo. The multiple and somewhat instable and blurred inter-Korean borders.

Sunee Yoo

A refoundational simulative representation to multiply and reveal the spectacle

At its core, this project is a reassemblage of delocalised and transplanted material, symbolic and behavioural elements and events that reveals the DMZ for what it is: a space saturated with political representations of power. Its restorative purpose informs the design of an agonistic infrastructure for new civic commons activated by creative acting of both local and translocal communities. Through parody and hyperbole, it develops a narrative that recodes selected perceived, interpreted and expressed spatialities. The new set of commons endorse free and autonomous understanding, expression and dialogue regarding the hugely variant, dynamic, and ever-changing questions of and attitudes towards the global DMZ. The parodic and satirical representation of key DMZ topoi—the strategic villages, loudspeakers and flag poles—is a political stance that encourages critically thinking of the apparatuses that they represent. The playful disassociation of these elements from their official representational narrative unveils their false appearance and establishes countering assemblages that initiate a foundative discourse around disrupted relationalities. By critically recombining, relocating and rerooting the monuments and scripted practices of this actualized *theatre of the absurd*, and eliciting the countering public expressions found all around the Korean Peninsula, the physical space of the DMZ is transformed into a garden of marvels that unfolds a full-blown *political theatre* (figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2. Sunee Yoo, Manfredini Studio. At the center of the border: binocular view of the 38th parallel north.

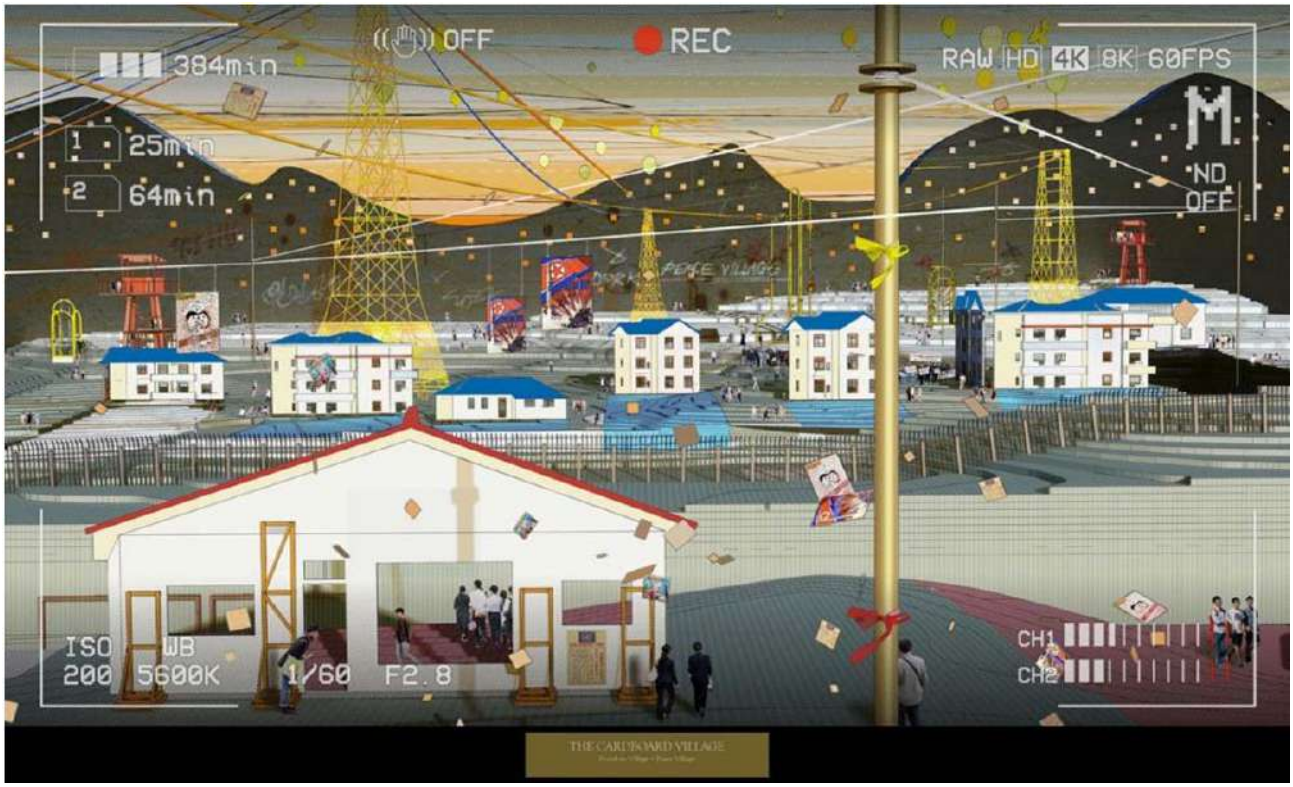
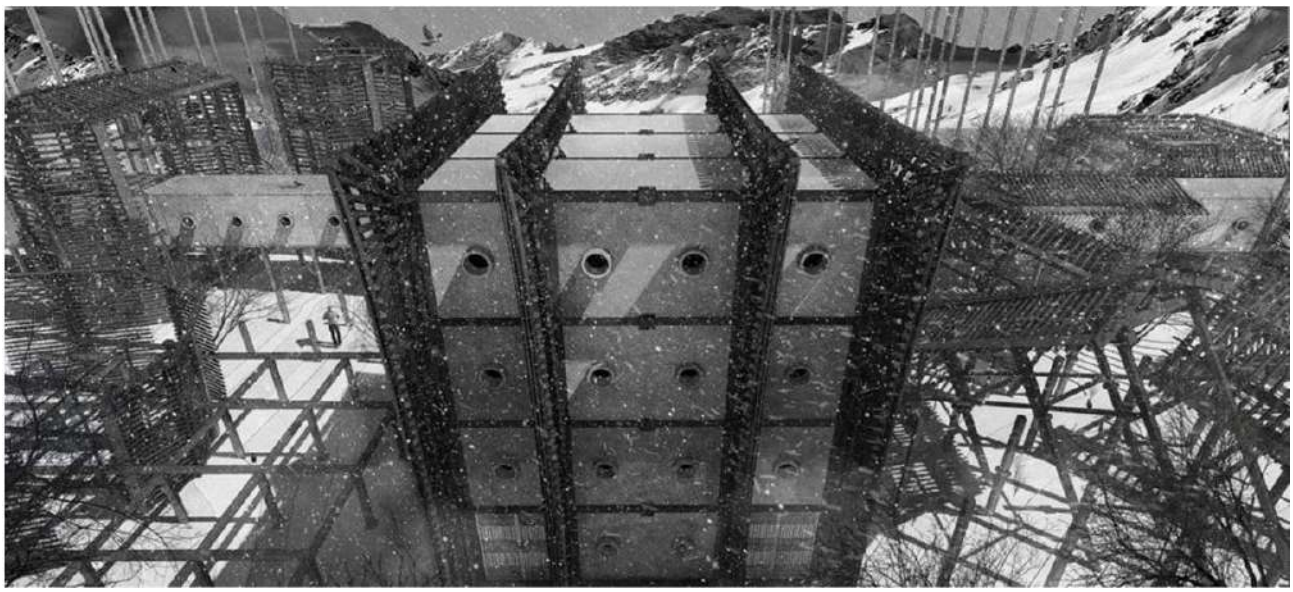


Figure 3. Sunee Yoo, Manfredini Studio. At the center of the border: North Korean "Peace village" seen from across the border.

Tamin Song

Negating the spectacle, imploding representation

Our perception of history and becoming is manufactured through hagiographies that, in the case of wars, have their main embodiments in memorials, such as temples and barrows. The South and North Korean governments have constructed incongruous foundational narratives and biased stories of their common past. These curated representations of history are unable to communicate what they say they do: render the true, objective and holistic history of the country. The issue addressed by this project is not their ability to convey the truth but their pretension of doing so.



Figures 4 and 5. Tamin Song, Manfredini Studio. Memorial architecture for a reconciliating representational space.

Countering the existing self-assured representational narrative, it proposes a memorial of fragmented monuments of the DMZ, which strips back all commentaries and

celebrative patterns to produce a space of emptiness and reflection. The bareness and disruption of information stimulates practices of reappropriation of values, rhythms and spaces. The memorial is a skeleton, which invites users to fill its void with independent acts and thoughts. The imploded representational constructs negate the rhetoric of spectacle and articulate a transient space that allows a multiplicity of interpretations of the shared traumatic past. The project is situated within the "super-nature" of the DMZ strip, a unique third landscape left unadulterated and non-curated since the war of the 1950s. Hidden inside a sealed ecological anthropotechnic sphere, a series of inaccessible pavilions, each alluding to the purely physical experience of the war, "the dead person's perspective," "fainting," "illusion," and "confusion," recast the monuments of hegemonic ideology into repositories of reassociative microstories (figures 4 and 5).

Bruce Han

Reprogramming the spectacle

The peculiar case of the Punggye-ri nuclear weapons test facility in North Korea has been investigated. Once a place that fuelled anxiety and conflict, the site is now an offering of peace with its televised demolition. Everything at Punggye-ri changed. Threat was cancelled and pacification fostered.

Figures 6. Bruce Han, Manfredini Studio. Reprogramming the spectacle: The repurposed Punggye-ri nuclear weapons test facility.

The project, elaborating upon the destruction process, entirely reprograms the site and recodes its spectacular symbols. By profoundly shifting the contexts, it drastically redefines the architectural and social space of this location. In this hypothetical scenario, reterritorialised Punggye-ri becomes a theatre for mass celebrations and festivals of free

pro-unification movements. Instead of dismantling and destroying the relics of the warfare, the elements of a bygone war are recycled and refurbished. The narrative of violence is recast to constitute a forum of open dialogue and productive and agonistic conflicts (figure 6).

Jin Woo Kuk

Deprogrammed infrastructure for pluralistic agonism

This project investigates strategies of deprogramming to support an experiment of democracy grounded on pluralistic agonism principles, where the engagement of the occupants can lead to a collaborative and participatory production of the civic space of the extended city. A bridge-like infrastructure is constructed with dismantled parts of war machines along the base of the Demarcation Line. There is no predetermined function to this infrastructure as it is disengaged from the exogenous apparatus/system. By alluding to the function, but not prescribing it, this experimental and ambiguous *meaningless structure* (Jameson, 2007 [1992]) triggers provocative and unconditioned actions of North Koreans and South Koreans through spontaneous and creative interaction. The hard presence of the new infrastructure does not respond to a closed demand, instead it widens possibilities and diverse forms of civic space usage. Its counter-hegemonic and open articulation enables the radical recoding of the DMZ spatiality of power (figure 7).

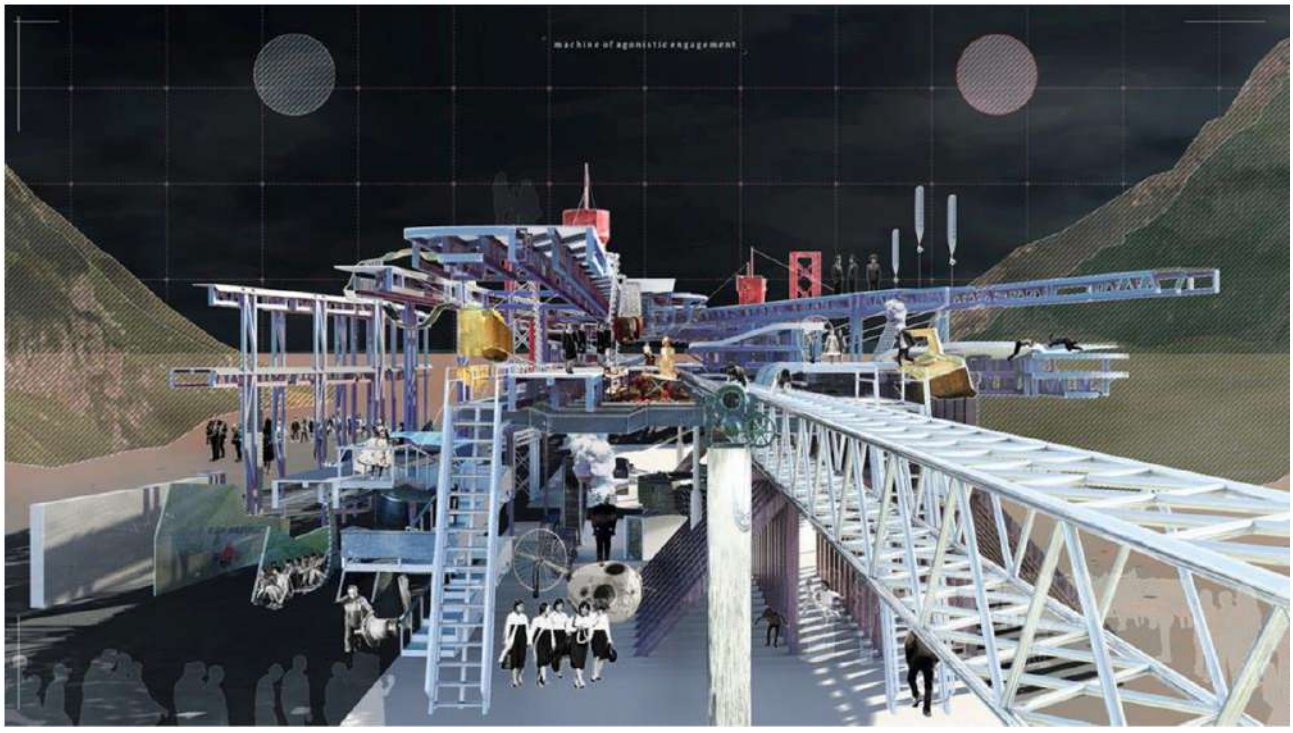


Figure7., Jin Woo Kuk, Manfredini Studio. Jameson's "meaningless structure" at the border.

Gangmin Yoo and **Justin Baek**
Indeterminate and deprogrammed open infrastructure as the foundation for reconciliation in extra-territorial spaces.

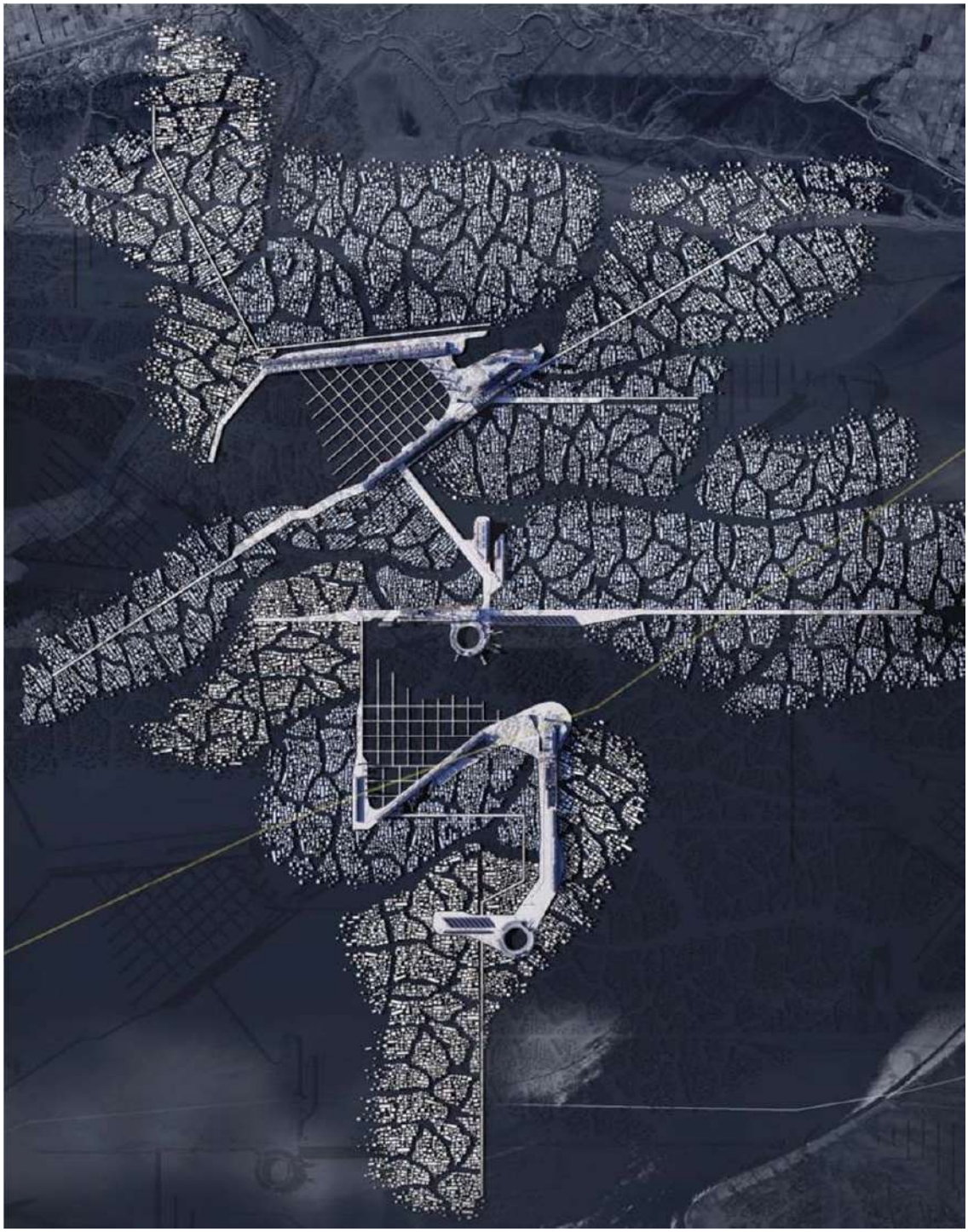


Figure 8, Gangmin Yoo and Justin Baek, Manfredini Studio. A floating settlement in the extra-territorial freespace of the Han River Estuary joint civilian waterway.

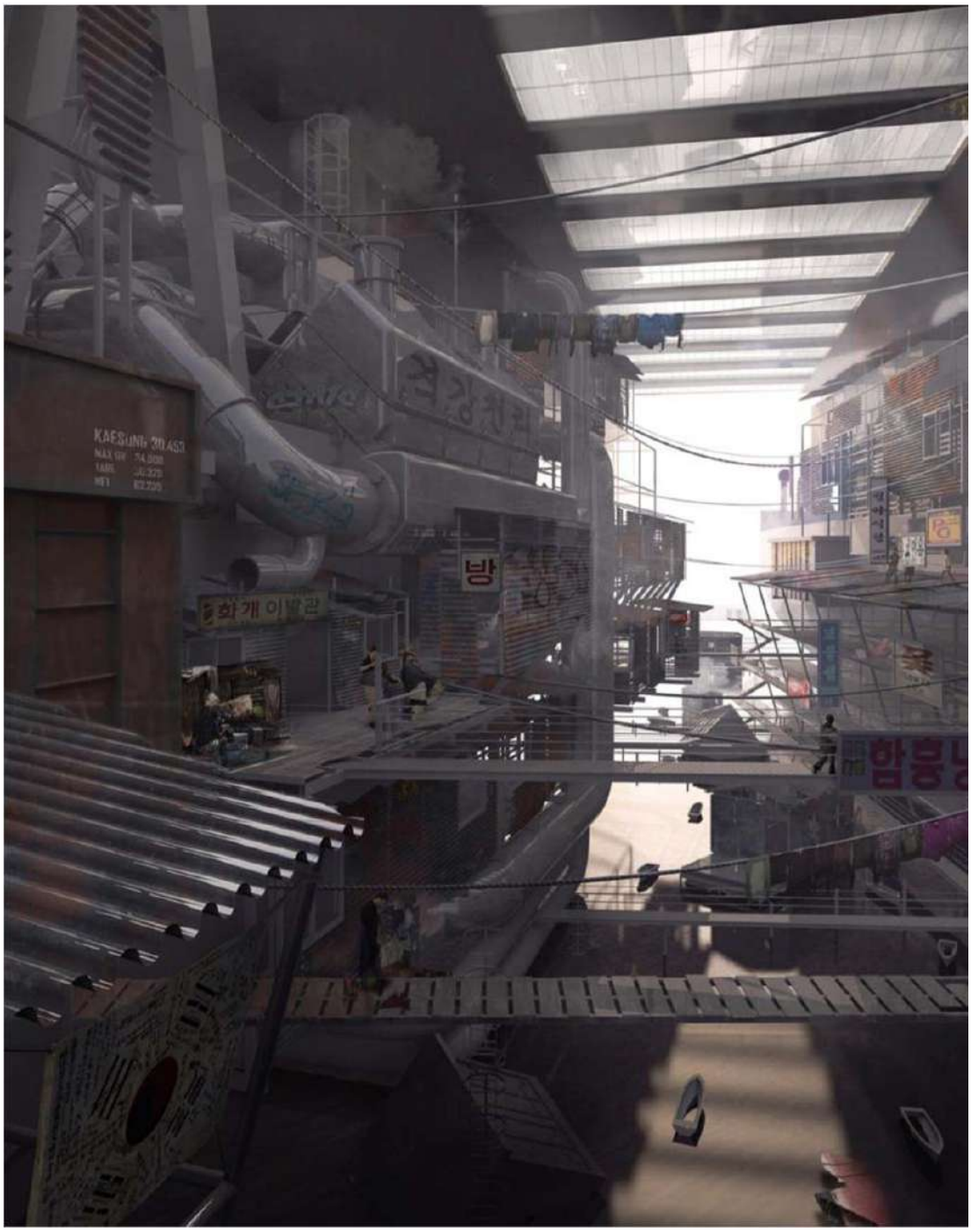


Figure 9, Gangmin Yoo, Manfredini Studio. Urban commons in the extra-territorial freespace of the Han River Estuary joint civilian waterway.

The identity of placeness is generated in the process of spatialised human interaction. In the DMZ, the vigorous process of homogenisation results in spaces deprived of placeness. Civilian access to the site of this project, the Neutral Zone in the Han River Estuary, was prohibited after the Korean War. In 1953, regulations were eased to permit the entry of few civilian ships under the jurisdiction of the two Koreas. Progressively,

fishermen began trespassing the boundaries to seek new fishing areas. The project foresees the transformation of the neutral zone into an extra-territorial space where civilians remap the territory, deconstructing the apparatuses established by hegemonic (super)powers. Extra-territoriality enables the definition of a new heterotopic space where freedom replaces control. Collective amenities, such as fish processing and market facilities, are established in reappropriated spaces and armaments to support self-determination and independence. Over time, the incremental growth of these institutions and floating residences is expected to stabilise the floating settlement as a networked city of collaboration, commoning, identification and reinstituted placeness (figures 8 and 9).

Sylvia Park Mall

The Sylvia Park projects focus on *freespace*—the central theme of the 2018 Venice Architecture Biennale. Each work proposes a new infrastructure that enables the individuation of freespace in the realm advanced marginalisation of the centre. Through a critique of the *fetishism of commodities* that focuses on sign-values found in the everyday practices of reappropriative enjoyment, the projects explore the *spaces of appearance* (Arendt, 1958: 198–9) where goods enhance differentiation, celebrate particularity and thus establish a public dimension of collective commoning. Social, territorial and cultural elements of the prosaic are reconsidered and reassembled, and systems and devices of control and homogenisation are perverted. The hegemonic system of private economic forces is disestablished to reclaim the public right to the civic. Through speculative design processes, the projects produce a coordinated set of civic infrastructures for the core of the emerging associative urban space of Sylvia Park to promote active life and public engagement (figure 10).

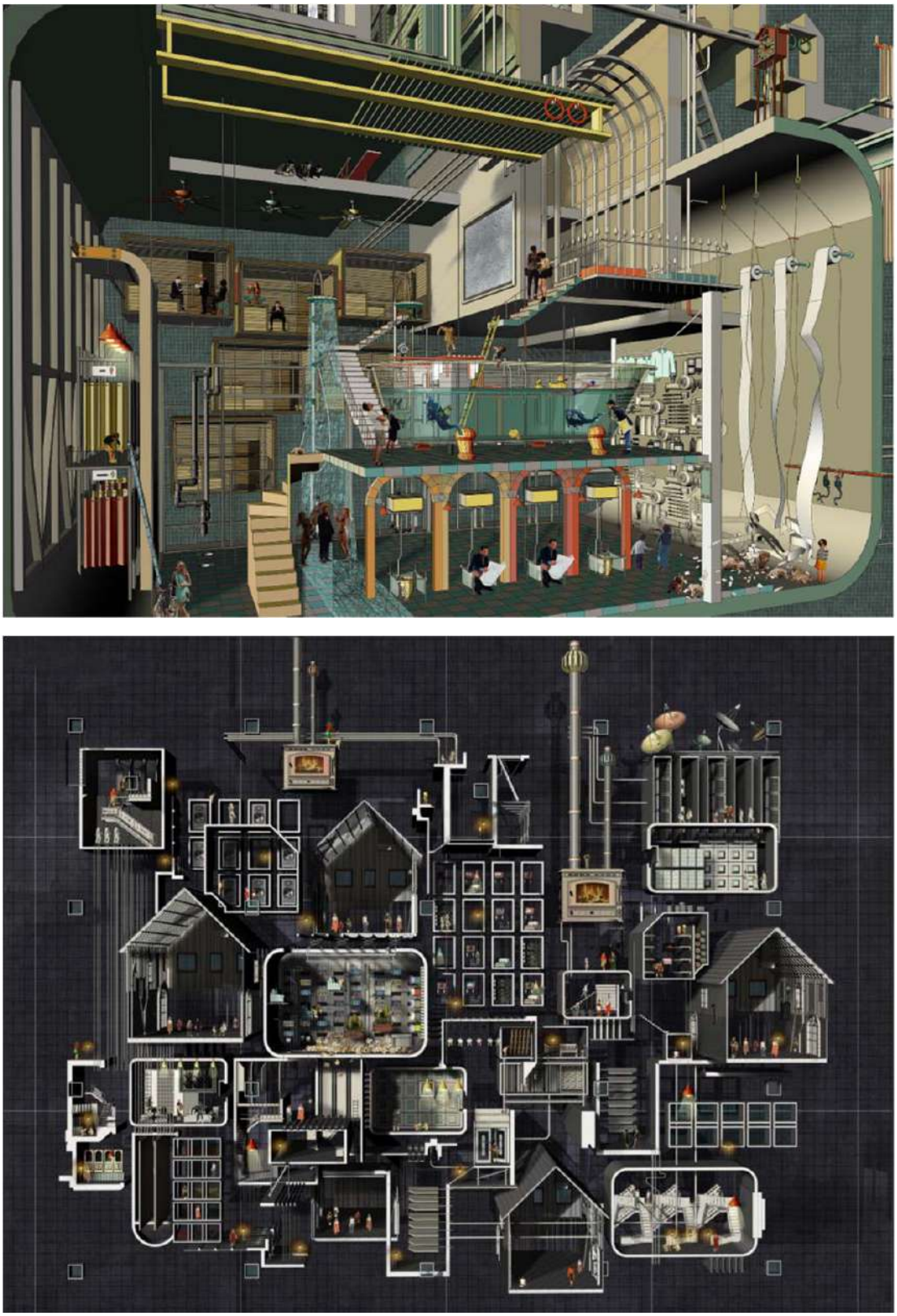
Figure 10, Sylvia Park Shopping Centre, one of the first-tier metropolitan centres of Auckland. The mall is a typical enclave of the "città elementare" (Viganò, 1999) between the northern ingraciated sea of distributed domesticity and the southern productive zone. Building footprint (the mall is the building in white). Source: https://geomapspublic.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/viewer/index.html (adapted by the authors)

Sunee Yoo

Re-establishing the collective commons for the reidentification in the everyday life: The spectacularisation of the domestic in the civic space of modern suburbia.

The simulative spectacle of the MALL enclosure incorporates the domestic. A perfected and de-individualised pseudo-home reinterprets the *New Zealand dream* of the suburban house, illuminating it with style and technology. In the spectacular mirror of the MALL, the family house is dissected and each of its parts usurped by supersession: the living room is the representational arcade itself, the dining room the modish eatery, the bathroom the personalised spas, the backyard the green playgrounds. Reassociating the public expressions of the intimate self, this project inverses the heterotopia of the enclosed mall. It negates the transductive divide strategy of semi-public or pseudo-public enclosures, aiming to reinstate the power of the collective through celebration of its differential domestic prosaic practices. It addresses the existing tension between the commercial and the residential, the private and the public, of the Sylvia Park context.

It proposes a theatre of the mundane where everyday domestic life is experienced publicly; a "space of appearance" that escapes the financialisation logic of the MALL to engage with the personal dimension. The project explores a fundamental recoding of value perception: a *political theatre* of domestic identity that celebrates the New Zealand locale, the familiar and the individual. Within this new domestic theatre, everyday objects are distorted in scale, displaced and misused, inviting domestic flaneurs to discover a new-found appreciation for and understanding of the unnoticed details of our lives. These domestic functions are exposed, exaggerated and overlapped to present a vibrantly interwoven public collective commons of democratic and pluralistic expression that restores *freespace* in the development of urban centres (figures 11, 12 and 13).



Figures 11 (previous page) and 12, Sunee Yoo, Manfredini Studio.
The political theatre of the domestic in the Mall: Backyard and bathroom scenes.
Figure 13. Sunee Yoo, Manfredini Studio. The political theatre of the domestic in the Mall:

Bryan Jung Ho Ahn
Heterotopia of illusion: Little houses on the Hìhillside, Little houses 'not' the same
The capacity of the pseudo-home of the MALL to displace and financialise the practices of the *New Zealand dream* by perfecting and de-individualising the places of the private sphere (see Sunee Yoo) is central to this proposition. By redefining and reframing its associational elements through the condition of density, the project establishes adequate conditions to each of the multiple spatialities in the transition between the domestic and the political. Community-led incrementalism as an alternative to centrally planned redevelopment is proposed as the driving process for an intensifying regeneration of the malled suburban centre. The progressive and cumulative assemblage of material elements and territorialities of the domestic tradition, those that are spatially compacted around core civic institutions and amenities, forms a hybrid heterarchical centre. The system is characterised by radical indeterminacy where every space is constantly re-appropriated and reprogrammed. The profound values of personal presence are intensified to support reidentification within the continuum house-to-commons space. The constant transformation supports a dynamic differentiation while negating abstraction and homogenisation through over-determination. The compacted territories collide to create a space birthing an agonistic heterarchical urban condition that liberates citizens from the division and distinction strategies of the city of consumption (figure 14).

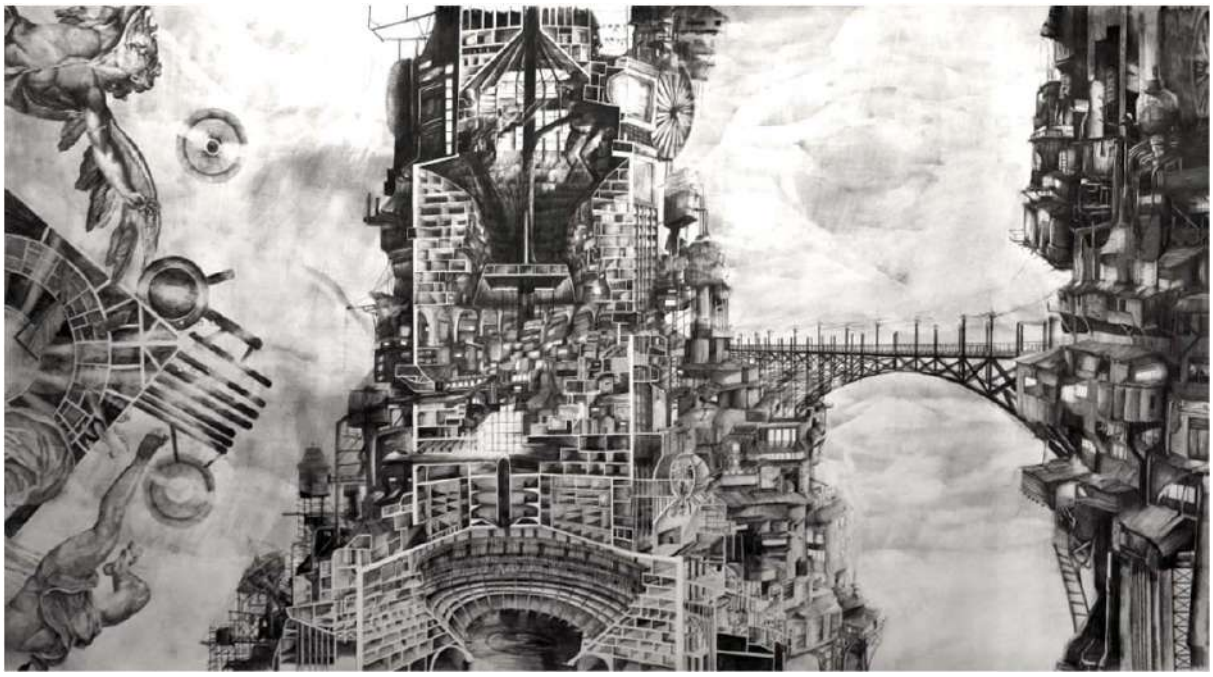
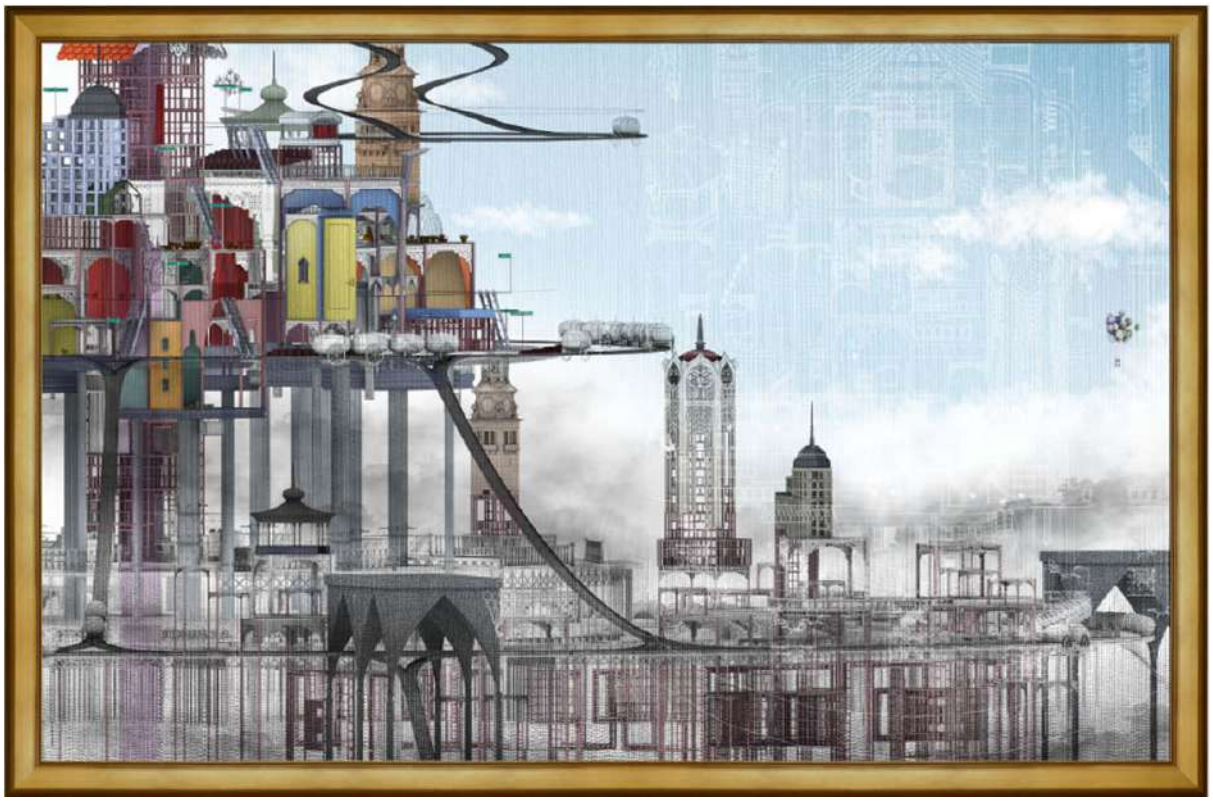


Figure 14. Bryan Jung Ho Ahn, Manfredini Studio. Vertical section and façade of the intensified suburban continuum house-to-commons space.

Sunjoo Lee

Spatialising the commodity-body-sign question: reprogramming the consumerist spectacle to re-establish collective commons-private sphere continuum

This work studies post-consumerist processes in the space of hyper-consumption. Advocating for autonomy and free expression, it envisions a new MALL that negates the strategies of expansionist economic forces and reprograms the practices of consumption. Accumulations of personal goods originated from excessive consumption, which typically include countless out-of-fashion shoes, bags, jewellery or watches, are cast into curated collections. It proposes to address the essential problem of consumerism by considering how the quantitative question should include that of the self, regarding personal investment, interpretation, memory, representation and association. In the mall, spatial interfaces between object and patron are driven by private programmed-obsolescence models of capital-accumulation strategies. These spatial interfaces are the prime material agents of the vicious cycle of repeated purchase based on impermanent values that the apparatus induces.



The research recognises the innate associative human desire and, rather than simply individualise it, it explores the potential of collective commons to conserve, share, exchange and merge the assemblages that constitute and identify the individual and its social, spatial and cultural belongings. Reprogramming spaces of the consumption processes, the project manipulates the spatial interface of trade to recode the short-lived value perception of the commodities. The proposed system is not based on objects' rapid value depreciation, but the affirmation of the embedded use and sign-values. In this new context, traded objects are displayed in curated collections like those

of museums. A theatrical kaleidoscope machine as a "space of appearance" (Arendt 1958) designed to reappropriate, reassemble and publicly share personal consumerist experiences. A productive repetition assemblage constitutes the new institution, using as main reference the domestic veranda, the most iconic interface between the private and the public. The collections are displayed in moving verandas speaking to the identity and character of not only the object itself but also of its owner. This "space of appearance" becomes an interface that enables confrontation and dialogue, affirming the diversity of the self and fostering freespace (figures 15 and 16).

Figures 15 and 16, Sunjoo Lee, Manfredini Studio. The theatrical kaleidoscope machine for reappropriation, reassembling and publicly share personal consumerist experiences.

Gangmin Jono Yoo.

Radical deMALLing: rediscovering the capacity of space to support trangressive acting that liberates creativity and establishes pluralistic agonism

Productive transgression is at the basis of genuine creative acts that strengthen identity, association, differentiation and awareness. These acts overcome the constraints of apparatuses that fragment, control and alienate our physical, social, cultural and psychological experiences. Such transgression is specific to processes where boundaries, both tangible and intangible, originate deterritorialisations and reterritorialisation processes for the reappropriation of spaces and practices that affirm the right to the city. Heterotopic territories with imperative boundaries such as the MALL enable coordinated acts of transgression, becoming laboratories for alternative modes of production that transform the dominating condition of abstraction into one of liberating communing. This project explores existing antagonist practices, such as independent socialisation, expression and barter and their material production of alternative territorial markers (e.g., graffiti), boundary openings (e.g., access through burglar paths)

and productive units (e.g., night market kitchens). These practices are used to envision a scenario where "spatial criminals" reconquer the privatised and financialised public space of the MALL by deconstructing and reprogramming its hegemonic infrastructural determinants (figures 17 and 18).

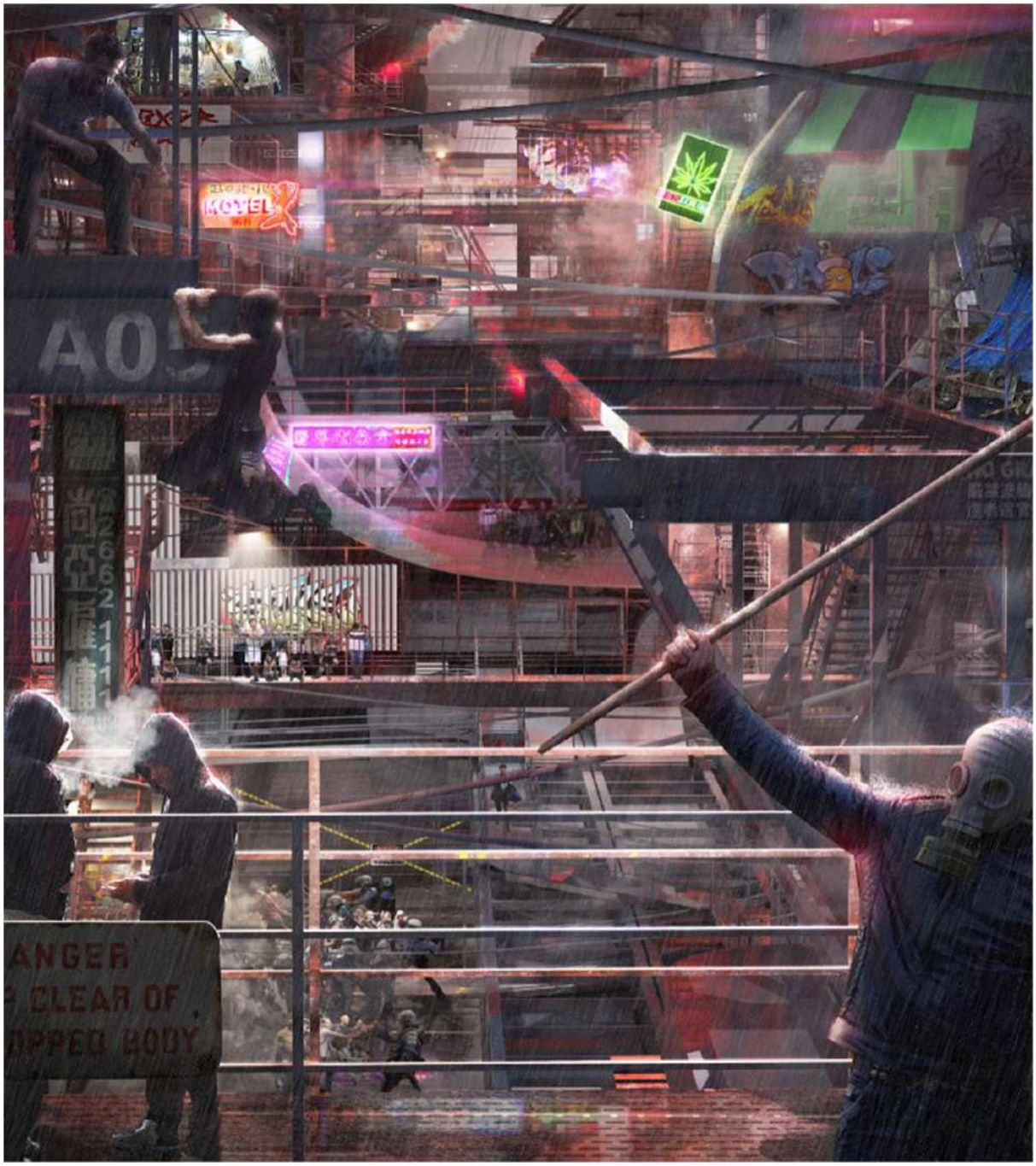
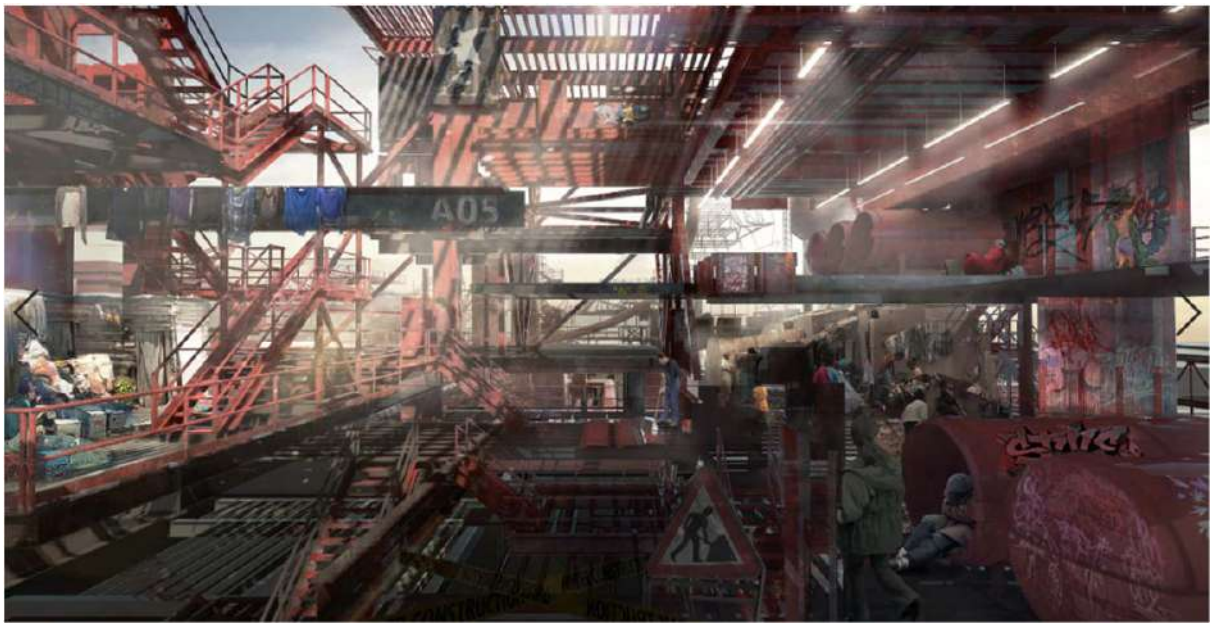


Figure 17 and 18 (next page). Gangmin Jono Yoo, Manfredini Studio. Laboratories for alternative modes of production in reappropriated heterotopic territories of consumption.



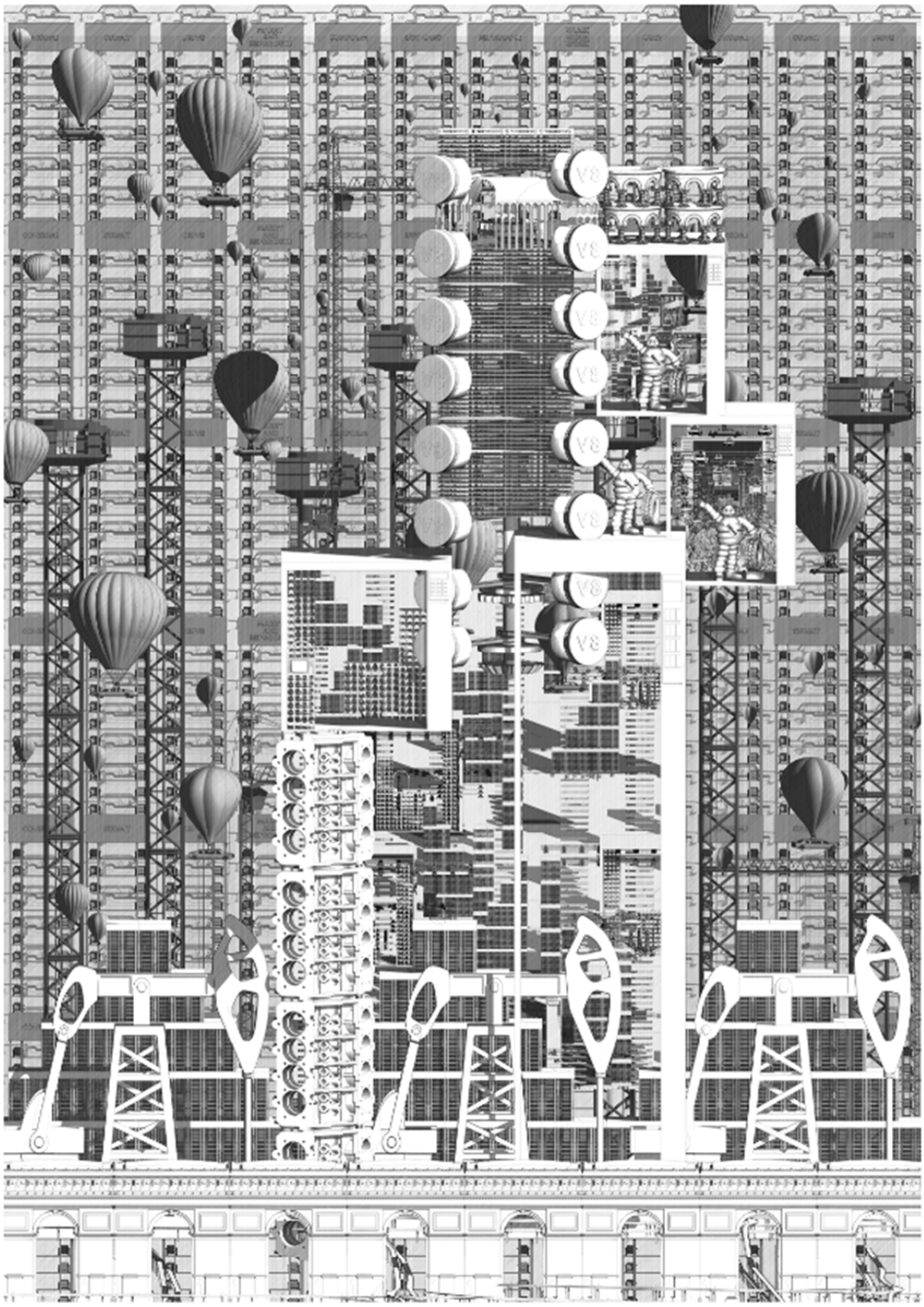
Scott Ma

Autopia: The automobile as vehicle of reappropriation

This project explores the issue of contemporary consumerist culture by examining the impact of the automobile on the deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation of public space. It focuses on instances of subversive practices that make the automobile a catalyst of reassociational and reassociative social, cultural and poietic practices. The modern urban form, infrastructures and landscape have been shaped by the car. Car-oriented development has originated urban sprawl with low dwelling density, limited accessibility (particularly with public transport) and minimal pedestrian movement. Despite being based on a mode of transport that brings people closer, it has produced distributed, fragmented and disconnected urban communities. New Zealand's suburban malls epitomise this urban development model. This project takes an allegorical approach, reimagining a city produced by car counterculture. It articulates a narrative where the car is the centre of human practices and desires. Rather than control all aspects of our everyday life, it allows moments of individual autonomy and auto-determination. It constitutes an assemblage between elements, providing capacity for elements to be combined and recombined in a way that would otherwise be impossible. The *carpark cathedral* (figure 19) and the *drive-in love theme hotel* (figure 20) are proxies for identifying and understanding the liberating potential of the car in our urban society. They expose the absence of specific infrastructure for varied interpersonal relations to develop, and thus the car, which has become the most easily customisable private space of the modern citizen, is reappropriated for this purpose. This intriguing relationship between car and auto(car)-determination of the city and auto(self)-determination of space and personal identity is where the project rediscovers the car as a catalyst for freespace.

Figure 19 and 20 (next pages). Scott Ma, Manfredini Studio, the city of car counterculture: Carpark cathedral and Drive-in love theme hotel as affirmative institutions of individual autonomy and auto-determination.


THIS IS YOUR GOD



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REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

Academic Learning about Public Space.
Knowledge Sharing toward Implementation of the New Urban Agenda

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In September 2018 City Space Architecture organized a conference in Venice titled '*Knowledge sharing toward implementation of the New Urban Agenda*', included in the 'Past Present and Future of Public Space' international conference series started in 2014 with an inaugural three day event in Bologna[1].

The first 'Past Present and Future of Public Space' conference in Bologna (2014)
The 2014 Bologna conference hosted 4 keynote speakers from USA, Spain, Hong Kong and Japan, 5 lecturers, 4 invited speakers, 8 special sessions with 44 speakers, 1 workshop, and 16 parallel sessions for the discussion of 4 main themes and 16 topics:

- *Morphology and Design* with four topics: Historic Patterns: Conservation and Sustainability / Suburban World / Walkability, Cyclability, Green Corridors / Quality of Architecture and Urban Design
- *Multidisciplinary Fields* with four topics: Public Life from a Phenomenological Approach / Perception and Senses in the urban Space, City and Food / Urban Agriculture
- *New Approaches* with four topics: Publics and their Spaces / Lighter, Cheaper, Quicker Interventions / City as a Common Good / Mapping the Commons
- *Emerging Trends* with four topics: Urban Hacking / New Languages in the Public Realm / Smart Cities / Urban Happiness and Well-being.

The conference also included a cinema event, a guided tour in Bologna, a visit to the Museum of the History of Bologna where City Space Architecture opened the exhibition 'Pop Up City. Searching for Instant Urbanity'[2], two art installations and a gala dinner. As collateral events, City Space Architecture organized a visit to the 14th International Architecture Exhibition in Venice *Fundamentals*, curated by Rem Koolhaas[3],

[1] Read more about the first 'Past Present and Future of Public Space' international conference on Art, Architecture and Urban Design, that took place in Bologna in 2014: http://www.cityspacearchitecture.org/?p=past-present-future-of-public-space
[2] Bravo, L. (2016). "Pop-up City. Searching for instant urbanity", The Journal of Public Space, 1(1), 155-158. https://www.journalpublicspace.org/index.php/jps/article/view/235
[3] 14th International Architecture Exhibition FUNDAMENTALS, curated by Rem Koolhaas McNamara https://www.labiennale.org/en/architecture/2014

and the international symposium 'INTERSECTIONS. Expertise, Academic Research and Design from Barcelona, Beirut, Hong Kong, Brisbane, Auckland, Florence', that took place at the University of Florence[4].
The Bologna conference was an overwhelming success, attended by more than 120 scholars, academic professors and professionals, together with artists, activists, photographers and film-makers[5] from all over the world. After that, City Space Architecture worked to strengthen academic and professional collaborations worldwide that led to the foundation of the Past Present and Future of Public Space Research Group, and many of the papers presented and discussed at the conference have been published on The Journal of Public Space.

Figure 1. Opening Ceremony of the first 'Past Present and Future of Public Space' international Conference on Art, Architecture and Urban Design in Bologna (2014). Picture by Elettra Bastoni.

The third 'Past Present and Future of Public Space' conference in Venice (2018)
The 2018 conference was the third event of the successful series 'Past Present and Future of Public Space' and took place in Venice: City Space Architecture signed a cooperation agreement with La Biennale di Venezia within the 16th International Architecture Exhibition (Venice Architecture Biennale) - titled FREESPACE, curated by Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara[6] - in order to be included in the 'Biennale

[4] Read the full program of the Bologna conference: http://www.cityspacearchitecture.org/images/2014-06/PPF_publicspace_program.pdf
[5] Read a short report of the Bologna conference (2014): https://issuu.com/cityspacearchitecture/docs/ppfpublicspace_bologna_vol_1
[6] 16th International Architecture Exhibition FREESPACE, curated by Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara: https://www.labiennale.org/en/architecture/2018.

Sessions', a special program for Universities and Higher Education Institutions. This collaboration was intended as a continuation of the successful 'Biennale Session' that City Space Architecture promoted in 2016 at the Venice Architecture Biennale, which was the second event of the series 'Past Present and Future of Public Space', where we announced our participation to the Habitat III conference in Quito and officially launched The Journal of Public Space.
The 2018 conference in Venice was organized in partnership with UN-Habitat, ISOCARP – the International Society of City and Regional Planners, University of Auckland (New Zealand), and Hunan University (China).

Figure 2. Participants of the third conference 'Past Present and Future of Public Space. Knowledge sharing toward implementation of the New Urban Agenda' in Venice (2018). Picture by Elettra Bastoni.

It was willing to strengthen City Space Architecture's efforts around the implementation of the New Urban Agenda adopted at the Habitat III conference and to continue the discussion on the importance of public space in cities, with the participation of students and young researchers. It was a three-day event including:

- a one-day international symposium
- a one-day international workshop for students
- a visit to the 16th International Architecture Exhibition
- three collateral events: the visit at the Cyprus pavilion 'I'm where you are' with the curator Yiorgos Hadjichristou, the visit at the Irish pavilion 'Free Market' with the curator Tara Kennedy and the visit at the Dutch pavilion 'Work, Body, Leisure' with Marieke Berkers, on the occasion of the launch of the book 'Dream your own future'.

The symposium welcomed professors, researchers and students from: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong / The Graduate Centre, City University of New York, USA / Hunan University, China / IUAV University, Italy / Keio University, Japan / KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden / KTH Centre for the Future of Places, Sweden / Lodz University of Technology, Poland / Manchester School of Architecture, United Kingdom / Meiji University, Japan / Politecnico di Milano, Italy / Pratt Institute, USA / Shanghai University, China / Stanford University, USA / Syracuse University in Florence, Italy / Tsinghua University, China / TU Vienna, Austria / Universidad Espíritu Santo, Ecuador / Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Spain / University of Auckland, New Zealand / University of Bologna, Italy / University of Cambridge, United Kingdom / University College Cork, Ireland / University of Florence, Italy / University of Nicosia, Cyprus / University of Palermo, Italy.

Figure 3. Participants of the third conference 'Past Present and Future of Public Space. Knowledge sharing toward implementation of the New Urban Agenda' in Venice (2018). Picture by Elettra Bastoni.

The symposium in Venice included[7]:

- a session for the presentation of academic programs, projects and initiatives on public space, from USA, Austria, Hong Kong, Japan, Sweden, New Zealand and China;
- a session with ten lecturers, from Japan, Cyprus, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Ecuador, China and Sweden;

[7] Read the full program of the event: http://www.cityspacearchitecture.org/images/2018-09/csa_venicebiennale2018.pdf.

- a session with four roundtable discussions;
- a session entirely dedicated to students' research and activities on public space. Using the format of speed presentations, participants had an in-depth overview of students' research about public space from a various of topics and contexts, from Italy, USA, Spain, Ecuador, Sweden, Japan, Poland.

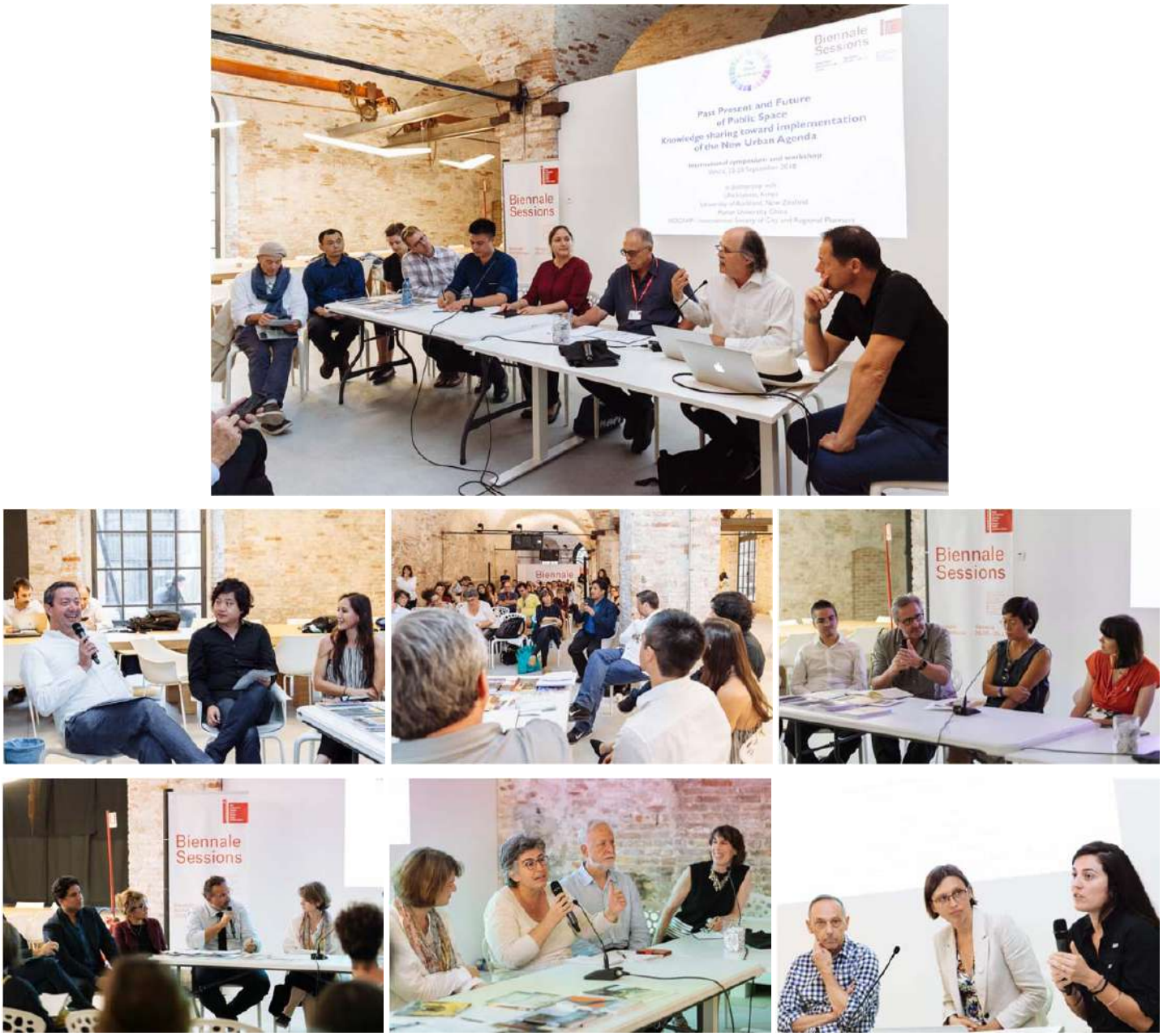

Figure 4/10. Round table discussions at the third conference 'Past Present and Future of Public Space. Knowledge sharing toward implementation of the New Urban Agenda' in Venice (2018). Pictures by Elettra Bastoni.

The international workshop was promoted by City Space Architecture in collaboration with University of Auckland, Hunan University and Shanghai University and engaged

students in lectures, presentations and a roundtable discussion. It was coordinated by Manfredo Manfredini, from University of Auckland.

The conference in Venice was attended by 100 participants from all over the world, with more than 30 international academic speakers with about 50 international Master and PhD students. The outcomes of the event were shared by Pratt Institute[8] and co+labo Radovic at Keio University[9] on their website and also on social media by many participants.

This issue of The Journal of Public Space, Vol. 4, n. 4 (2019), hosts a section dedicated to the publication of several articles that were presented at the conference in Venice in 2018. As Scientific Coordinator of the 'Past Present and Future of Public Space' conference series, I'm glad to see the growing interest of academic institutions to invest in public space culture and I hope for a larger engagement at the fourth conference that will take place in September 2020 at the 17th International Architecture Exhibition in Venice, on the theme '*Shaping Resilient Communites*',

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[8] Pratt Institute, news on the conference in Venice: https://www.pratt.edu/news/view/venice-architecture-biennale-2018-freespace-pratt-participates-in-symposium
[9] co+labo Radovic, Keio University, news on the conference in Venice: http://colaboradovic.blogspot.com/2018_09_23_archive.html

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City Space Architecture

REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

Public Space in the New Urban Agenda.
A Global Perspective on Our Common Urban Future *

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Abstract
This article is a report on the work of our group, the Centre for the Future of Places at KTH Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, and its role as an outgrowth of the Future of Places initiative – a partnership of UN-Habitat, the Ax:son Johnson Foundation, and the Project for Public Spaces. The original Future of Places initiative was a series of high-level conferences that brought together over 1,500 researchers, professionals, government leaders and activists from 275 organizations in 100 countries. The Future of Places also served as the first Urban Thinkers Campus, contributing to Habitat III and the language of its outcome document, the New Urban Agenda (United Nations, 2017). A primary focus of our series was the central role of public space as the connective framework for healthy urbanization – a point we made clear in the introduction to our "Key Messages" document: *The Future of Places affirms the role of public spaces as the essential connective network on which healthy cities and human settlements grow and prosper. Public spaces enable synergistic interaction and exchange, creativity and delight, and the transfer of knowledge and skills. Public spaces can help residents to improve their prosperity, health, happiness and wellbeing, and to enrich their social relations and cultural life...* (Future of Places, 2019).

Keywords: New Urban Agenda, public space, urban future, UN-Habitat, Centre for the Future of Places

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* *This article is an updated text adaptation of a presentation made at the third international conference 'Past Present and Future of Public Space', promoted by City Space Architecture and held at the Venice Architecture Biennale in September 2018, to discuss on 'Knowledge sharing toward implementation of the New Urban Agenda', as part of 'Biennale Sessions', a special program for Universities and Higher Education Institutions.*

This article is a report on the work of our group, the Centre for the Future of Places at KTH Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, and its role as an outgrowth of the Future of Places initiative – a partnership of UN-Habitat, the Ax:son Johnson Foundation, and the Project for Public Spaces.
The original Future of Places initiative was a series of high-level conferences that brought together over 1,500 researchers, professionals, government leaders and activists from 275 organizations in 100 countries. The Future of Places also served as the first Urban Thinkers Campus, contributing to Habitat III and the language of its outcome document, the New Urban Agenda (United Nations, 2017). A primary focus of our series was the central role of public space as the connective framework for healthy urbanization – a point we made clear in the introduction to our "Key Messages" document:

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We and our collaborators worked very hard to include language in the New Urban Agenda on the importance of public space, and to begin to gather up some of the most significant research on the benefits and challenges of public space – a project that continues today. At this point I am gratified to note that the New Urban Agenda has no fewer than nine paragraphs discussing public space, and outlining its benefits. Among the benefits listed are:

- social interaction and inclusion
- human health and well-being
- economic exchange
- cultural expression
- improving the resilience of cities to disasters and climate change
- physical and mental health
- household and ambient air quality, to reducing noise
- promoting attractive and liveable cities [and] human settlements
- prioritizing the conservation of endemic species.

The New Urban Agenda is also joined by other historic documents of the last few years, including the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Climate Agreement. The former also includes an explicit reference to the importance of public space – specifically in Target 11.7, which states,

> *By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities.*

To that end, we have been active in helping to develop indicators that will help to benchmark public space and measure progress toward improvement.

We also participated in the Paris climate conference, COP21, and presented research on the importance of public space and the linkage to climate-friendly urbanization. That was in fact one of the topics of my own doctoral research at Delft University of Technology some years ago.
The New Urban Agenda also focuses on the link between public space and climate issues, for example in its Article 67:

> *We commit ourselves to promoting the creation and maintenance of well- connected and well-distributed networks of open, multipurpose, safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces, to improving the resilience of cities to disasters and climate change, including floods, drought risks and heatwaves...(United Nations, 2017)*

In addition to these kinds of adaptation responses, there is also important research that demonstrates the benefits of public spaces as the central framework for resource-efficient, low-carbon cities for the future. Good quality public spaces, and public space *systems*, play a key role in walkability, in efficient multi-modal transportation, in active lifestyles and healthy living, and in the liveability and desirability of more compact, resource-efficient urban patterns.
Most of us know this to be true. However, it is one thing to have a general knowledge of these issues, and quite another to be able to implement the goals of the New Urban Agenda and the other related documents. It's quite another to have the persuasive evidence that will convince city leaders to implement, and the tools and strategies that will allow them to do so. Indeed, the last part of the New Urban Agenda focuses on implementation, and in particular:

> *126. We recognize that the implementation of the New Urban Agenda requires an enabling environment and a wide range of means of implementation, including access to science, technology and innovation and enhanced knowledge-sharing...*
>
> *149. [Implementation requires] cooperation with subnational and local governments, along with civil society, the private sector, professionals, academia and research institutions, and their existing networks, to deliver on capacity development programmes. This should be done by means of peer-to-peer learning... including the establishment of practitioners' networks and science-policy interface practices...*
> (United Nations, 2017)

This is very much a focus of our efforts now. Among our projects is a database of current research on public space, identifying the work within a number of different disciplines, and what it can tell us about the benefits, the challenges, and the strategies of developing better-quality public space systems in our cities. This is of course an urgent challenge, all the more urgent as the world is urbanizing at a rapid pace.
The alarming news is that much of this urbanization is sprawling, resource-inefficient, and lacking in good quality public space. In fact, in many parts of the world today, even existing public space is under threat, from a range of problems: privatization, erosion from automobiles, invasions of informal settlements, and other disturbing trends. As Dr. Joan Clos, Secretary-General of Habitat III, put it:

> *In general, the urban community has become lost in strategic planning, masterplanning, zoning and landscaping ... All these have their own purposes, of course — but they don't address the principal question, which is the relationship in a city between public space and buildable space. This is the art and science of building cities — and until we recover this basic knowledge, we will continue to make huge mistakes. (Clos, 2016)*

Dr. Clos therefore calls for nothing less than a "paradigm shift" in understanding urbanization – and he believes the New Urban Agenda represents exactly that. (Clos, 2017) Moreover, he believes that the recovery of the adequate quantity and quality of public space will be essential to this process: "I think that one needs to understand that public space is the origin of urban value." (Clos, 2018)

How did this loss of public space – this degradation of the core of the urban fabric – happen? And what does that say about how we can reverse the trend, and build a new generation of high-quality public spaces, as the New Urban Agenda calls for?

Of course, there were and are strong economic influences, and these must be addressed – a point I will come back to. But the first and most conspicuous issue is the set of professional models of urbanization that we are currently using: models that, as it happens, are now almost a century old. One of the most significant continuing influences is the so-called Charter of Athens, a document developed in 1933 by the highly influential architectural association, the *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne*, or CIAM, and later published by the architect Le Corbusier.

The Charter of Athens still has a destructive hold on the form of cities today, and in particular their degradation of public spaces, as Dr. Clos, the Secretary-General of Habitat III, has stated. He and his co-authors in the 2018 publication, *The Quito Papers* (including sociologists Richard Sennett and Saskia Sassen, and planner Ricky Burdett), described the problem: "Despite the increasing complexity and specificity of the global urban condition, many of the 94 recommendations of the 1933 Charter of Athens still determine the generic forms and physical organisation of 21st century city" (UN-Habitat, 2018).

Clos and his co-authors went on to describe the problems in this old model for "space and place":

> *The patterns of urbanization today require a re-framing of the discourse and practice of planning, one that questions the very tenets of the Charter of Athens and challenges the value of anachronistic 'bottom-up vs top-down' models, so heavily rooted in western urbanism. More work is needed to complement the New Urban Agenda, helping to mark a paradigm shift away from the rigidity of the technocratic, generic modernist model we have inherited from the Charter of Athens towards a more open, malleable and incremental urbanism that recognizes the role of space and place–and how they are shaped by planning and design–in making cities more equitable (Clos, Sennett, Burdett and Sassen, 2018).*

The problem with the model advanced by the Charter of Athens can best be illustrated by a 1948 drawing by Adolf Bayer, titled "Order and Disorder." It shows the rapturous faith in a new technological city, built on gleaming superhighways and buildings spaced far apart from one another. That "ordered" city would replace the presumed messiness, disease, crowding, and other alleged ills of an older kind of city:

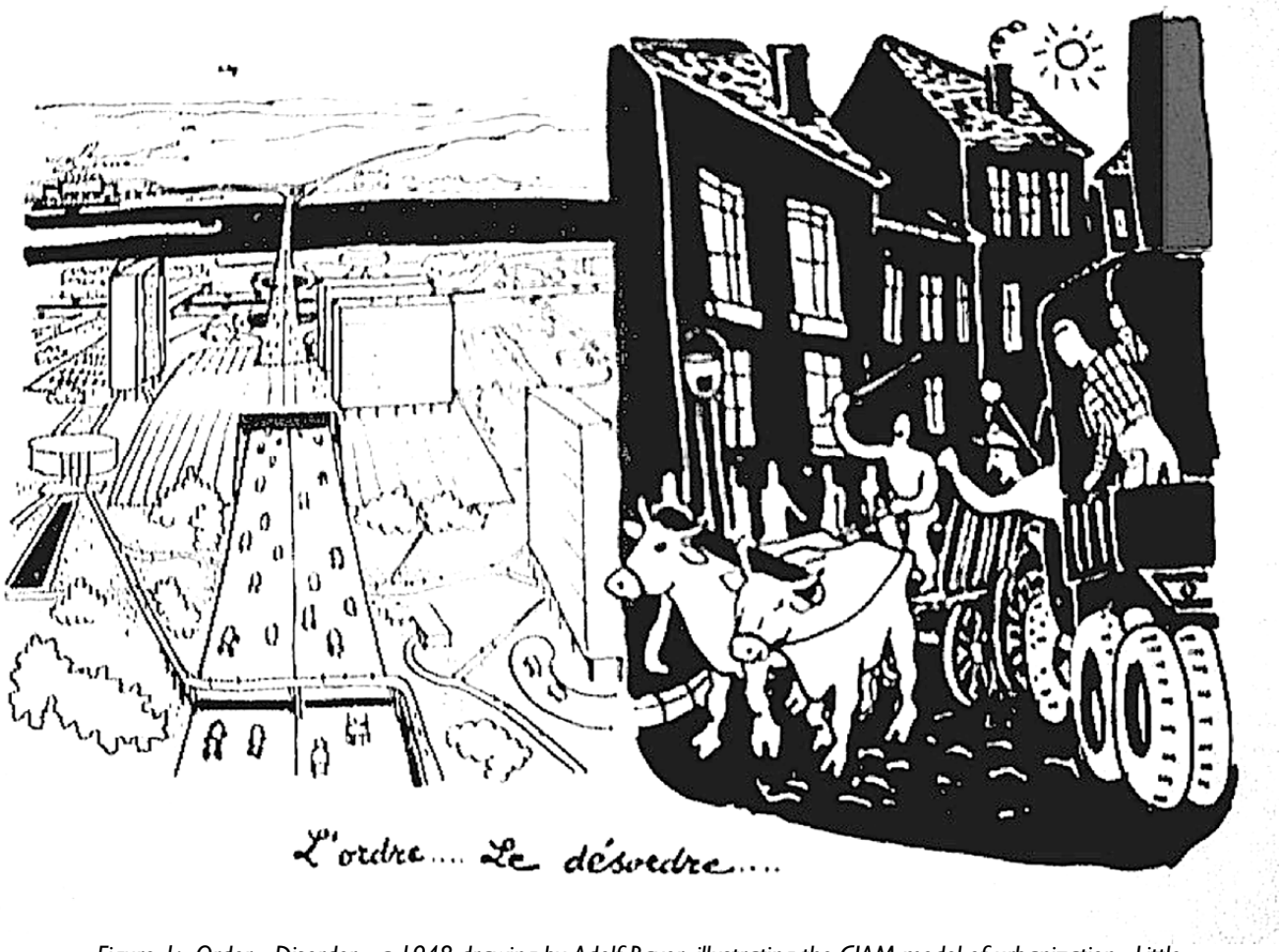

Figure 1: Order... Disorder... a 1948 drawing by Adolf Bayer, illustrating the CIAM model of urbanization. Little-noticed at the time was the impact on a city's public spaces – and its vitality. Image: Public domain.

Of course there were a number of unintended consequences from this model, perhaps most notably the growing dependence on automobiles and other high-resource systems of consumption. Perhaps less noticed was the impact on the city's public spaces, and their power to connect human beings and generate urban synergies. While there were indeed "public spaces" in the new model, they were fundamentally different from the intimately connected, socially dynamic streets and squares of the old city. They were instead only vast areas of greenery, or plazas at the base buildings, or dauntingly long walkways covering large isolated expanses.

What the CIAM proponents failed to realise was that the "messy" street of the old city was in fact a kind of social reactor, compressing people and their activities, and allowing them to mix dynamically, producing spillover benefits in social and economic forms. The spread-out master plans of the new city (or suburb) produced isolation, sterility, and a dependency on high-resource systems to provide artificial connections. Instead of connecting through the intimate public spaces of a compact neighborhood, we had to connect through the capsules of our cars, to the capsule of our workplaces, from the

capsules of our homes. This vastly reduced the spectrum of diversity in the kinds of connections that were made.

Figure 2. Moving from the "capsule" of our homes, to the "capsule" of our workplaces, through the "capsule" of our cars. The system requires high consumption of resources for a comparatively low economic return – and carries many other negative impacts. Among the most significant is the destruction of public space. Images: Riverrar 303 via Wikimedia Commons; Minesweeper via Wikimedia Commons; Jean-Michel Gobet via Wikimedia Commons.

This was the blueprint for sprawl, and in some ways, it was a smashing success. It has indeed produced great wealth, starting especially in the United States (home of an explosive auto industry, followed closely by the oil industry, the real estate industry, and many others). In many ways, the growth of the American middle class was fueled by this form of urban development.

However, as we are becoming increasingly aware, this sprawl model is fundamentally unsustainable. It relies upon rapid depletion of resources to fuel economic growth, instead of a model that generates wealth in a more sustainable way – for example, by regenerating and "repleting" resources, as some newer models of agriculture do for soil and other resources. In contrast to what we might think of as a "repletion economics," this model is based upon a "depletion economics" – and in spite of the wealth it generates, it cannot be sustained. Given our looming challenges in the years ahead, it

seems increasingly urgent that we make a transition to a more regenerative "repletion economics."

This model is also highly problematic for those who, for whatever reason, cannot own or operate an automobile – the elderly, the very young, the infirm, or especially, the poor. While the model has produced great wealth for many, it has also left many others in very marginal conditions – even in the wealthiest countries like the United States. It is these people who are most in need of good quality public space.

Yet we can certainly understand why leaders in developing countries are urgently seeking models of urbanization and economic development that can create similar levels of wealth, at similarly rapid rates. The conditions of poverty, illness and insecurity they face are profound, and it is unreasonable for wealthy countries to tell them, "we lifted many people out of poverty, but you cannot do the same." Instead, the burden is on us all to develop, as promptly as possible, new models of urbanization that deliver similar economic benefits, without the destructive effects of the sprawl model.

Figure 3. We must recognize the urgent need to overcome poverty and its ills – and at the same time, recognise the inherent capacity of informal settlements to support human growth and well-being through upgrading projects, like Comuna 13 in Medellín (above) and Dandora in Nairobi (below). Photos: the author.

As we're learning from the research, one of the most powerful models of a more sustainable urbanization lies in the natural network power of cities, and the creative expansions they produce – expansions of social interactions, innovations, life

opportunities, and city wealth. This was a point famously made by the urbanist Jane Jacobs (1961). Interestingly the same research reveals that the best-performing cities, all other things equal, are also the cities that are the most inclusive – that do not cut off or deprive parts of their populations from access and mixing across the city. I wrote about this research recently with my colleague, the anthropologist Setha Low:

> *As Bettencourt (2013) and others have shown, a city that excludes large portions of its urban population will under-perform, relative to cities that are more inclusive. This is not only because the excluded populations will tend to demand increasing levels of social service, policing etc. More important, urban economic networks, like other networks, benefit from greater connectivity of larger numbers of nodes, following what is known as Metcalf's Law.*
> (Mehaffy and Low, 2018)

Figure 4. New "market-rate" urbanization is extremely resource-intensive, high-emissions, and exclusionary – meaning that it is fundamentally unsustainable. Photos (clockwise from upper right): David Miller via Wikimedia Commons; Coolcaesar via Wikimedia Commons; Brokensphere via Wikimedia Commons; and GTD Aquitaine via Wikimedia Commons.

So it may be that inclusive cities are not only about justice and fairness, but that over time, inclusive cities are better for everyone's bottom line. This is a critical message, offering potentially powerful resources to counter the current rush of quick profits on unsustainable forms of sprawl development that are proceeding around the world today at an alarming pace.

However, we need tools to change this "operating system for growth" – more specifically, to capture the increased value over time from city networks, using this value to incentivize better-quality development, and especially, better-quality public space systems. There are a number of promising tools emerging to do that – financial tools, public investments, tax policies and other mechanisms. We need to develop these tools, and find ways to share them with one another across very different national and local contexts, often with very different political, legal, cultural and climatic conditions.
This is in fact one of the most important parts of the New Urban Agenda: the concluding implementation section that calls for "enhanced knowledge-sharing," "peer-to-peer learning," and "open, user-friendly and participatory data platforms using technological and social tools available to transfer and share knowledge among national, subnational and local governments and relevant stakeholders, including non-State actors and people".

Figure 5.. Public spaces unlock all the things that cities give us. Photos: The Author.

For our own part at the Centre, we are keen to apply research into practice, and in turn, to use practice as the basis of other research that can be shared and applied to better practice elsewhere. This is also a key part of the implementation section in the New Urban Agenda: to engage "academia and research institutions, and their existing networks, to deliver on capacity development programmes."
For example, in 2020 we are launching a new "pattern language for growing regions," a collection of "design patterns" that have emerged from successful practice, and that can be shared, modified and adapted to local conditions. The collection will appear as a print publication, along with an editable wiki "repository," a user-friendly peer-to-peer data platform for capturing and sharing successful practices, exactly as outlined in the New Urban Agenda.

This, then, is what seems to us necessary to implement the public space mandate within the New Urban Agenda – and to unleash the power of public spaces to provide access, interaction, opportunity, recreation, enjoyment, economic expansion, human development, and all the other things that cities can give us.

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REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

Ten years of thinking, making and living co+labo radović 研究室

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Abstract
The world we live not only enables, but it demands interaction with, and an awareness of cultural difference. My own involvement in research and education with and in cultures of the Other started long ago, with deliberate focusing on radical cultural difference since mid-1990s. Main aims behind those attempts remain as established in those early days (Bull et al., 2008; Radović 2003; 2004; 2005a): to acknowledge and celebrate the possibility and an inevitability of diverse, situated knowledges (Haraway, 1991), and to expose the risks associated with any foreign intervention – even when careful and best intended (Radović, 2005b). In order to develop the much needed, finely responsive and highly responsible interactions with cultures other than our own, polemological edge grounded in a strong value system, and "force theory to recognise its own limits" (Highmore, 2006) is necessary. Such interactions contain the possibility of discovering and opening a new paradigm, new ways of thinking the seeds of which (may) exist in the ways of *the Other.*

Keywords: Japan, cultural complexity, sensei, the other

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"When exploring cultures and thought of the Other
only crossing thresholds and 'entering' might be possible."
(François Jullien, 2015)

1 a view from the privileged position

The world we live not only enables, but it demands interaction with, and an awareness of cultural difference. My own involvement in research and education with and in cultures of *the Other* started long ago, with deliberate focusing on radical cultural difference since mid 1990s. Main aims behind those attempts remain as established in those early days (Bull et al., 2008; Radović 2003; 2004; 2005a): to acknowledge and celebrate the possibility and an inevitability of diverse, situated knowledges (Haraway, 1991), and to expose the risks associated with *any* foreign intervention – even when careful and best intended (Radović, 2005b). In order to develop the much needed, finely responsive and highly responsible interactions with cultures other than our own, polemological edge grounded in a strong value system, and "force theory to recognise its own limits" (Highmore, 2006) is necessary. Such interactions contain the possibility of discovering and opening a new paradigm, new ways of thinking the seeds of which (may) exist in the ways of *the Other*.

Investigations that focus at personal experience can be rightfully challenged, but one must never shy away from such controversies. Personal insights get excluded or tames precisely in the way in which the sensibilities of the Other get dismissed. In both cases, such exclusions ultimately lead to the loss of complexity. The inquiry needs to continue while responsibly keeping on mind that conflictual situations are possible. That is why, when writing about my own cross-cultural immersions, I use first person singular (Radović, 2019a). And, such is the case with this text. In order to be properly investigated, the themes addressed here critically depend on a combination of research rigour and those commonly excluded, intuitive, even deeply intimate insights.

The privileged subjectivity and questions which it opens to research (along with multiplication of subjectivities, as elaborated in Radović, 2014) are at the core of my ongoing and unusual investigations, which have emerged from one adventure, an experiment *in vivo* to which I have subjected my own academic and personal life. It turned out that in 2009, by accepting professorial position at the oldest University in Japan, Keiō Gijuku Daigaku (慶應義塾大学), I have gained unique, internal perspective from the previously inaccessible innermost of the Japanese educational system.

Following my earlier visits and research engagements in this country (Architecture Research Institute, Tsukuba, 1997; Osaka City University, 2003) and my visiting professorship at the University of Tokyo (2006-8), without initially realising that fact at Keiō I became the first foreigner ever to be entrusted with establishing and directing a discrete research laboratory in the fields of architecture and urban design in Japan. That is how **研究室** co+labo radović came about.

The uniqueness of that experience demands both introspection and critical interrogation of the very fundamentals, even in disciplines as established as urbanism and architecture. Over the last eleven years, from that privileged position at the helm of *my own but simultaneously Japanese research laboratory*, I was in situation to not only observe (as the strangers do), but also to get profoundly involved in shaping and directly

contributing to arguably unique, highly developed and elaborate ways of thinking, teaching and production of space in Japan, the culture universally recognised for excellence of its design.
The number and complexity of themes to be touched here reach beyond limitations of a short essay, which demands a clear focus. This text will introduce only a set of selected aspects of *kenkyushitsu* (**研究室**), the phenomenon of Japanese research laboratory and, where necessary, refer to relevant parts of an inexhaustible web of references and asides.

2 my Japan, lived

As hinted above, I have moved to Keiō with an already established value- and knowledge-base, tested through my previous academic and practice experiences in Europe, Australia and Asia (Radović, 2005a; Radović, forthcoming 2019). My early appreciation of cultural difference helped develop a sensibility attuned to Jullian's own realisation that in contacts with *the Other* "only crossing thresholds and entering might be possible" (Jullien, 2015).
I have been arriving to Japan on numerous occasions and in a variety of ways. But, in 2009 I have entered to stay. My tenured position at Keiō allowed me to (at least) postpone thinking about an inevitable ending. The stability of that position has allowed me to get fully immersed in that new, and profoundly alien environment. What kept me in this country ever since is very different from what initially attracted and brought me to Japan. My previous long crossings and stays could only hint at what Keiō eventually enabled me to experience – a *life* in Tokyo, the spaces of Tokyo truly lived. Lived experiences demand time. No observation or research method can replace what unselfconscious immersion provides generously; the fascinations and frustrations of simple, boring *vécu*. In *Another Tokyo* (2008a), *Small Tokyo* (with D. Boontharm, 2011) and in other attempts (eg. Radović 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018), I sought to explain how acquisition of *vécu*, for a foreigner still dramatically uncommon everydayness of Tokyo, opens ever-new realities of its complex, layered urbanity. One needs to understand that here foreigners constitute only 1.5 of total population (in comparison with 14% in Paris, 36% in London, 37 in New York). Being almost monocultural, Tokyo offers very little to be compared. It enables *écart*, juxtapositions favoured in linguistic studies by Jullien, who also strives to place cultures not against each other, but "on either side of *an exploratory divide*, so that they can 'reflect' each other" (Jullien, 2018, my italics). Such thinking allows for extended explorations without losing the key point, which is here in the very fact that this city (culture), over time, *remains* unusual. Unusual, untameably *other* – to me.
This paper is yet another node in the web of explorations, the spider-maker of which is not (only) me, but my life in Tokyo itself.
Due to its sheer size, complexity and irreducible complexity across scales (Radović, 2019a), in Tokyo an observant foreigner easily can comprehend how, indeed, "when one speaks about the city, one speaks about something else" (Stanek, 2017) and how this particular city, as invoked by Kisho Kurokawa, is not a single entity at all, that it stubbornly remains an assemblage of "500 villages" (Kuma, 2017). The experience of such complexity, in its full and capricious foreignness, demands both factual, objective

and a deeply experiential, subjective lived insights. What is new in my own research comes from the above-described privileged vantage point; a foreigner is rarely granted the perspectives arising from everydayness of *vécu*; to a local the otherness of Tokyo remains elusive. The combination of those two, commonly and logically separate perspectives facilitates interesting intertwinings of Tokyo as simultaneously conceived, perceived and lived – by a researcher. Precisely that is what keeps me and my co+labo radović going.

Long ago I have learned to see cities as spatial projections of society (Lefebvre, 1996). In that sense, the items on Barry Shelton's list of characteristics that define urbanism of Tokyo, for an architect and urbanist usefully visualize this city and the power producing its distinctive spatial form(lessness). His observations exposed the Japanese capital as decidedly non-hierarchical, horizontal and piecemeal, consisting of decentralized patchworks, as a "shifting and cloud-like order" which is temporary, flexible, with vague boundaries between objects and surroundings (Shelton, 1999; Radović, 2008). Ashihara suggest that there is a *Hidden Order* (1989) in it, and I like follow from there, exploring the continuing efforts of Japanese elites to "Westernise", without enacting any factual change. These contradictory efforts that make an ingrained fuzziness desirable are fundamentally culture-specific. Since their first encounters, Japanese elites flirt with the West. In the second part of the 19th century, after the defeat in World War 2, the post-bubble and in the ongoing period of an uncritical neoliberal rule, global capital was increasing its presence in this country. At the same time, the polite welcoming embrace of Japanese elites was mediated by a myriad of formal and informal rules, with a single aim to keep (the image of) the outcomes within their favoured, largely imaginary frames, the self-imagery presented, both internally and externally, as culturally desirable.

We can't expand on particular places and practices which explain the impacts of that attitude on Japanese urbanism. At this point we have to return to the main theme of this essay, that of the Japanese research laboratory. It suffices to say that these same (in)flexible rules of (non)acceptance apply to any institutional model imported to Japan – from legal system to the idea of University.

3 the world of Japanese research laboratory

Research laboratories are fundamental organisational units of Japanese universities, within which the *kenkyushitsu* system operates as a specific, culturally conditioned – and conditioning – phenomenon. To me, on the basis of my immediate experiences from two oldest and arguably most reputable tertiary institutions in the country – public University of Tokyo and private Keiō University – the laboratory is an epitome of both the strengths and the weaknesses of overall educational system. The laboratories (again, conditionally - *to me*) embody the best and the worst in that deeply traditionalist power structure, which is expected to simultaneously strengthen its dubious, resilient national(istic) essence and to advance the much revered global(ist), strive towards the cutting-edge modernity and gain an all-important international recognition. They are, at the same time, highly autonomous engines for production and dissemination of knowledge, and well-oiled mechanisms for ensuring the perpetuity of an outdated, top-down essence of that structure. This contradiction shines further light at an overall paradoxical nature of broader power relations in Japan: a rigid and deeply flawed system rests on a vibrant, profoundly decentralised, variously bottom-up (em)powered

network on units. The maze created by these loosely coordinated small, individual, agile micro-units of educational system duly reflects the complexities and intricacies of the broadest social order, as captured by Shelton's simplified summary of disorderly Japanese urbanism. The roots of this hidden order, which finds its accurate projection in Japanese cities, reach deep into the established power relations of Japan at large. That is a complex, both mystified and well-researched theme. For our purpose, only the subtitle of Taggart Murphy's excellent *Japan and the Shackles of the Past* (2014) tells enough.

At their best, *kenkyushitsu* could be seen as semi-independent, boutique-like schools within the schools, the specialised units entrusted with crafting and delivery of much of post-graduate education. They are mutually more competitive than collaborative, seeking external recognition through innovation which, in return, establishes their status within and beyond the home institution and, in some instances, internationally. Being insular, they operate with, to a foreigner surprising level of autonomy, which can reach true autarchy. That is the freedom largely based on independent budgets, especially when the laboratory is successful in obtaining external research funding (both competitive and non-competitive, all with many conditions which ensure varying levels of control and obedience) and – on the status of the laboratory leader after whom the laboratories get named. The *sensei*.

In order to explain what the research laboratory is, we need to know what is *sensei*? Asking "what" is more appropriate than to seek "who" the *sensei* is because, in essence, Japanese professors are more (the parts of) an institution then particular individuals. The core of what the System demands from its professors gets best exposed through observations of standard procedures for succession of a person at the helm of the laboratory. Those top positions are rarely, if ever open to competitive applications. They get crafted to fit a favoured and carefully predetermined candidate. The underpinning, deeply engrained Confucian values celebrate blandness, impersonality and replaceability, which makes obedient service an unquestionable bottom line, a *conditio sine qua non*. The quality is a welcome, much desired bonus. The key expectation is that, by the time of promotion into the professorial position, the successor will be groomed to not only *know* the "system", but to *be* the system. That expectation favours slow climbing up the ladders of a particular institution, with only occasional, lateral, and equally well prepared and staged imports. Those slow and structured ways of climbing up the ladders of academia ensure that those who reach the very top, regardless if they are the true believers or only the consenting cynics, are the reliable guardians of core values. After that, the power of individual professors and, in parallel to that, the recognition of their laboratories grow with time and experience, multiplied by intricacies of involvement in a variety of formal and informal associations, individual and group bondings, which all acknowledge the ultimate power of seniority, belonging to relevant networks and – (self)discipline. An important aspect in that process are endless meetings, committees and consultations, the collective exercises in perfecting already elaborate hints and gestures, the adoption and refinement of decorum which both (re)defines, and is defined by *kata*, the "proper ways" (De Mente, 2003) and – *ruru* (rules). Many of those rules remain purposefully unwritten, not intuitive, fuzzy, open-ended, often mutually exclusive and subtly referential – demanding explanations and guidance by those with long experience within the system. After all, *sensei* 先生means –

"born before", the experienced one. In any case, those rules define (without anyone spelling that out) who sits next to whom in the meetings, with whom one drinks at *izakaya* parties, for whom *everyone* should vote, when to press an issue or step back and save face, at whom to laugh and at whose words to always nod with appreciation. These rituals create invisible gates and walls, openings and gaps through which the risk-averse society makes any lateral access into the power structure, or any other surprise on the way up, well controlled or, simply, impossible.

Is that bad? My cultural belonging says – yes. My years of work with cultures of *the Other* helped me comprehend the profundity of Ferrarotti's declaration that it is better "not to understand, rather than to colour and imprison the object of analysis with conceptions that are, in the final analysis, preconceptions" (Dale, 1986). Everything described above is part of what makes Japan – Japan.

In one of his masterful observations of the Japanese ways, Roland Barthes recognised in those obligatory bows "a certain exercise of the void (as we might expect within a strong code but one signifying 'nothing'). Two bodies bow very low before one another (arms, knees, head always remaining in a decreed place), according to subtly coded degrees of depth" (Barthes, 1982). It takes time and immersion to comprehend the fundamental emptiness which "by the scrupulosity of its codes, the distinct graphism of its gestures, and even when it seems to us exaggeratedly respectful" (ibid.) tends to be seen and interpreted by less insightful strangers as deeply meaningful. The rituals, *kata* and rules only allow time for deferral, for non-judgment to let the system decide, to leave space to the code itself to confirm not necessarily the reasons behind its own existence, but to confirm itself. As Taggart pointed out, "generations of foreign writers have attempted to put their fingers on just what it is they find so alluring about Japan. The most successful at this exercise […] have pointed to an acceptance of things as they are" (Taggart Murphy, 2014).

The fact that **先生**, *sensei*, literally translated means only "born before" expresses clearly enough the system founded on seniority, hierarchy and, of course, it hints at the proportionate level of responsibility. At the University of Tokyo, Keiō and elsewhere, the colleagues who were (and still are) kindly trying to help me understand how the system works all used the same analogy, that between Japanese professors and the *samurai*. In *The Eight Virtues of the Samurai*, Nitobé (2016) listed righteousness, courage, benevolence, respect, honesty, honour, loyalty and self-control. I list those attributes here only to illustrate the magnitude of the challenge caused by my appointment at Keiō – both to this particular *sensei*, and to the system itself. Me, the *samurai*?

But, before returning to personal side of this story, we need to explain that laboratory professors hold an almost frightening level of power which he (with very few exceptions it is a man, the patriarch; in Department where I teach, current male-female ratio is 27:1) can exercise over the laboratory members. The "*samurai*" code, at least in theory, safeguards the benevolence of that, otherwise absolute authority.

The laboratory members are students which (where I teach) include the fourth year undergraduates, Masters, Doctoral and Post-Doctoral candidates. Typically, at the end of their third year of generic studies of engineering, students nominate their preferred laboratory. The professor, respectful of both the limits defined by Department and intricate, almost ritualistic bottom-up negotiations among the students (aimed at avoiding any conflicts or loss of face), choses his new students. They enrol in laboratory

where they are going to spend the next three years, under the sole guidance by their *sensei.* The focus and the way of functioning of the laboratory depends almost exclusively on that particular professor and the ways in which he approaches teaching and research.
In 2006, when I was first invited to take part in assessment of design studios at the University of Tokyo, it was explained to me that what is being assessed is: commitment first, attitude second, and then – the quality of the work itself. In that order. At every occasion, including such assessments, not only knowledge, skills and sensibility, but the above-listed demeanour - righteousness, courage, benevolence, respect, honesty, honour, loyalty and self-control get trained, ingrained, expected and tested, too.

Figure 1. The tenth anniversary of co+labo radović
A group photo with current students and some of the co+labo alumni, associates and friends

Internal observations and investigation of Japanese research laboratories provide the foreign researcher with fantastic insights into the functioning of broader Japanese culture. Those microcosms of social association expose complex relationships defined by indigenous, highly resilient structures of power and responsibility, fine support systems, well-developed abilities to self-organise and self-manage – while remaining keenly aware of those structurally above and below. The key to the functioning of that system, the backbone of its resilience is *senpai-kohai* (先輩/後輩) culture, where the seniority principle filters down to the youngest members of the group. That organically intertwines with the rules of *uchi* and *soto* (as belonging and exclusion), *tsukiai* and *giri* (indebtedness; Dore, 2005), and the plethora of other cultural practices which render the foreigner (in proportion to a degree of her/his foreignness and power, which may differ in various situations) aside. Those practices combine to form incredibly complex assemblages, the roots of which get planted in the earliest childhood, continue to be gently nurtured and imposed at every step, from nurseries and kindergartens, via primary and high schools (formalised in controversial *Moral Education* classes; *dōtoku*, 道徳 – literally "the path of virtue"), again the memberships in many formal and informal

associations, such as sports, arts, hobbies. These deeply ingrained principles structure the laboratory which, in turn, becomes entangled in the broader webs of connections. All of those are carefully structured by regular, detailed and tedious – again formal and informal, but ubiquitous - guidance sessions, the reminders that there always is the right, "Japanese" way (even though a particular individual might not be aware of it – which is where the authority of *senpai* and *sensei*, those born before, asserts itself). All that makes young Japanese both feel a strong sense of belonging to their groups, and also quite desperate when alone, in particular, in environments structured by other organising principles.

A very special phenomenon within this overprotective society is a highly ritualized job-hunting practice, *shukatsu*, which consumes the best part of the opening year of Masters studies. Japanese businesses and companies are closely associated with universities of appropriate standing. The graduates of Keiō, accordingly, fill the ranks of some of the most prestigious corporations, which are part of the power system the establishment of which reaches back to the times of Meiji Reformation and beyond. That is the "system which cares", under the condition of traditional obedience, offering life-long work safety and carefully coded set of mutual obligations for life.

And then – a foreigner comes to the helm of the **研究室** !

4 a co+labo way

In March 2009 I joined Keiō with a general outline of my co+labo project, with open mind and some non-negotiable starting positions. co+labo was to be(come) an architecture and urban design lab, dedicated to research, design-research, action (including corruption of youth). My laboratory was to be founded on ethics, as defined by my previous work (most prominently expressed as *eco-urbanity*, Radović, 2008a; and *urbophilia*, Radović, 2007) and academic standing. We were to strive towards environmentally and culturally responsible research, design and action. The name of this architecture and urban design laboratory unusual for Keiō University, co+labo radović, was to be written in lowercase, including the letter "r" in my surname and that distinctive, Serbo-Croatian "ć" (which places me squarely outside the domineering West, which is in Japan and much of the world seen as the only West). Although the professor, I was to be one of co+labo members, definitely a *primus inter pares* but absolutely not an autocrat at the top. And, as explained by Henri Lefebvre, the foundational thinker behind the ethos and praxis of co+labo, we wanted our laboratory to cherish "the dignity of bearing the + sign, that of joy, happiness, enjoyment, of sensuality - the sign of life" (Lefebvre, 2017). Vuk Radović, co-founder of co+labo, added another, all-important nuance to that "plus" in a logo which he has designed – the red color of life. Over time, we have also embraced the sign ☯, which elegantly communicates our firm rejection of banal binarism and encapsulates the wisdom of complexity. In co+labo, as in Lefebvre's metaphilosophy in general (Lefebvre, 2016), "architectural practices are to be conceptualized as transversal, that is to say cutting across onto-categories and contributing to all phases of research, programming, designing, construction, and the continuous appropriation of buildings" (ibid.).

Every autumn, when introducing my laboratory to the students who want to join us in the next school year, I table a smörgåsbord of themes from which the co+labo feast only begins. The names of thinkers whom I invoke to help us on that journey include

none less than (for 2019, Figure 2) Bogdan Bogdanović, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Guy Debord, Walter Benjamin, Martin Heidegger, Roland Barthes, Michel de Certeau, Georges Perec, Felix Guattari, Michel Serres, Jean-Luc Nancy, Jane Jacobs, Henri Lefebvre, Hélène Cixous, François Jullien, and a number of regular and one-off visiting lecturers (for details, see colaboradovic.blogspot.com). In the culture where urbanism is seen as either an offshoot of an impotent planning system, large-scale architecture or, even worse, an extension of the dominant techno-think – that is a quite provocative team.

Figure 2. An "Introduction to co+labo" slide from, which introduces difference which this laboratory can make

That visual "smörgåsbord" expands into the series of key words and concepts, which include:

innovation ☯ tradition
science☯ art
techne ☯ *poiesis*
totality - complexity
urbanism ☯ architecture
existence - experience - body - *chiasma*
five senses (or more)
quality of space
urban, public, private - across cultures
complexity - as sensed, as felt, as discovered
complexity - without reduction
search for essence
the core of complexity, oeuvre, totality
spaces and conceived, perceived and – lived
vécu

In those briefing sessions and my follow-up lectures and impromptu provocations I like to quote Roland Barthes, in order to confirm how I also "I sincerely believe that at the origin of teaching such as this we must always locate a fantasy, which can vary from year to year" (Barthes, 2011) and promise that I will help co+labo students seek "a dreamer" in each of them, in every one among us.
co+labo radović is positioned against "the spectacle has spread itself to the point where it (…) permeates all reality. It was easy to predict in theory (…) that *the globalisation of the false was also the falsification of the globe*" (Debord, 1988), and we have got together in agreement that "The quality and the character of everyday life, together with spatial expressions of ordinary activities are going to be the measure of success or failure on the road to-wards sustainable development" (Radović, 2012), where we seek *radical realism*, as the *praxis* of *eco-urbanity*. co+labo radović could be visualised as a patchwork of overlapping essays un progress, essays as in the original sense of the word – as trials, attempts, endeavors. We *assay* and, in the sense of Latin *exagium*, we weight and judge ideas and actions against the values of environmental and cultural responsibility, *eco-urbanity*. The foundational essayistic nature of co+labo seeks a much needed combination of intellectual scrutiny and ludic freedom, all in hope to attain that childlike freedom, to get caught by fire, and reach beyond what others have already done" (Adorno, 1984; Badiou, 2018).
Telling full story of co+labo radović (even if that was possible at all) would demand much more space that an essay can provide. A fragmented, incomplete summary of what that small institution which promises deep intellectual dive within an environment dominated by solutionism (Morozov, 2013), could read as follows:

> in March 2019 I was appointed 先生 at 慶應義塾大学
> *sensei* at *Keiō Gijuku Daigaku*
> professor at Keiō University
>
> note: if linguistically strict, neither *sensei* means *professor,* nor *daigaku – university*

I was never explicitly told what the expectations from me were, why I was given this fiefdom with full trust
I had to guess why that happened, and intuited that I must have been appointed *because* I was different

(but, have I really been expected to differ?)

consequently, my laboratory was expected to be a place of difference

(but, has my laboratory really been expected to differ?)
(was I expected to be an agent of change, or proverbial import which system needs to fake change?)

but

those who wanted me to join Keiō in the first place knew me well enough
I felt responsible towards them and their unuttered intent

where they wanted me to be I undeniably *was* undeniably different
and there was no chance that my laboratory would not differ

I have designed co+labo radović to be(come) *a place of radical, positive otherness*

respectful, responsive, responsible – yes
but, also self-consciously foreign, both tested by and testing to the System

co+labo radović was to be(come) *my* laboratory
in order to take full responsibility, in and for that educational unit, I had to strive towards my own best
in order to guide my students, I had to be myself – a true Barthesian technician and dreamer
and encourage, demand, help my students to discover and be(come) their own selves
co+labo principles are openness and transparency, equality in difference
ie. the exact opposites to how the broader System works)
in order to get close to those aims - at the core of co+labo is an absolute mutual trust
co+labo was *their* laboratory
we are different
in co+labo we do not blend (one of my colleagues explained how his students are – his "soldiers")
in co+labo we respectfully share (my students and I are all co+labo *members*)
co+labo is an international environment, which consciously questions dominant mono-culture
we operate in English language, not native to any of us - thus avoiding domination by fluency
my Department, the Faculty, Keiō … Japan enabled me to undertake this experiment
(or, at least, turned a blind eye to it)
(or, a blissful lack of interest, as long as all that truly matters works well)
in any case – another paradox: enormous generosity within the system which I criticise as ossified
an unlimited opportunity to explore
an unlimited opportunity to be(come) what I dream one laboratory should be
an unlimited opportunity to (be) myself
conducting major research and design-research projects
seeking utopia, pushing the limits towards the paradigm shift
my task, as I see it, is to help students dream (Barthes)
the task of any professor, anywhere should be to "corrupt youth" (Badiou; see the *Post Scriptum* of this essay).

5 the co+labo radović efforts

As the whole essay was, so its conclusions need to be fragmentary, incomplete, perhaps (even, contextually to its theme – somewhat fuzzy).
Over its eleven years at Keiō, co+labo radović delivered what is expected from all proper, Japanese laboratories and – more. That more, which was intended and explicitly exposed from the beginning in that magic, red *plus* sign in our logo was, I want to believe, expected. co+labo is explicitly international. It hosts foreign students and

researchers, and its Japanese and non-Japanese students undertake various projects abroad. In both hosting and visiting we seek and we largely succeed to open up, to recognise and accept (*the Other*), to a cry to be recognised and accepted (as *the Other*, by *the Other*). That is, some would say, very … "non-Japanese" – but, not the Japanese members of co+labo. Within the context of the Faculty of Science and Technology, which seeks to educate experts, co+labo strives to inspire the emerhence of architects and urbanists as intellectuals. co+labo tries not to impose one way to future. A number of co+labo students study abroad; some have completed their double degrees at Politecnico di Milano, at KTH Stockholm; others have pursued their second degree at Harvard, Tisch School Of The Arts, Architectural Association, Yale. Some joined us in Tokyo – from Belgium, Bosnia, Brazil, China, Croatia, Ecuador, France, Italy, Peru, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Thailand. Many of Japanese co+labo graduates continue to work in major Japanese corporations, while some chose to join smaller architetcure and urban design practices; several have ventured beyond their original degree, and are involved in other creative and intellectual fields, cust as publishing, film ... music.
In its context, co+labo is a node of profound difference, but the intention was never to challenge, but to engage with the essence of *kenyushitsu*. True excellence, somehow, becomes possible in that organisational format. That format, some of its imperfections included, undeniably contributes to the production of quality associated with Japanese (architectural and urban) design and its global recognition. My deep immersion in that system, along with an impossibility of assimilation, over the last eleven years made that quality one of the foci of my research. One of the key themes within that is the (im)possibility of translation or transplantation of that quality outside the cultural frameworks of Japan, outside that (often annoying fuzziness of the overall system). co+labo has introduced and tested some of non-Japanese educational qualities, such as critical thinking – and dialectisation of those irreconcilable opposites seems to have contributed to some of the quality we have achieved there.
The co+re project is being establish to further explore the possibility of internationalisation beyond globalisation, synthesis without dangers of blending in and slavery to the stereotypes such as "best practice"
Instead of an impossible conclusion to what is only a fragment of the story, we will end with yet another smörgåsbord, several of co+labo projects which illustrate how some of those idea(l)s sought their expression.

I

Measuring the non-Measurable – Mn'M.
A three years long research project (funded by Japanese Government's Strategic Grant, 2011-14),
and its organisational framework.
IKI – *International Keio Institute for Architecture and Urbanism* (chaired by myself, Kazuyo Sejima and Hiroto Kobayashi; launched at *Biennale Architettura*, Venice 2011; managed by co+labo).

Figure 3. Nine volumes of Mn'M research published in the period 2011-14 (see references).

II

Sustainable Maribyrnong, the two years long planning-design strategic project (funded by Vic Urban, planning agency of the Victorian Government, Melbourne, Australia); a real-life exercise in strategic thinking across scales and radical implementation of principles of *eco-urbanity,* radical realism.

Figure 4. From final presentation of Sustainable Maribyrnong, the material used in teaching of Advanced Sustainable Architecture and Urban Design at Keiō University, Faculty of Science and Technology

III

The Barn House, the First Prize at International Architectural Competition (funded and built at the location in Hokkaido, Japan by LIXIL Corporation); another well-received exercise in radical realism, where an architectural project aims at recovery of a large-scale spatial identity, place-making as place-(re)taking.

Figure 5. The Barn House, and one of its residents. The project was for temporary dwelling of two researchers of extreme climate at Memu Meadows, Hokkaido. Apart from strict application of many measures of passive design, the volume-sharing between resident researchers with two resident horses, which improve energy balance while also contributing to the depth of experience and the broader meaning on location which used to produce some of the finest racing horses in Japan.

IV

Jiyugaoka, a series of research and design-research projects conducted along one of the Green Promenades of Tokyo. Triggered by *Mn'M*, the projects in this area included extensive community consultations and experiments, with activation of places of everyday life.

Figure 6. co+labo urban cupboard Pavilion – an openable and expandable cube used to communicate the results of co+labo research and collect data from the residents and passers-by in this and several other parts of Tokyo. As part of an overall co+labo ethos, the pavilion was designed and produced in co+labo.

V

Ginza, a series of research and design-research projects within one of the most prominent precincts of Tokyo, the character of which is, almost paradoxically, defined

not by stability but by rapid evolution and change; the projects included numerous fieldwork, sessions exhibitions and award-winning design projects.

Figure 7. co+labo issues urbophilia, an (ir)regular newsletter which summarises some of the key projects conducted by laboratory members and associates. This issue (forthcoming 11.2019) summarises two years of our various investigations in central Ginza, which include urban agriculture, local production, presence of art galleries, evolving typology of Shinto shrines, POPS, parallel cinematic identities of Ginza, the layers of past – both in use and buried underground, and more.

VI

The Split Case (2011) and *Reopening the Split Case* (2019).

Two of many regular international workshops, co-organised by co+labo and our international partners (in Japan, Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Italy, the Netherlands, Serbia, Singapore, UK and Thailand) were conducted in the Croatian City of Split. In 2019, *Reopening the Split Case* will act as a prelude to an entirely new concept of workshops that will unfold in the period 2020-25. That series is coordinated by co+re (collaborative research and design-research platform imagined and managed by Davisi Boontharm and Darko Radović)


international architecture+urban design research workshop

Reopening the Split Case

urban intensities: space, time and pleasures of everyday life

Split, 9-16.9.2019

the second *Split Case* architectural and urban design-research co+re workshop

from centrality, the complexities of life in/of Diocletian's Palace (*The Split Case*, 2011)

to pleasures of everyday life, the pleasures of urban life: sun, sea, body, mind; *Reopening the Split Case* 2019

Reopening the Split Case seeks and values innovation in both discovery and creation of (pre)conditions for good urban life. This workshop values equally seeking, finding, observing, exploring, understanding, (re)conceptualising and helping new qualities of life to emerge. The participants will be both (re)searching the existing pleasures of everyday life and (re)imagining new kinds and levels of quality in Split, within the framework of the right to the city, the quality of life beyond bounds of consumption. The rigour of critical and creative thinking will be employed to test the working hypotheses, discoveries and proposals.

Figure 8. The flyer for Reopening the Split Case, a co+labo and co+re project in progress during the production of this essay. The organisers are the University of Split and co+re, and participants include Keio University, Tokyo; Universidad de las Américas, Quito, Ecuador; Gehl, Copenhagen, Meiji University I-AUD, dbStudio, Tokyo, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok; Faculty of Architecture, Kuma Lab, University of Tokyo; Faculty of Architecture, University of Ljubljana, and - more.

VII

Comprehensive Design Workshop - CDW, two years long design research project (funded by Ishibashi Corporation 2018-19) which focused at Keiō University sport and recreation facilities and their future; and its organisational framework.
Keio Architecture: KA - chaired by Darko Radović, Jorge Almazán and Hiroto Kobayashi; managed by co+labo).

Figure 9. The award winning CDW student projects, the authors and members of an international Jury which included Kazuyo Sejima (Honorary President), Kohei Itoh (CDW Initiative), Darko Radović (Chair), Hiroto Kobayashi and Jorge Almazán (CDW core team), Gabriele Masera (Politecnico di Milano), Tadej Glažar (University of Ljubljana), Neno Kezić (University of Split), Estanislau Roca (UPC Barcelona) and Keio teaching associates (2019) Satoshi Sano, Motoo Chiba and Katsuhito Komatsu.

VIII

collaborative research and design-research platform co+re (imagined and managed by Davisi Boontharm and Darko Radović).
A research project (2020-25) aimed at summarising rich international experiences (partially described in this essay) and exploring the capacity of cross-cultural implementation, customisation, requalification, testing and international dissemination of the key findings. The activities and, then, photos and reports from co+re projects are passionately expected.
And - I remain grateful for generosity, open-mindedness and trust of all of my colleagues and students at Keiō who have accepted such radical departure from the business as usual, who have allowed an extreme experiment to get deeper and – in particular, those who by joining these efforts helped make the co+labo way.

Post Scriptum

Darko Radović

Graduation Speech, delivered 25.3.2019 at Keiō University, Faculty of Science and Technology, Department of Systems Design Engineering Graduation Ceremony, at Minato Mirai, Yokohama

It was a great honour for me to be selected to deliver this Graduation Speech today. I would like to express my most sincere congratulations for the accomplishment which we are celebrating here today!

[…] Every graduation marks an ending; with this ceremony today, you have formally completed your first university degree. Every graduation also marks a new beginning; in your case, that is the beginning of your Graduate Studies, or of your professional life. That is why this brief address will consist of two parts – the official congratulations, and one personal advice.

While, in the name of the staff and students of the Faculty of Science and Technology, Department of Systems Design Engineering I congratulate you all on successful competition of one important, formative stage in your lives, the focus of my talk will be on future, on the steps in front of you, on reaching academic and professional maturity. I want to give you one advice.

That advice is not original. It is, actually, two thousand and five hundred years old. I will communicate it to you by telling a story with four characters. Three of them are old (much older than I am), while the fourth one is very young.

The first character which I want to introduce is a famous Greek philosopher, Socrates. Socrates died many years ago. If he was still alive, he would be 2580 years old. He has died, but his thought is as alive and as relevant as ever. The other character in the story which I want to tell today is a great Japanese intellectual and activist whose work you all should know very well – Fukuzawa Yukichi. If still with us, the founder of Keiō University would be 184 years old. While he has died more than a century ago, the results of his work are evidently alive and relevant. The third character which I invoke here is Alain Badiou. He is a 82 years old, famous and still very active French philosopher. In the central part of my talk I will use Badiou's voice to convey I what want to tell to you. And the final, fourth and most important of the characters in this story is each and every of you - individually.

I have a pleasure to address 121 of you today. I congratulate to you all, but I want to speak not to the crowd of 121, but to a big group of young individuals. As always, I want to stress that you are all equal, but - different. Good education advances both equality and difference. Your own difference is what I want to emphasise today. So, let me begin …

**

Two years ago, Alain Badiou has published his new book, entitled *The True Life*. This tiny volume explains the main point of my talk today. Badiou addresses young people, talking about their future - precisely as I am doing today. He tells a story of Socrates, a story of the great teacher who used to talk regularly to the youth of ancient Athens, giving them advice which remains as relevant today and here, as it was relevant then and there.

The thought of Socrates is 2,000 years old, but still relevant – because it is profoundly human. Socrates has lived a full and eventful life. History and legends say how he used to be a stone mason. He knew physical labour. Then, he was a soldier, a *hoplit* who knew the war. Eventually, as a philosopher, he started exploring *Alathea*, the ancient Greek Goddess of Truth. That dangerous theme, the truth, brought about his demise. In the year 399 b.c.e. Socrates was sentenced to death and executed.

***

What was the mortal sin of one of the greatest thinkers of all times? That is what Alain Badiou explains in *The True Life*, and from there I borrow some of the words that follow:

> "Socrates, the father of all philosophers, was condemned to death on charges of 'corrupting youth'."

It is important to understand that there:

> "Essentially, to corrupt youth means only one thing: to try to ensure that young people don't go down the path already mapped out, that they are not just condemned to obey social customs, that they can create something new, propose a different direction as regards to true life."

The problems which you are going to face today if you chose the Socratic path are very similar to those which the Greeks of your age had to confront 2,500 years ago. Badiou continues how:

> "… the starting point is Socrates' belief that young people have two inner enemies […] and he summarises that: "Basically, when you're young, you're faced, often without being clearly aware of it, with two possible life directions, which are somewhat overlapping and contradictory. I could sum up these two temptations like this: either the passion for burning up your life or the passion for building it."

The superficiality of computer games explain what Socrates meant by this definition of your "first enemy". Your … *shukatsu* (traditional Japanese "job-hunting", seeking life-long employment)) could serve us as a good example of the "second enemy" facing the youth. Both are conditioned by an overwhelming power of the present, by the world as it is now, by ruling power relations. The System. Then, Badiou gives that concrete Socratic advice which I want to convey to you today:

> "There's is nothing more important for everyone, but particularly for young people, than being attentive to the signs that something different from what is happening might happen. […] To put it another way, there's what you are capable of – building your life, using what you're capable of – but there's also what do don't yet know you're capable of, which is actually the most important thing […] what you discover when you encounter something that was unforeseeable. …you discover a capacity in yourself that you were unaware of."

****

That is precisely what happened to Yukichi Fukuzawa – the founder of Keiō University. In 1853, when American Black Ships entered the Bay of Edo, he was 18 years old. As Tokugawa Japan faced a dramatic, unforeseeable situation, Fukuzawa discovered in himself the capacity which he was not previously aware of.

Today, while congratulating you the great achievement which we are celebrating today, as your professor I feel responsible to … corrupt your minds, precisely in the way Socrates was, and Badiou is doing. I feel obliged to continue with great Socratic tradition. Yukichi Fukuzawa was not seeking an easy career. He was not following the paths beaten by his *sempai*. He embarked on the path of voracious learning of foreign languages, on communication with other cultures, on travels and contextualisation of the best of what he has seen elsewhere into the realities of the 19th century Japan.

Do not forget – when he discovered in himself the capacity which he was not previously aware of, the capacity to lead, Yukichi Fukuzawa was of your age! In the year 1858 (which you can find on the coat of arms of Keiō University) Fukuzawa has established a school for Dutch studies in Edo. He was 23 years old. Almost all of you who are graduating today are only one year younger; the majority of you are 22 years old. Fukuzawa obviously did not think that he was too young. He did not seek the safe paths charted out by the precedents. There were no precedents. And, there are no excuses for saying how one is too young to be brave, too young to be innovative, especially too young to dream. Dreams challenge the System, they produce change. Fukuzawa followed the "corruptive" logic of Socrates. In himself he discovered a capacity he was unaware of. He was brave, progressive, and he sought change. He rebelled against timid, conservative, status quo.

(But, I often get told how "Japanese people" are, somehow, precisely that; shy, timid and conservative.

As a foreigner (the foreigner who chose to live and work in Japan) I dare to say, I know that is not true! In that argument, the example of Yukichi Fukuzawa is on my side. No one can dispute that he was Japanese, a Japanese *par excellence*.)

*****

The advice which I promised to give to you today, the best advice which one can give to the young people at the opening a new phase in their lives which was formulated more than 2,500 years ago, is:

> Do not follow the paths which are already mapped out for you, do not blindly obey social customs.
>
> Seek, propose and create new, different directions which lead to a true life.
>
> Seek how to be good and how to do good; how to be happy.

At your next step – which is *now* – when entering your Masters studies or the workforce, please remember Socrates, remember Yukichi Fukuzawa, remember Alain Badiou and - be brave. Seek in yourself the capacity to dream, and try to make this world a better place. You are young, and the future literally belongs to you.

There is a lot to learn from us, professors (including those among us who are 2,500 thousand years old). In *The True Life* Badiou, importantly, proposes "an alliance of disoriented youth and old veterans of life". But - think critically. Learn from us and –

judge. As the great Modernist architect Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, whom you know as Le Corbusier, once said - seek to stand on our shoulders, see further than we are capable to see .

******

Once again, it is my great honour to, in the name of System Design Engineering, congratulate you and all of those who love you and trust in you, the successful completion of your SD degree and I wish you all the best in the future.

頑張ってください！

Figure 9. 2019 graduates from the Keio University Center for Space and Environment Design Engineering, which include those who completed studies in co+labo radović.

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REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

Urban Design for Super Mature Society

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Abstract
This paper aims to discuss an experience in teaching and learning urban design-research studio at The international Program in Architecture and Urban Design, Meiji University, Japan, in 2018. The studio attempted to address a specific context of the advanced aging and shrinking of the city in Japanese society through urban design thinking. By applying a research-led teaching method which requires students to search and respond to the resource approach to sustainable urban regeneration, the studio seeks creative and responsive ideas which could create an alternative to the decline of urban fringe in a specific context of an old new town suffering from the advanced aging demography.
With our main interest in the research on requalification, the studio was seeking to explore this concept in urban design scale. This design-research studio tried to identify and later applied the keywords with prefix "RE-s" as statement and conceptual thinking in the production of space. The area of investigation is Tama New Town located in Tokyo's western suburb. It is the largest new town ever developed in Japan during the period of rapid economic growth in the 1970's. Its design, which adopted the modernist planning concept, has become problematic in today's situation. Half a century has passed, the new town, which never achieved its goal, has aged and is facing several socio-economic challenges.
The aim of this urban design-research studio is to reach beyond just technical problem solving by spatial design and instead exercise the responsive strategic thinking to address the current alarming issues of the aging and shrinking society which, we believe, important to the New Urban Agenda proposed by the UN-Habitat. Here we tried to address specific questions; how should urban design respond to the shrinking society? How can urban design thinking address the situation where there is no "growth" and oppressed with super-aging neighbourhoods? And how can we re-shape the environment that will be less and less inhabitable? Within this studio, students are encouraged to respond critically and creatively in overall strategic planning, urban and architectural design including the design of public space for a sustainable future.

Keywords: urban design, aging society, requalification, Tama New Town

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I. Introduction

This paper aims to share knowledge and experience in teaching urban design-research studio that attempted to address the alarming issue of the Japanese super mature society. The scope of this paper is to reflect on one particular design-research studio during the spring semester 2018, focusing on a specific site in Tokyo. It may not correspond to aging problems in other places but it could produce an applicable outcome for other places in Japan or elsewhere. The paper has a pedagogical aim to share our method of how to stimulate critical thinking and how to trigger students' creativity to conceptualise alternatives to the usual "scrap and build" which dominate the current Japanese building industry. This urban design studio is entitled "RE[1]-s" as a philosophical statement in the production of space. We attempted to draw inspiration from the term *requalification* and use it as a key concept in urban design with which we hope to effectively address the issue of the super aging society and shrinking city in Japanese society.

Aging Japan

Japan is the most aging society in the world. Its population of 15- to 64-year-olds, which is the active age group, started shrinking in 1995, about the time the country descended into the "lost decades" of economic stagnation and deflation. In 2006, it became the first country with more than 20% of its population at 65 or older. By 2050, that is projected to exceed 35% (Foster and Doyle, 2019).

The aging phenomenon is not only happening in Japan; China and South Korea are facing the same problem. The outlook for all three countries is worse still: From 2020 to 2060, working-age populations are projected to drop 30% in Japan, 26% in South Korea and 19% in China, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. These estimates are based on an especially broad age group of 15 to 74. Pensioners aged 65 or over are expected to make up more than 30% of these countries' populations by 2060. Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand look destined to follow similar trajectories (Obe, 2019).

In Japan, demographic change is occurring more in the rural and urban fringes as young generations move to the city. The mortality rate exceeds the natality rate for the first time in Japan since 2005 and Japan is now constantly losing population. However, Japan's biggest cities—Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka and Nagoya— are growing (Foster and Doyle, 2019). The problem of an aging and shrinking society has brought other connected problems such as a labour shortage, especially in agriculture and healthcare sectors. With the change of family structure and lifestyle, the solitary death of the elderly at home has increased dramatically. The number of unclaimed urns at cremation facilities proves the seriousness of this problem. Moreover, the lack of family and social supports pushes many elderly ex-convict males to return to prison. In addition, the suicide rate among desperate elderly people with old-age parents has also increased. The spatial effects of the loss of population density can be seen through the "shutter street" (closed shops), abandoned schools and healthcare facilities in many small towns and suburbs of big cites all around Japan. The "ghost town" phenomenon presents an uncertain future of Japan's rural and countryside.

[1] Word-forming element meaning "back to the original place; again, anew, once more," also with a sense of "undoing,", from Old French and directly from Latin *re-* "again, back, anew, against."

Government policies addressing aging problems tend to be geared towards technological solutions such as healthcare assisted robots and related IT gadgets, which have been produced in big number to support the elderly people. The issue of opening up Japan for skilled immigrants to substitute the labour shortage is still quite sensitive one and it has only recently been discussed and implemented by the government (Deguchi, 2018).
The aging of society is becoming a global issue in the developed world. Conversely, this can be seen as a sign that there is a foreseeable limit to growth. Therefore, we go against the existing neoliberal capitalist paradigm which is obsessed with growth and challenge it with more responsible alternatives. Based on this thinking, the design-research studio is prepared to assert a different standpoint in relation to the shrinking phenomenon by seeking the potential to readjust our urban environment for a sustainable future.

II. Requalification

In this studio, we wanted to emphasise the significance of requalification in the resource approach to sustainable city. It starts with the research component by addressing and theorising the terminology and practices of requalification, expanding its importance to not only environmental but also cultural sustainability. The research underpinning this studio was inspired by the idea of upcycling, which emphasises the comprehensive understanding of the material dimensions of products and the importance of design that can move beyond the less bad (recycle) to the realm of "simply" good (upcycle) practices (Braungart and McDonaugh 2002, 2013). We question the current emphasis on reuse as too narrowly functionalistic and on recycle as too scientific and neglect the "form" and focus only on the materiality. Therefore, we propose the broader idea of requalification which include the cultural aspect of values other than functionality, monetary and materiality but to recognise diverse emblematic, sign, environmental and other dimensions of reality.
The requalification concept starts with criticism of the sectorial way of thinking about material objects and an inadequacy of instrumentalised ecological philosophy associated with such thinking and establishes the need for transdisciplinary approaches to the production of knowledge about material objects and spaces. We argue that sensitive requalification of existing resources and built environments generates novel and culturally attuned qualities.
At the initial stage of the studio, the discussion of several cases of requalification across scales portrayed various degrees of complexity and demonstrated how those practices correspond to the more profound eco-cultural sensibility. Subsequently, we examined the crucial roles of art and design in requalification, which have the capacity to commemorate the non-measurable values of objects and spaces. Seen as an active synergy between the culture of reuse and local creativities, requalification provides more responsive alternatives compared to the practices driven by dominant global, capital-led development, which generate an unsustainable sameness across the world.

Resource Approach

One of the ways to understand a resource approach to the sustainable city is to examine the metabolism of cities and identify the flows of resources and products through the urban system for the benefit of the urban population. These material flows are in the

form of inputs (energy, goods and food) and outputs (waste and emissions), the amount of both inputs and outputs and their impacts to the environment indicate how sustainable the cities are (Giradet, 1999; Rogers, 1998; Wolman, 1965). The metabolism of most contemporary cities, which operate under the current influence of the neo-liberal market and capitalist paradigm, is linear, meaning the cities require vast inputs and discard an equal amount of outputs. Today's society of consumption is broadly dictated by two business models: design obsolescence and perceived obsolescence, which drive consumers to accelerate their consumption and disposal of goods more quickly. These business models increase both the inputs and outputs of material flows in our society.

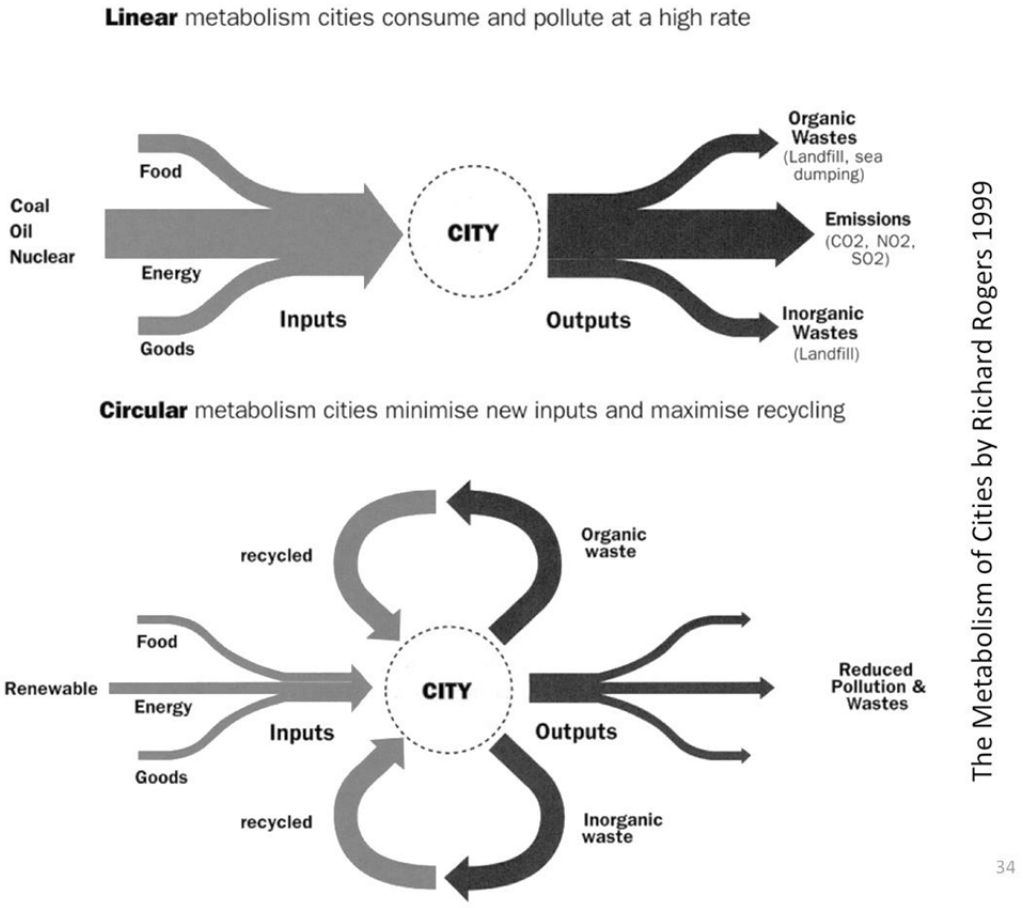

Figure 1: Diagram of metabolism of city by Richard Rogers. Source: Rogers 1998

Many scholars therefore argue that to achieve urban sustainability, cities must close the resource loop and behave like natural ecosystems which have an essentially circular metabolism by reusing, recycling, remanufacturing and diverting material flows within the consumption sphere.

The diagram of linear and circular metabolisms of cities communicates the overall concept of these flows well; however, they risk being too reductive. Cities are the most complex creations of humankind and, especially when it comes to the concept of sustainability, the metabolism alone cannot justify the sustainability in the holistic view. The diagram could

assist with understanding the material and energy flows quantitatively through the cities, but it has certain limitations. The qualitative aspects of cities and sustainability in terms of equality, social justice, good governance, and cultural sustainability cannot be justified in this reductive model. It risks misreading and misleads that material recycling alone is the solution for sustainable cities. We cannot simply assume that cities with good recycling systems are the most sustainable.

Less bad is not good enough

Tokyo is a good example of a city that possesses one of the most efficient waste management systems in the world. The metropolis of 37 million inhabitants is clean and meticulous thanks to the effective collection, separation, pulverisation, and incineration of garbage with the most cutting-edge technology. In this system, 85% of the garbage is incinerated in the municipal furnaces that work around the clock. This system depends mainly on fossil fuels, of which 90% are imported. In this regard, Tokyo uses the technological solutions of waste management to compensate for and justify unsustainable practices such as *scrap and build* which dominate the Japanese construction industry. The life span of buildings in Tokyo is less than 30 years (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2011), the shortest compared to other developed countries. Through time Japanese homes steadily depreciate and became economically valueless within 20–30 years. Only land maintains its value; when the owner dies or moves out, the house is usually demolished.

The scrap-and-build practice is a peculiarity of the Japanese housing market that can be explained in many ways: by low-quality construction to quickly meet demand after the Second World War, repeated building code revisions to improve earthquake resilience, a cycle of poor maintenance due to the lack of any incentive to make homes marketable for resale (Berg, 2017) and high inheritance tax which means heirs prefer to sell the property in order to pay the tax burden.

The fast pace of replacement of urban artefacts brings an important question to both environmental and cultural sustainability. The embodied energy and embodied memory in each building is lost due to its short life-span and the city keeps losing its potential tangible cultural heritage in favour of growth in the construction (and demolition) industries. In the case of Tokyo, recycling as technicity over culture can solve the problem of landfill but cannot change the consumption behaviour of its citizens. Recycling is still a myth and depends on energy consumption, and the loss of cultural heritage still continues. Recycling is not good enough. Tokyo is unable to achieve sustainability with technical solutions alone; it undeniably needs a holistic view of the resource approach for a sustainable city which could be possible through transdisciplinary thinking and action.

Complex value system of objects

In natural science, reductionism is the key to investigating objects and their properties by both classification and centering knowledge in very specific fields. On the other hand, scholars in humanities discuss the concepts of value to understand the complex system of objects in our society. The value system of objects has long been discussed by many scholars since Marx and Hegel. More recent views on the value system of objects are about the use (or functional) value, the exchange (or economic) value, the symbolic value and the sign value (Baudrillard, 1996). Objects get marginalised when these values cease

to exist. This is the case of garbage; it gets discarded because it cannot maintain its existence in any value system. These value systems, from the point of view of cultural studies and humanities, are rather anthropocentric by focusing on the values that serve human beings; and therefore, the environmental value is disregarded. On the other hand, when mentioning environmental value, the view generally shifts towards scientific knowledge and, in the majority of cases, narrows down to the measurability of the material components, the calculations of the embodied energy, the carbon footprint and the molecular composition of material. Interestingly when an object is discarded from society it means that its value has ceased to exist and, at that moment, the object is turned into a *thing*. That thing is rejected and pushed out of the human sphere and then becomes a burden to the environment.

Therefore, the concept of this design-research studio is set against the usual practice of *scrap and build* in Japan and explores a more responsive approach within the spirit of requalification. It asks students to search for new meaning or other qualities that could emerge through the various practices of "Re-s". Requalification is not essentially about what to do with the existing physical urban artefacts but more about how the new meanings are triggered. Here the challenge is at the scale of intervention. Many practices of requalification are commonly realized at the scale of artefact towards the scale of architecture, thus this can be applied at the urban scale and territory, creating new meaning to place.

III. Tama New Town

Tama New Town was chosen as an investigation site of this studio for several reasons, mainly because it represents a unique situation of aging in the environment that challenges urban and architectural design thinking.

The Urban Form

Tokyo was severely damaged during the Second World War, prompting a series of visionary plans by prominent architects including the famous Kenzo Tange's 1960 Plan for Tokyo (these were never realized) and development plans by the government, including the National Capital Regional Development Plan of 1958 that proposed a series of satellite towns and a greenbelt around the city. These plans were largely ineffective, and by the late 1960s Tokyo's suburban sprawl remained unaddressed.

Tama New Town was planned when Tokyo became overcrowded. It is a largest state-led residential new town project to address the housing crisis and sprawl in a rapidly changing city. Its primary objective was to build quality housing within a healthful environment on a massive scale. It was planned to respond to the Japanese nuclearization of the family, the motorization of the city, as well as the globalization of the region. Tama New Town would be a model of rational development in the suburbs that would both preserve green space and cultivate an ideal residential environment for the new middle class (Hauk 2015). It was actually intended as an alternative to market-led suburban sprawl by laying out a grand-scale government-led organized housing project; however, it was still in a suburban area.

Tama New Town was located on a topographically rich site (figure 2). The region, known as Tama Kyūyrō (Tama Hills) Region, located 30–40 km to the west of Tokyo on the Kantō Plain, offered a picturesque natural landscape of hills. The Tama River, separating

the site from the Musashino Daichi (Musashino Plateau) to the north, branched off into the Ōguri, Kotta, Ōta, and Misawa Rivers, along which a series of villages were found. The hills, which were 30 to 180m high, and the plains in the valleys around the rivers were topped with Kantō loam soil rich for agricultural purposes. Tama Hills was chosen as a site precisely because of its environmental qualities; the greenery surrounding and permeating town is still visible.

Figure 2: The model of Tama New Town before (1962) and after (1999) showing the transformation of the hills to build the new town. Source: photo by author

The overall masterplan of Tama New Town stretches 14km east–west, and 3km north–south (figure 3). Construction started in 1967, with water and earth works. However, the beautiful Tama hills were bulldozed to make a flat top to ease the construction of residential buildings of *danchi* type (Japanese public housing, often in the form of 5-storey linear apartment blocks). The roads were placed in the valleys. The project started in the Suwa and Nagayama districts in the east, then the development proceeded westwards over 30 years, divided into phases, so that groups of districts were built at one time. Overall, 21 new districts were constructed. The existing villages in the valleys had gone through the land-readjustment program; they were somewhat disconnected from the New Town territory.

Tama New Town was featured as a prominent TOD (transit-oriented development) led by two train lines: Keio Railway and Odakyu Line, with more than 10 stations connect with the sub-center of Tokyo, Shinjuku. Six main stations were created for the new town. Tama Center was planned to be the main business/commercial/cultural hub that fed the new town and nearby region. Therefore, around the station area were mixed-use buildings such as shopping malls and a theme park (The Puraland). There were also plans to accommodate office buildings when the new town was fully developed. However, they were never realised.

The master plan (figure 4) was structured according to a "hard shell, soft cell" framework that fixed the road network as a frame around neighbourhood units which were left undefined.

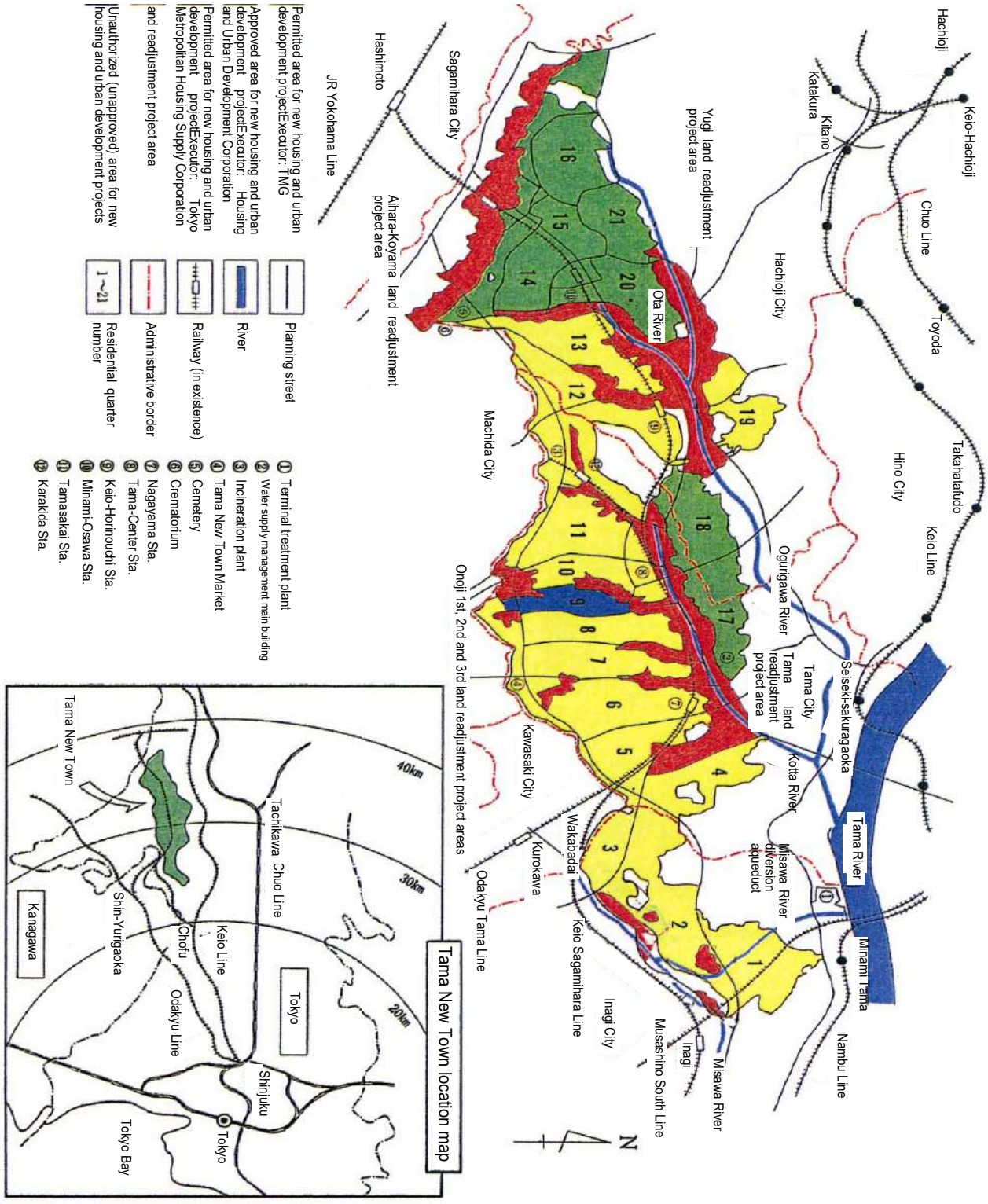

Figure 3: Tama New Town, location and subdivision of neighbourhoods and responsible parties for housing constructions. Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2011

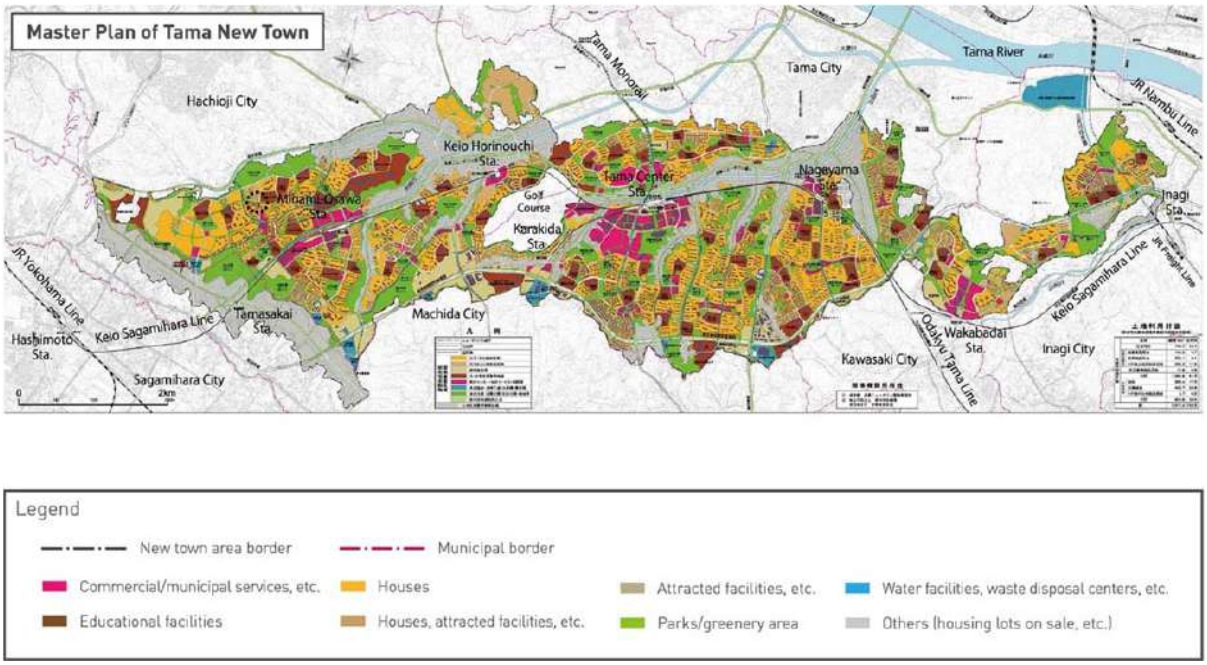

Figure 4: Master Plan of Tama New Town, source: Urban Renaissance

The elongated shape of the territory suggested the development of a linear city by arranging the neighbourhoods along the "urban spine" where the main facilities such as schools, commercial nodes and district centres were placed.
The "skeletal transport infrastructure," or "hard shell" of Tama New Town was an important framework for organizing a project that would develop slowly over time (Hauk, 2015). Each district or neighbourhood was organized as a "soft cell" and was meant to connect with each other via separate pedestrian networks. This "soft cell" echoed C. Perry's 1920s theory of the neighbourhood unit, with some relevant differences (Capitanio, 2018). Each unit almost doubled the size of Perry's unit, both in terms of area and of population. Perry proposed a 400m radius as an ideal maximum walking distance of a square-like neighbourhood. However, in Tama New Town, due to the extended shape of the whole masterplan area and the topography with valleys running north–south, districts span some 2km north–south and some 0.5km east–west. In terms of circulation, there were no streets in Tama New Town. Perry's model had major streets along the borders of the unit, to limit traffic in its centre, following the classic principles of modernist planning; but in Tama New Town roads in the valleys created the complete separation of pedestrians from vehicular traffic. The terrain of the Tama hills, which demands stairs, ramps, flyovers and bridges, is a great burden for the elderly and the physically impaired (ibid).
Tama New Town's final plan, issued in 1965, covered 3,061 hectares and set targets for a population of 286,000 people (342,000 projected) at a population density of 94 people per hectare. By the time of the project's completion in 2005, the new town covered 2,900 hectares, the Japan Housing Corporation (JHC) now known as the Urban Renaissance Agency (UR), the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG), and the Tokyo Metropolitan Housing Supply Company (TMHS), along with a few private builders,

constructed 58,239 dwellings (64,430 planned); the current population is about 220,000 (UR 2018).

Problematizing Tama New Town

Four decades has elapsed, changes in demographics, transportation, infrastructure design, land use, life-styles and housing demand, have made Tama New Town and the many New Towns like it challenging places to live. Tama New Town was conceived with the best intentions to solve the problem of Tokyo's housing crisis in the 1970s. It was a rare example of an ambitious grand-scale project initiated by the government. The modernist movement was in its peak at that time and influenced the design of Tama New Town. The mid-rise low-density model of Tama New Town was a novelty. However, it was not how traditional Japanese cities were made and lived in. The low-rise high-density urban fabric with rich street life, which is the main characteristic of Tokyo, was disregarded. The quality of urban compactness and small elements (Radović and Boontharm, 2012) inherited from Edo which mark the uniqueness of contemporary Tokyo are invisible. The bottom-up practice of *machi zukuri* (or literally town making, which refers to an association of residents grouped together in order to think about and improve their community) was also missing. The residents of the New Town tend to rely on the government and wait for top-down initiatives.

The application of a modernist planning model to the Japanese suburban context doesn't seem to be friendly to aging society. This type of planning is what thinkers like Jane Jacobs, Jan Gehl and others fought against. The modernist rigid planning, with isolated building blocks, favoured private vehicles, and, with non-descript public spaces, couldn't generate valuable public life. The spaces between buildings lack human scale, they are dominated by dispersed green spaces which are pleasant for the eye, but the distance makes it difficult to connect. The New Town couldn't gain enough density (of buildings and people) to generate a lively urban and humane environment. It remains a loose and vast Tokyo suburban area.

Today Tama New Town is getting old physically and demographically. The aging and shrinking phenomena in Japan have affected Tama New Town in a very particular way. It suffers the same situation as other new towns of the same type in Japan. An increasing percentage of residents in these communities are elderly living alone. They are the first generation who moved in together with other young, nuclear families of their peers. Their children, who were born or grew up in the new town, attended local schools; later, when they entered the workforce and got married, most preferred to move out. Schools are closing, playgrounds, parks and local shops are deserted. Now the new town pioneers have aged, so, too, have the buildings and the overall environment in which they still live. An increasing share of these senior citizens live alone, following the death of their spouse, and unfortunately many of them die alone (Hirayama, 2018). While the Tokyo government does not disclose information on individual cases of solitary death, figures show that last year about 500 people died alone in public housing block neighbourhoods—more than one a day —and 2,344 over the last 5 years (Watanabe et al., 2019). In the case of Tama New Town, some of the *danchi* residential neighbourhoods are desolately becoming *ghettos* for the lonely elderly (ibid).

Interestingly and sadly, this depressing and secluded environment drives even more single senior citizens to move in. As the conditions of those blocks deteriorate, the building types, the locations and the social situations are no longer attractive to the younger

generation to raise their families in; subsequently, the cheap rent draws other deprived elderly to be among their peers. With their limited mobility that prevents them from walking up and down stairs or across unfriendly terrain, they eventually became "shopping refugees" (people who have been cut off from the retail sector) and became dependent on mobile vendors and delivery services. Despite this, Tama New Town is losing population. During the last 10 years, housing vacancies have increased in Tama City (of which the majority of its territory is located in Tama New Town). In 2015, vacancies were recorded as about 15% (Kubo and Yui, 2019).

The government is aware of these alarming problems and has initiated several redevelopment projects. One of them is the reconstruction of new residential buildings, the Brillia Tama New Town. It adopted the usual practice of scrap and build. The 640 apartments of the *danchi* were demolished and replaced with new condominiums, with a total of 1249 apartments, of which 565 were taken up by the original residents of Suwa ni chome Jutaku housing complex area (the remaining residents sold their ownership rights to the developer and moved elsewhere). The demolition and reconstruction project was said to be the largest of its kind in Japan. Another project is the collaboration between UR and Muji (Japanese company specializing in well-designed minimalist fashion and living). Using Muji as a brand for quality Japanese minimalist living style, the project is focused on the refurbishment of apartments in the old residential blocks into Muji-style living spaces. Several neighbourhoods such as Nakayama, Hyakusa housing complex and Belle Colline (in Minami Osawa) have been refurbished and sold under MUJIxUR program. However, these new initiatives are mainly located in the easy-access areas of Tama New Town. These examples demonstrate the attempts to solve the problem mainly at the architectural scale. There isn't a new vision or urban design or planning strategy that covers a larger territory of the New Town or considers it as a whole.

Figure 5: Brillia Tama New Town (left) and MujixUR (right)

IV. Urban Design Thinking

We are aware that the aging and shrinking problem that Japan is facing cannot be solved by design alone. These issues have rarely been tackled with critical thinking from a spatial point of view. The aim of this design-research studio is to engage students with the reality of the "old new town." They have to face the socio-economic reality of an aging/shrinking

society and then reflect their thinking by responding with design strategy across three scales: territorial, neighbourhood and architectural.
Urban and architectural design need to be based on the hypothetical future. In this studio, students are encouraged to apply critical thinking to the existing situation and use the resource approach as a strategy to achieve a sustainable future.
Several questions are asked in order to trigger their response:

- How should design respond to the shrinking society?
- How can urban design address the situation where there is no "growth" and which is burdened with super aging neighbourhoods?
- How can an environment that will be less and less inhabitable be re-shaped?

Along the line of the resource approach and requalification we have formulated a set of questions:

- What are the valuable resources in Tama New Town, what are the key values and their potentials, and for whom those resources are ?
- Resources can be environmental, natural, human and manmade; what are their inter-relationship and what will be the strategy to valorise those resources?

To help students build the "what if" scenarios, we ask:

- Are there any other alternatives in economic and social models that could keep Tama New Town alive?
- How can spatial configuration and design support those models?
- Assessing Tama New Town in relation to Tokyo, its distance and competitiveness, what will be the possible future?
- What if we can't anticipate growth, how can we design for de-growth?

Students are asked to respond as group with a macro-scale urban strategy. They can choose to define the perimeter and the scope of their design with relevant justifications. In order to assist them to apply circular solutions to design strategies, they need to identify the keywords with the prefix "re" that could be adopted as a concept which can subsequently be developed into a design strategy. The identification of "re_" continues at the neighbourhood and architecture scales. We believe that the keywords with prefix "re" could reflect the design intention in relation to the resource approach and requalification. It is expected to open discussion on the new meanings that could emerge from different urban design thinking.

Selected works of the design results are discussed below:

1. Reframe the neighbourhood street

This proposal addresses the issue of aging in place in Nagayama district. This particular neighbourhood represents the most dramatic situation of aging in Tama New Town. The compound faces an increasing number of senior citizens who have deliberately moved in to profit from the decline of the physical environment and the cheap rents. The area has become a default hospice enclave where the advance-aged elderly population has come to spend the last days of their lives alone. This leads us to ask how we can address this depressing phenomenon and give immediate support through the architecture and urban design. The design aims to improve the spatial quality of the existing building blocks by introducing the central promenade on which the new communal elevators are placed. This space will become the proto "street," both main ground and vertical circulation linking building blocks together. The small-scale common facilities are introduced to shape

the space and engage the edges of this new street. On the two extremities of this promenade are the common facilities, the *sento* (Japanese traditional bath house) and the garden. Along the promenade will be pocket gardens, spaces for gathering, street furniture, and small food-truck markets that allow elderly people to stop and engage with each other.

Figure 6: Reframe the neighbourhood street by Tadao Yamaguchi

2. *Retreat Space*

Resulting from the modernist planning principle, Tama New Town possesses a large amount of empty spaces such as parks and gardens that are too big for the local community. The project tried to capitalize on the three main elements which are distinct in Tama New Town: the natural environment, especially green spaces; the lateral pedestrian paths that link different neighbourhoods together; and the abandoned public buildings. We want to imagine these lush natural resources as a main attraction and make them a sanctuary for other people outside Tama New Town. This place is easily accessible from Tokyo and suitable for short escapes to return to nature. The intention is to make this part of Tama New Town a retreat space for visitors who appreciate nature. The design strategies are to reconfigure the abandoned public facilities for the activities related to health, well-being and hospitality. It includes the improvement of the lateral pedestrian path, to seamlessly link it to those facilities to ensure better connections with the topography.

By opening up Tama New Town to visitors and exposing its quality of abundant green, we hope to maintain the liveliness and sustain the social fabric of the neighbourhoods.

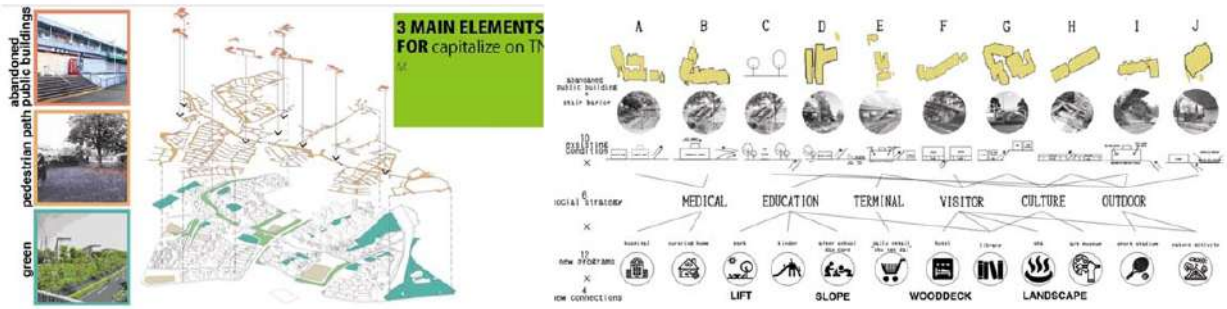

Figure 7: Retreat Space by Yuriko Tanabe

3. Re-make the new Tama New Town society

This project is based on the future transportation project, the Linear, by which Tama New Town can be conveniently linked to other mains hubs of Japan. Linear is a new line of rapid train that will link Tokyo, Shinagawa to Nagoya within 40 minutes. The new station at Sagamihara, which can be easily linked to Tama New Town, could bring new opportunities. The project is focused on the western neighbourhood close to Sagamihara, where the aging and decline of infrastructure is observed. This new connection could be attractive to new entrepreneurs who see the opportunities of being close to hubs like Tokyo and Nagoya. The proposal is also based on the scenario of new immigrants that Japan urgently needs and how they can be integrated into current Japanese society. These newcomers can be the human resources to revitalize the existing but unused resources in the old new town. The design addresses architectural issues by reconfiguring the existing housing blocks as shared houses for young entrepreneurs and foreign immigrants where they can co-live and co-work with the locals. The abandoned buildings and empty spaces between buildings can be converted to working spaces, workshops, warehouses, and production spaces for food and crafts.

Figure 8: Re-make the Tama New Town Society by Hiroki Igarashi

4. Retrieve local food and agriculture

This project is based on the hypothesis that the situation of aging and the decline of the physical environment of Tama New Town will progress. We may have to accept and face the situation with a different strategy. With the advanced shrinking phenomenon of the neighbourhoods, we must plan for shrinkage and some of the existing spaces could return to nature. In this project, we aim to re-introduce agriculture and food production into Tama New Town by promoting the local and regional types of vegetable (Edo food) and turning the spaces between buildings into a productive landscape. Existing farmers in the region and the new generation of farmers will be welcome to this place and to make use of the available lands. Some abandoned facilities will be transformed into food production warehouses and will serve the agricultural activities. The urban design strategy is to redefine a new pattern of land use that serves the concept of living and farming.

Picture 9: Retrieve Local Food and Agriculture by Tatsuki Ikebe

5. Reforestation

Based on the concept of design for aging and shrinking, this proposal is to plan the long-term strategies for the shrinking of Tama New Town. Capitalising on the theory of Fiber City by Hidetoshi Ohno (Ohno 2015) but adjusted to the local context of the new town, the succession of *Satoyama* (mountains that have connection with the villages) is planned. The progressive reforestation can be initiated from the margin of the town where the connection of the existing *Satoyama* is found. The idea is to return the new town to a natural state and re-establish the rich biodiversity. In the future, this area could become a natural resource of wood and educational place of re-forestation. Some of the existing buildings in the peripheries will be kept to be re-designed to house activities related to the forest such as wood mills, warehouses, carpentry workshops as well as camping facilities.

Figure 10: Reforestation by Hiromu Shimizu

V. DISCUSSION

The selected proposals demonstrate different alternatives ranging from the short-term, responding to immediate needs to ease the crisis, to long-term strategies which address the projection of decline. The super-mature society has brought several related issues that could be addressed by spatial thinking. The core idea is based on the scenario that a shrinking society is already a reality and unavoidable. If we can plan for growth, we should be able to plan for shrinkage. Why shouldn't urban design thinking be non-anthropocentric and recognize that human settlement could, over the span of time,

withdraw into just a necessary footprint? In this case, the natural resources can be re-established. If we plan and design carefully for shrinkage, an old Tama New Town with a territory of over 3,000 hectares can become a real "New Town of the 21st century" by transforming the abandoned living space into productive natural space (forests or farming). The requalification in line with this thinking should prove to generate meanings through the repurpose of built forms and space.

Nevertheless, not all students' proposals could achieve this goal. The proposals demonstrated ideas and strategies of what was the intention or what is to become of Tama New Town. However, we couldn't discuss "how" their strategies could produce the new meanings through design. It is unclear how to identify the requalification from their strategies especially at the neighbourhood and territorial scales. Because of time constraints, students couldn't develop architectural design proposals through which we would have been able to identify the new quality and meaning that could emerge.

It had been noticed that students seemed unfamiliar with critical thinking and inexperienced with large-scale spatial planning. However, the "re" prefix proved to be useful as a brain-trigger to identify the circular solutions in relation to a resource approach to urban regeneration. Even though the design results are incomplete, the overall studio has reached its purpose by stimulating the thinking outside the usual mindset of scrap and build in Japanese context.

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REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

A New Park for Shanghai

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Abstract
This article summarizes the urban proposal of the team led by Professor Estanislau Roca, consisting of professors and students of the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (UPC), for the International Student Urban Design Competition for Shanghai Railway Station presented in 2015 at the Haishang Cultural Center in Shanghai. Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Tongji University, Cardiff University, Southeast University of Nanjing and UPC participated in the competition. The UPC team won a second ex aequo prize with MIT.
The UPC proposal represents the urban redevelopment of an extensive area located in the heart of the city of Shanghai, where the creation of a park comprising about 40 hectares was conceived. The park is designed to form a vast new space in the city, in an area covered by railroad tracks east of the Shanghai Railway Station, which form a great barrier that divides the Zhabei District into two disconnected parts.
In the framework of the Shanghai Master Plan 2020–2040, the metropolitan scale is reflected at the local level. The proposal reinforces the continuity of green and blue through strategies that connect the new park with other existing open urban spaces and rivers. Furthermore, it enhances ecological continuity and stimulates regeneration. The project contributes to improving problems with air pollution while at the same time making the currently adopted measures more economically sustainable.
Conceived from a holistic perspective, the idea is modelled on a harmonious, inclusive, friendly, smart, accessible, sustainable city networked through the state-of-the-art technology that is essential for such complex urban transformations. What is more, it rigorously pursues economic viability throughout each stage of implementation by guaranteeing that each phase finances itself while maintaining the ledger in a positive balance.

Keywords: urban green infrastructure, Asian downtown, inclusive city, urban zipper

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1. Introduction

In 2015, the Shanghai International Tendering Co. Ltd. and the Zhabei Planning and Land Resources Administration Bureau of Shanghai[1] launched the International Student Urban Design Competition for Shanghai Railway Station. Professor Estanislau Roca formed a team of professors and students of the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (UPC)[2] to participate in the competition. The project was presented in November 2015 at the Haishang Cultural Center in Shanghai. Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Tongji University, Cardiff University, Southeast University of Nanjing and UPC participated in the competition. The UPC team won a second *ex aequo* prize with MIT.

The project developed by the UPC team is an urban park conceived from a metropolitan and local perspective in the centre of Shanghai. The area of the project is about 40 hectares and is occupied by railroad tracks, east of the Shanghai Railway Station, that divide the Zhabei District.

Figure 1. General plan and cross section of the proposed project. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

The proposed park aims to convert this space into an urban zipper, covering the railroad tracks in the western part and settling at ground level in the eastern part. To connect the park with the green corridor of Suzhou Creek and other components of

[1] The Zhabei Planning and Land Resources Administration Bureau of Shanghai is established as one of the departments of the municipal government of the Municipality of Shanghai.

[2] The UPC Team comprised: Dr. Estanislau Roca (team leader); Pablo Baena, Luis Bellera, Roberto Pérez, Aliaksandra Smirnova (project designers); Dr. Inés Aquilué, Dr. Julián Galindo, María José Masnou, Dr. Miquel Martí, Dr. Melisa Pesoa (professors); Gonzalo Bastardas, Alexandra Bovè, David Casado, Marina Cussó, Paula Esquinas, Hyeyeon Park, Renata Priore, Raimon Roca, Anna Ximenis, Zhengyu Xu (project collaborators); Qin Su, Dong Linlin (translators); Miren Aguirre, Ludmila Fuster, Adriana García, Ziao Jiang, Agustí Jover, Miquel Morell, Miquel Àngel Sala (collaborators).

the system, the plan proposes a regeneration of the urban fabric by improving the three roads: the North South Elevated Road, Xizan North Road, and Baoshan Road, all of which are considered to be important transversal arteries in this metropolitan landscape.

A new centrality is also created, where North South Elevated Road meets the railroad line, with eight mixed-use skyscrapers and important commercial facilities that expand into a new horizontal building across the railroad tracks, connecting the downtown area with the Shanghai Railway Station.

Next to the downtown area, the park spreads into a large plaza where a wide range of cultural, social, leisure and sports activities can be held. This plaza is bordered on one side by a grandstand at the base of an artificial mountain built from the debris generated by replacing and relocating defunct building material and new excavations. This mountain incorporates an access to the new intermodal metro Hub proposed for connecting the lines 3, 4 and 8 (which today only cross each other), thus making the public transport system more accessible. Another improvement that we propose involves remodeling the market and lilong located next to Baoshan Road.

The new structural park comprises five elements designed as a hybrid concept: nature, transport, commerce, leisure-sport and culture-technology, thus guaranteeing intense mixed-use throughout the day (programmatic hybridization).

The project, conceived from a holistic perspective—harmonious, inclusive, friendly, smart, accessible, and sustainable—is accurately described in this article. The further sections develop the ideation of the urban features of this contemporary and well-integrated project that could be an example for sustainable development in other Asian cities.

The requirements provided by The Shanghai Zhabei District Planning and Land Authority for the competition led us to think that the appropriate answer might be an equipped park that seeks to fix the area using a complex contemporary strategy. The following exposition of our proposal argues that remodelling the area is a metropolitan need and that it links to the green structure of the future Shanghai. The aim of the proposal is to create the Central Park of Shanghai taking into account the tradition of Chinese Gardens. Indeed, the article extensively develops the strategies followed to solve the requirements established by the promoters of the competition.

2. Historical approach and new objectives

2.1 Shanghai, a patchwork city

Shanghai was initially a small mercantile Chinese town, which originated in 1265 in a marshland area in the Lower Yangtze river area, and was built up by the imperial powers, which obtained territorial jurisdiction rights, after the end of the Opium Wars (1842 and 1848), to build a set of commercial and port enclaves. Shanghai became a prosperous trading, financial and manufacturing city, as an important port commanding coastal and ocean shipping as well as inland river shipping through the Yangtze.

The International Settlement and the French Concession areas in Shanghai and its successive extension areas built a diverse urban landscape within China, with unique architecture, urban infrastructure and public facilities in both of the foreign enclaves.

Its limits often coincided with physical geographical elements such as: the Yang Kang Pang canal, or Wusong and Hongkou streams in Zhabei district. These foreign enclaves defined independent city zones with very different character. Moreover, its autonomy produced certain urban discontinuity and spatial fragmentation. The Suzhou river has played a major role as an administrative limit between the British (in the north) and the American Concession (in the south) and finally both Concessions were merged during the International Settlement.
Outside this urban shaping process, Shanghai was configured by the addition of several urban areas which, lacking the cohesiveness of an overall organizing plan and urban model linking them all, framed a form of urban patchwork as its main structure. This urban legacy affected the layout and efficiency of its transport infrastructure system and the building of an interrelated urban structure and harmonious urban shape. At present some of its deficits still prevail in some areas of the city due to its past. The area of the competition suffers from this discontinuity and fragmentation, which has historical character.

2.2 Zhabei District: The old railway infrastructure in Shanghai
The Wusong-Shanghai (or Songhu) railroad was the first Chinese railway, connecting Shanghai with Nanjing and the north. It was first constructed in 1874, pulled down in 1877 and rebuilt the following year. It was bombed by the Japanese Army on January 28th, 1932. The southern railway station connected Shanghai to Hangzhou and Ningbo, in the south. The railway line, situated in the south of the Chinese City, began its operation in 1912.
The situation and layout of both railway tracks on the fringes of the foreign concessions conditioned the efficiency of their connectivity with the trading wharfs, and the foreign concessions.
The transformation of the city's urban fabric, the urban extension and the ambitious urban projects began in the 1990s, with the urbanization of the Pudong area as an important CBD district and cultural and international logistic area. Later, great events, such as the World Expo in 2010, were drivers of meaningful urban transformation. These events launched the recovery of the Huangpu riverside façade for public use and building of strategic new cross-river infrastructure connecting Puxi and Pudong zones. This process is still ongoing, seeking to transform and enhance functionally obsolete and undeveloped areas of the city and achieve a balanced, sustainable and competitive city for the 21st century.
The name "Zhabei" means "north of sluice." The name comes from two sluices originally located on the Wusong River (also called Suzhou creek) dating back to the Qing Dynasty (18th century). In 1863, after the opening of Shanghai, the Zhabei District Southeast region (North Station Street) was included in the United States concession (called the International Settlement), and Zhabei began to develop.
After the First Opium War and the Treaty of Nanjing in 1848, Shanghai was one of five Chinese cities to be opened up to British consuls, merchants and their families. Due to the development of its port since 1930, Suzhou Creek became an important shipping route, facilitating the transport of goods into the interior of China.
Due to its role as a commercial axis, several warehouses and factories were built along the river banks, making the region close to the river a significant industrial area.

However, the river was extremely contaminated with industrial waste. Recently, the authorities have taken measures to clean it and improve its environmental quality.

2.3 The Chinese Garden and the aim of the New Park

This idea of mixed-use development appears as a main feature in the design of the park, which is also inspired by the landscaping tradition of Chinese Gardens, such as Yuyuan Garden in Shanghai. Traditional Chinese Gardens are characterized by the accurate design of natural elements reinforced by a concatenation of built elements (pavilions, halls, towers) that are connected through paths and galleries. Thus, this new park recovers the idea of the green as structuring elements that unify the whole intervention. Traditional Chinese Gardens have more than 3000 years of history, and they were built under the rule of many dynasties. Traditionally, natural and built elements were harmoniously designed in such a manner that pavilions, halls, temples, towers, bridges and kiosks were structured to observe and contemplate the garden itself and its natural elements. Therefore, the gardens include a great variety of natural elements such as carefully selected flowers and trees (bamboos, lotus, etc.) and water, which has a central role in the design of lakes, small waterfalls and bridges. The artificial mountain and the rock garden are also key elements and, usually, a delimiting wall enclose the garden.

This New Park in Shanghai incorporates typical elements of Chinese Gardens, especially the importance of natural elements and the inclusion of an artificial mountain, which symbolically represents the centrality of the whole intervention. Walking and strolling through the New Park was rigorously planned: a pedestrian path, which connects the different elements, structures the whole area. Consequently, the built elements appear as well-designed scenes in the middle of the park.

In opposition to the traditional Chinese Garden, the park is open and not an enclosed garden. The proposal tries to include a new perspective on mixed-use and it aims to transform the area into an urban zipper while its natural structure maintains the influence of the Chinese Garden. The park mixes the traditional landscaping with the contemporary concept of an equipped park. The new functions of the equipped park expect to gain the influence that features of the traditional Chinese public spaces used to have, such as temples, teahouses and markets. Indeed, the park overlaps past and future using the design ability of the Chinese Garden tradition and the inclusion of an open, highly connected system of green elements linked to the Wusong River. This goal matches the objectives of the Master Plan 2020–2040, which defined the future development of the city. According to the Master Plan, we applied the ecological perspective in this development, which bases its design in a contemporary conceptualization of the Chinese Garden.

This idea of developing an equipped park, which contains plenty of public and mixed-use spaces, is both inclusive and innovative in the Chinese context, because it triggers new activities for the new generations and it breaks with the enclosure of the traditional gardens.

3. Urban analysis

From the very beginning of the development of the intervention area (1863), Zhabei district has been located in a strategic point of the city, close to Suzhou Creek which was a significant shipping route. Today, due to the important location of the project area within the city, the project will not only play a key role on a local scale but may also influence metropolitan development. Promoting the project area as a new urban centrality makes its design a complex process which includes aesthetical, ecological, social and economic aspects. This makes us responsible for executing a proposal that agrees with the general program of the city's development, meets social and economic demands, integrates into the urban fabric and connects currently segregated urban areas (northern and southern parts of Shanghai).

Creating a new public space within the city of Shanghai was challenging due to the need to consider both local and metropolitan necessities. The Master Plan 2020–2040 incorporated a green belt as part of its green infrastructure. The park was planned as a new connector within this green belt.

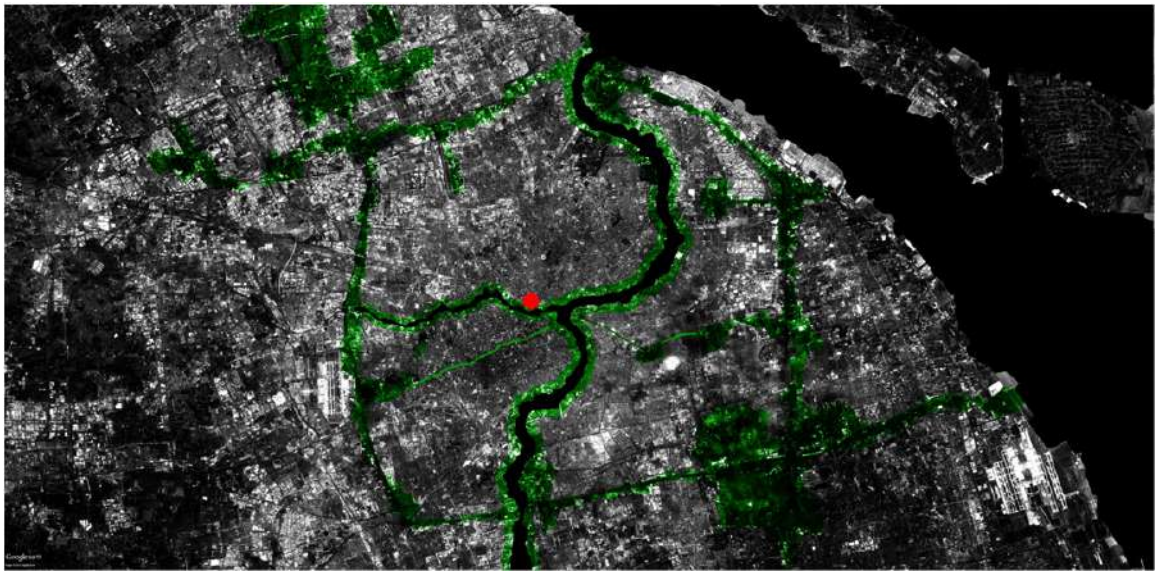

Figure 2. Situation plan in Shanghai. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

3.1 Metropolitan context

The rapid economic growth focused on technology and innovation, experienced in Shanghai in the last 20 years, has had a huge impact on social and environmental issues. The population increase demanded rapid development, which caused urban expansion. Consequently, this fast, urban growth has been accompanied by increasingly serious environmental pollution, which nowadays is one of the most relevant ecological problems of the region. Therefore, the current regional policy of Shanghai's administration focuses on ecological and sustainable development promoting urban foresting as a main regional program and developing a Green Map that proposes the creation of three types of green corridors:

- North to south (Huangpu river);
- East to west (Suzhou river and Yan'an Highway);

- Circle corridors (outer circle highway, middle circle highway and water circle).

Taking advantage of this green program in our project, we propose to combine traditional, technological and ecological development, preserving a popular lifestyle and focusing on innovative and ecologically friendly technological development based on sustainable and smart urban strategies. In other words, we are attempting to convert a currently abandoned area of the former railway station into an inclusive and equipped park that is capable of generating diversity and intensity, which are the principal characteristics of good urban life.

Nevertheless, to achieve these ecologically friendly, economically sustainable, technologically innovative and socially inclusive results, it is necessary to think of the project area in broader terms, starting with metropolitan strategies and incorporating our design into an overall regional and urban development program. For this reason, the tools that we suggest for the development of a metropolitan scenario meet the main goals of the Master Plan 2020–2040 and support the design and aesthetic ideas that we would like to develop in our project:

- Creation of green and blue continuity as a structural element for further urban development;
- Generation of a system of urban centres;
- Restriction of urban growth by applying renovation and rehabilitation strategies.

3.2 Metropolitan scenarios

Green and Blue Continuity

Traditionally, elements that organize the city into a unified structure have a lineal configuration and can be presented as natural (water streams and topography), semi-natural (green and fluvial corridors) or artificial (road systems) corridors. Due to the ecological orientation of the Master Plan 2020–2040, one of the main metropolitan strategies is the promotion of green and blue corridors as an element that will not only organize urban areas but will also:

- Function as protection and isolation, mitigating negative urban impact.
- Aid in biological conservation.
- Coordinate social functions, which act as a catalyst for citizens' activities.
- Decrease maintenance costs by creating a self-regenerative green system.

In the case of the Shanghai metropolitan area, the development of a self-sufficient green system can also be justified by the current configuration of big green patterns that almost form an outer green belt. By connecting the existing green areas with corridors proposed in the Master Plan 2020–2040 (Huangpu River, Suzhou Creek River and Yan'an Highway), we will approach one of the main goals of the ongoing greening policy—to improve the ecological situation of the region by creating an ecological continuum.

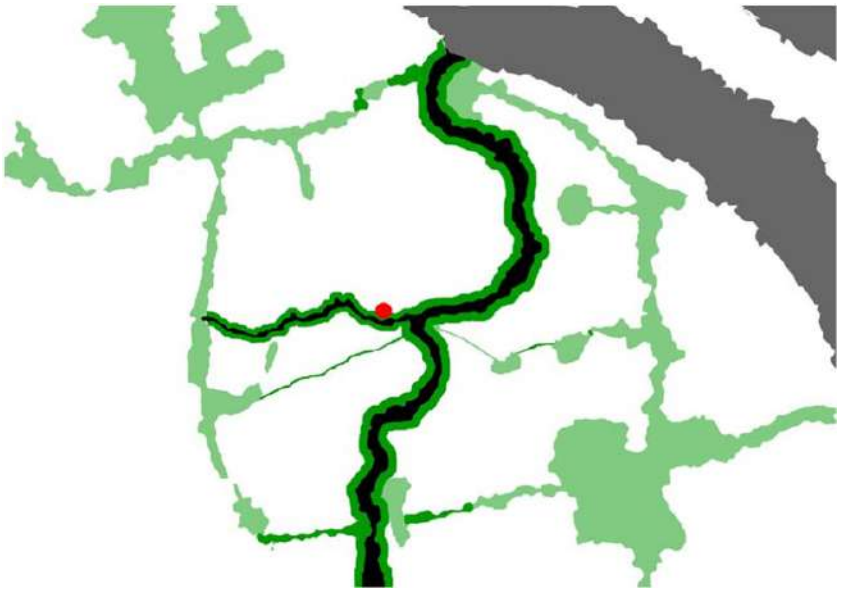

Figure 03. Green corridor. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

At the same time, it is important to think about green structures not only as a tool to improve the ecological situation but also as an element that integrates into the city. In other words, when developing big green patterns we cannot disregard their impact on the adjacent urban fabric and citizens' daily life. Nevertheless, generally, as soon as green corridors are designed at a regional or metropolitan scale, we encounter the lack of their integration into the local context, which may convert them into urban boundaries instead of elements that provide continuity and connectivity. This urban fabric fragmentation may cause issues in different socio-economic, ecological, structural and functional urban aspects. Working at a multi-scale dimension, switching from metropolitan to local aspects and improving connections between urban patterns are strategies which may revive currently abandoned areas and lead to ecologically efficient and sustainable development and increased living standards.

In the case of the Zhabei district, the track bed, which crosses the city from the east to the west, is a clear example of a structural lineal element that organizes big urban patterns but does not interact with them at the local scale. Analysing the Zhabei district and intervention area, the issue of morphological, social and functional segregation stands out. The railway that connects cities in the east–west direction restricts the development of Shanghai's central area in the north–south aspect. According to the State Council, it is necessary to encourage the efficient and intensive utilization of railroad land, develop above- and under-ground space through railroad land, incorporate certain aspects of other programs and grant different layers of land use rights through planning permits. In other words, it is necessary to integrate a currently useless, in civic terms, railway area into the urban fabric that will connect the historical downtown situated in the south, with residential areas in the north and create a new urban centre that will function as a whole with existing centralities.

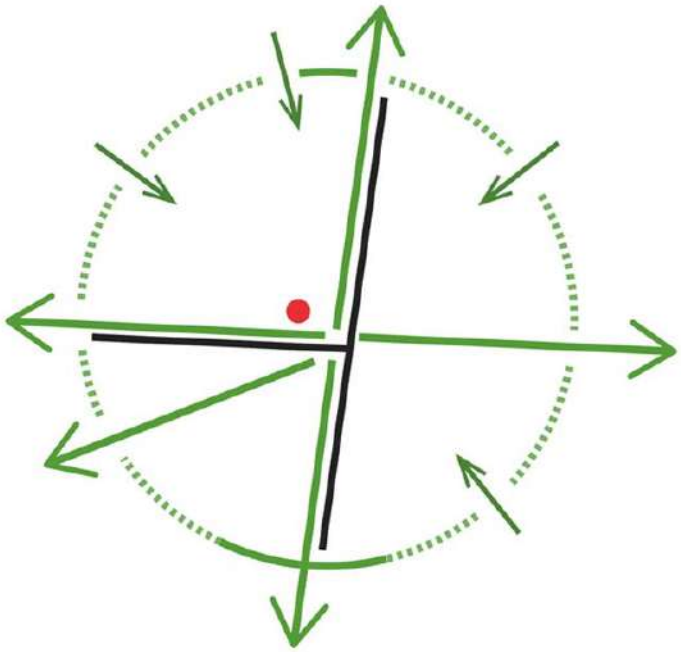

Figure 4. Metropolitan strategies (scheme). Source: UPC Team, 2015.

System of Urban Centralities

The urban prototype that we attempt to achieve is not exclusively a sustainable and ecological city, but also a polycentric and networked model that works as a unified system, in which each area has its own identity and responds to the specific demand of the place.

Nevertheless, in the case of Shanghai, we encounter a problem of disconnection between urban centres that causes mobility and accessibility issues and does not allow integration of urban elements into the terrain. During the metropolitan analysis, we managed to establish certain types of centralities within Shanghai's inner ring road (the location of the intervention area). Our criteria were first based on the scale and, afterwards, on functional components of observed areas. Depending on the impact that one centrality or another has, we can distinguish metropolitan (Pudong, Shanghai Railway Station) and local centres (market next to Baoshan Station). By contrast, when we are dealing with their functionality we can detect consolidated areas (Pudong financial district or historical downtown) and ineffectual sectors (Shanghai World Expo Exhibition and Convention Centre or Hongkou Football Stadium) which have the capacity to be converted into central areas but, due to their isolated location, do not take advantage of their potential.

As a solution for the discontinuous location of central areas, we propose to connect them via road system. We consider that these connectors should have a particular dimension and length to help establish a certain distance between central areas, converting them into attraction poles. In this case, it is possible to generate strain between two previously separated spots and strengthen their value as central areas. Thus, creating a strain between two central areas generates social and economic flows

between them that convert a simple road link into a lively street. In other words, the street, aside from connecting two central areas, acquires characteristics and functions of lineal centrality. Furthermore, the similar dimension and functionality of these road connectors may convert them into an urban model for Shanghai. This may serve as a reference measurement for the entire city, such as Cerda's block in Barcelona.

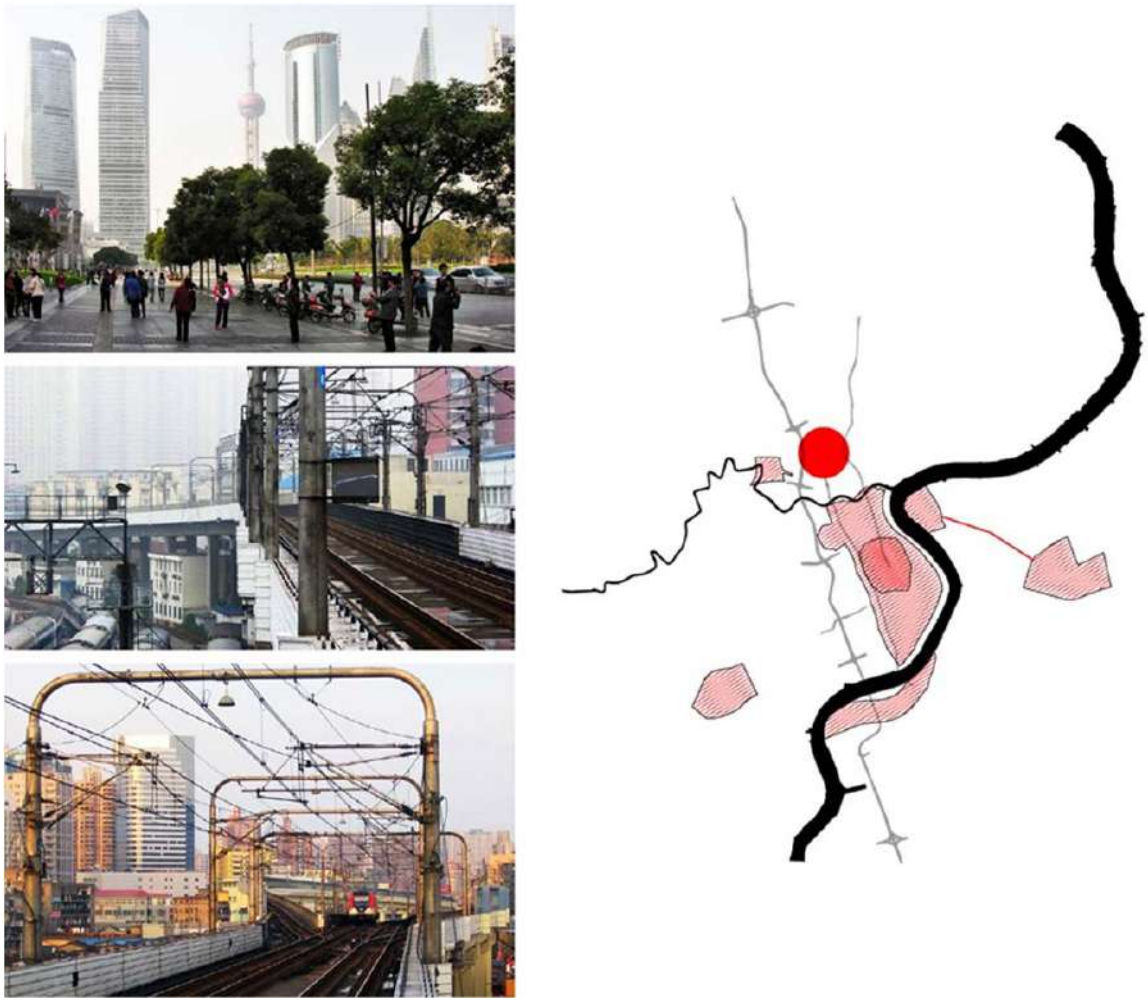

Figure 5. New centrality (scheme). Source: UPC Team, 2015.

Therefore, in order to integrate the intervention areas into the metropolitan scheme (Master Plan 2020–2040) and at the same time respond to the local demand, we propose to:

- Work at different scales.
- Create a multifunctional green structure.
- Improve and create transversal links in order to connect the northern and southern parts of the city.
- Promote and connect urban central areas.

In other words, the task is not only to create a new aesthetically attractive central area, but also to generate an urban transformation of the whole Zhabei district. This

transformation would convert it into an intermediate point from the Pudong area in the west to the Shanghai Railway Station in the east, and from the historical centre in the south to residential areas in the north. Thus, we are convinced that a well-designed and conceived proposal, besides integrating an overall sustainably oriented metropolitan program, will also strengthen and generate central areas, improve the ecological situation and increase living standards within the city.

4. Project proposal within the city structure

At an urban scale, we encounter an uncrossable barrier generated by the extensive and wide railway tracks that create a clear horizontal and vertical boundary and break visual and physical continuity, preventing permeability between the northern and southern parts of Shanghai central city. Due to this segregation, the possibility of connecting, unifying and mixing the socio-economic and cultural variety of the area is discouraged at both ends.

Due to this negative impact of the railway structure on the adjacent urban fabric and because of its huge dimensions and strategic location within the city, we do not consider the intervention area a problematic zone. Indeed, it becomes a challenge and opportunity to implement a project that stitches and twists two of Shanghai's areas (north and south) together in a subtle and elegant way. In this way, we are able to design a multifunctional green central area, in which previously segregated areas become a part of a single plot that not only maintains socio-economic and culture diversity but also adds new ecological values, organizes urban activities and offers a place for citizens.

4.1 Continuity, permeability and transversality as key elements of the urban connectivity

The railway infrastructure supplies the intervention area with a continuous longitudinal axis that runs from east to west passing through the Baoshan and Shanghai Railway Stations. Nevertheless, this connection focuses mostly on metropolitan mobility and does not provide a sufficient number of urban and local links. This lack of transversal continuity is an important point that we should take into account and consider as an opportunity to increase connectivity and mobility of the area not only from the metropolitan perspective but also from the pedestrian point of view. On the other hand, a mandatory aspect such as transversal connections, which help generate a good city form at both metropolitan and local levels, does not appear as a significant element. Due to the large barrier formed by the railway infrastructure, the existing transversal connections are arranged for a faster, longer distance travel and are not considered for short pedestrianized journeys. Observing this phenomenon, we assume the need to work on local links in order to connect urban patterns at the smaller scale giving priority to pedestrian flows. Thus, by performing a multi-scale intervention, we are attempting to connect urban patterns on a local, urban and metropolitan scale. Following this, a conceptual idea that establishes a network of urban connections, considers and respects the importance of the three main road axes (North South Elevated Road, Xizang North Road and Baoshan Road) and generates a pedestrianized transversal connection in the north–south direction, complementing the existing east–west longitudinal continuity, is proposed. These strategies may help resolve and

improve circulation and communication between fabrics, which is one of the main objectives of the project.
The lack of permeability between urban patterns is another important aspect that was detected during the metropolitan analysis. Because of the railway infrastructure, which represents a horizontal wall that blocks the north–south relationship, a huge typological variety of dispersed plots and urban blocks is generated. Therefore, we consider it necessary to combine all this plurality of forms and volumes with the clear and fundamental idea of implementing porosity at different levels—underground, street and aboveground—in order to weave urban fabrics.

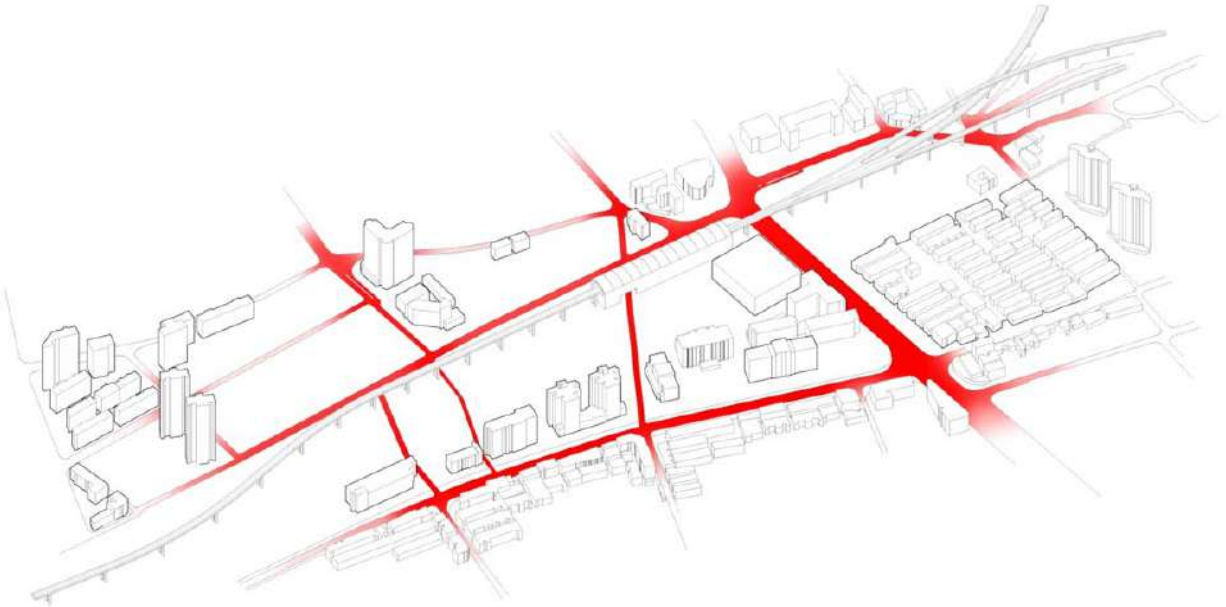

Figure 6. New permeability in the eastern area of the proposal.
Source: UPC Team, 2015.

4.2 An urban model

Taking into account the existing centralities of both ends, Shanghai Railway Station in the west and the market next to Baoshan Station in the east, as well as other nearby central points (such as the historical downtown, riverbanks, Pudong area, etc.), the whole intervention area is already expected to be converted into a major central area. It is equipped with a huge variety of activities and services that may generate a significant improvement over the whole Zhabei district and its adjacent areas. Nevertheless, we are convinced that we should be respectful to the culture and tradition and be aware of the essence of Zhabei, maintaining the mixture of its urban patterns and dealing with them in a concise and correct way. Through the project buildings we propose, we aim to contribute to the creation of new activities and services, which are currently lacking in the intervention area, betting on a new program of huge diversity of functions but at the same time trying to respect and preserve aspects that already work and form a part of its cultural core. Thus, geometrically, the

volumetric and typological variety proposed in our project conforms to the actual morphology of Zhabei and possesses a huge urban potential that is able to maintain the existing urban character but, at the same time, create a new identity.

4.3 Green structure

We would like to emphasise the main element of the project: the green structure aimed at organizing the city's areas both at the metropolitan and local levels, functioning as a self-purifying lung of Zhabei district that will work as a whole with the metropolitan green system. In order to connect these two green areas developed, we propose to establish a group of connectors, so-called green capillaries that will integrate our project into the Suzhou Creek green and blue corridor, which is designed as part of a regional green continuum. Therefore, we attempt to generate a multi-scale green and blue continuity that may form a new ecological urban network that will give rise to an intense and active urban life.

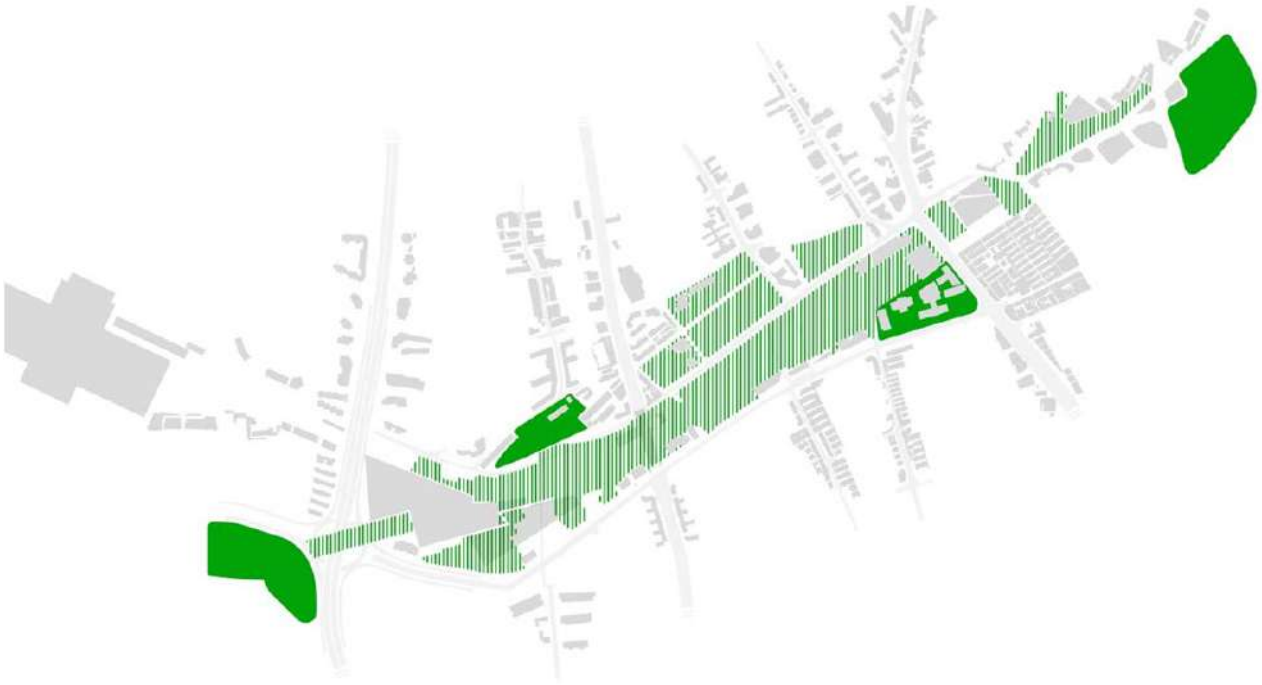

Figure 7. Diagram of green connections (plain green: existing green areas / striped green: new green areas). Source: UPC Team, 2015.

5. Design ideas

The design phase begins with a series of needs and requirements, which the project must meet, extracted from the text provided by The Shanghai Zhabei District Planning and Land Authority. In the same way, all the decisions made were based on the different aspects, which we consider define a contemporary metropolis model.

Below, we reveal some points that ascribe identity to our project and make it stand out: creation of a new metropolitan central area and design of an equipped park with an intense, permeable and multifunctional urban zipper that works as a whole with the environment.

5.1. Demands

We are aware of the difficulties that appear working in an area such as Zhabei, which is constantly changing. Taking into account the responsibilities that we have as urban planners, we have established a number of minimum requirements that our project must achieve:

- Get to know the intervention area and its surroundings in depth, both its historical evolution and its situation today, in order to elaborate a proposal, which is able to tackle future challenges with the highest guarantees.
- Discover the potential of working in a zone mostly occupied by railways. Not only revitalizing the place, creating a new relation with its environment, but also preserving its current uses (administration and train maintenance).
- Work at different levels, at the city level and below it, to set up an urban proposal developed in 3D.
- Create a network of connections encompassing different scales, from metropolitan infrastructure to pedestrian movements.
- Encourage north–south movements (urban permeability). Almost an impossible task nowadays because of the barrier generated by the railways.
- Promote programmatic diversity in the area.
- Study what kind of structure will be used to cover the tracks in detail.

5.2. Answers and general objectives

Each part of the project is based on the essential aspects that define the paradigm of a contemporary metropolis:

- NETWORK CITY. Interconnected through transportation infrastructure and new technologies.
- SUSTAINABLE CITY. Ecologically, economically and socially.
- INCLUSIVE CITY. Designed for all kinds of users, taking care of the social point of view and accessibility (without architectural barriers).
- SMART CITY. Able to apply innovative solutions in the management of its services and resources in order to improve the quality of life of all citizens.

Thus, according to these urban models, we present our proposal with the firm intention of transforming the massive crack in the area into:

- A new centrality for the metropolis.
- An equipped park with intense and varied use.
- An urban zipper with high permeability with the environment.

<u>A new centrality</u>

As a new centrality, we propose to convert Zhabei into a first-order component inside the polycentric system of Shanghai. On the one hand, it will be articulated with other centres through three metropolitan avenues (North South Elevated Road, Xizang North Road and Baoshan Road) reaching the heart of the historical centre and the river, close to the enclosure for the international exhibition in 2010. On the other hand, it will establish a visual dialogue with Pudong (financial center), virtually expanding the centrality axis generated by Century Avenue.

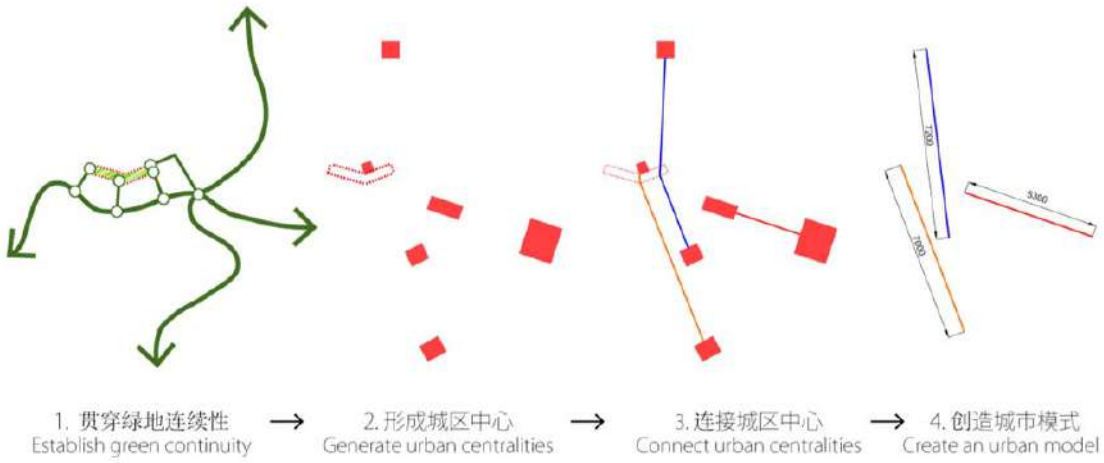

Figure 8. The proposal as a connector and new centrality within centralities.
Source: UPC Team, 2015.

An equipped park

In the form of a park, the area will become a new space designed for the enjoyment of all citizens, a place where they can both walk or relax, followed by a huge program for leisure, sports and culture. This lineal park would extend over a slab covering the tracks between the North South Elevated Road and the station of Baoshan.

Figure 9. General view of the proposed park from the downtown area.
Source: UPC Team, 2015.

We propose a progressive undergrounding of the railways on the east side, beyond Xizang North Rd, without compromising the groundwater level. Consequently, the

platform would be located at the same level in the neighbourhoods next to the metro station.
At a metropolitan level, the park is linked to the green axis that follows Suzhou Creek, connecting with Buyencheng Park in the west and spreading throughout its total extension. It is one of the three main axes inside the green system proposed in the current Shanghai Metropolitan Plan. We propose to continue the green system up to Suzhou Creek. The current regeneration of the river will complete and intensify the ecological system in Shanghai.

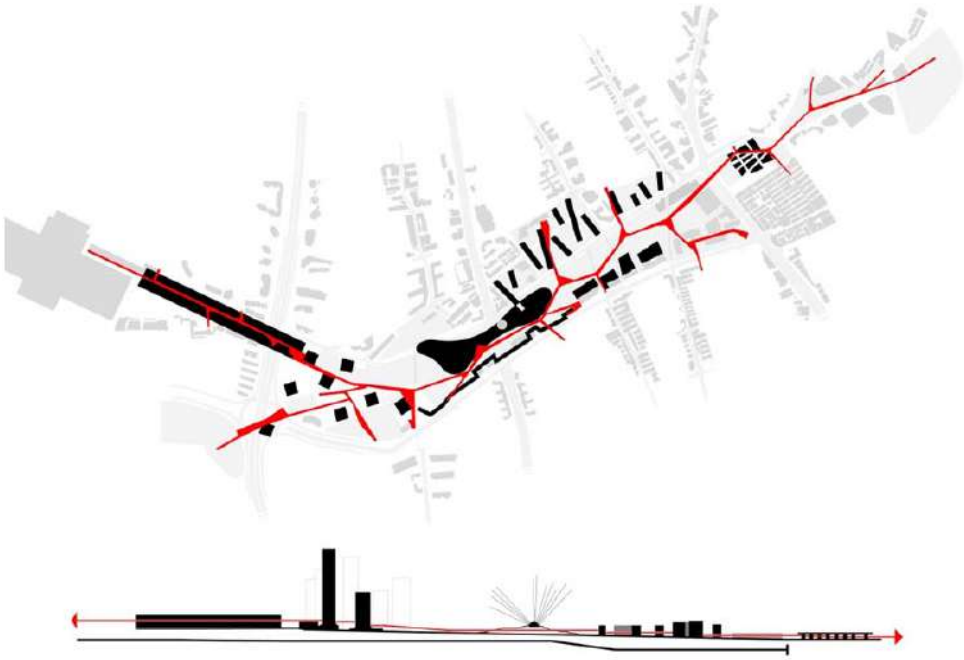

Figure 10. Pedestrian paths connecting the whole intervention area. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

An urban zipper
As an urban zipper, the project will try to sew and unite the surrounding urban fabric, which is, nowadays, completely isolated. This suture involves the correct design of the proposed edges and the continuity of the transversal pedestrian paths.
On the south rim, the traffic on Tianmu East Road would be pacified, becoming part of the linear park. This street would be accompanied by businesses, located under the covering structure and also in the lower levels of the new urban fabric generated in front of the park.
On the northern edge, the reorganization of the original district would bring the creation of a technological campus and some housing. This new urban fabric would not only act as a filter between the park and the city but would also integrate numerous pre-existing structures. In addition, we propose a new structural street parallel to the park, crossing this area.
Overall, we are creating a local-scale mesh, not only connecting north and south but also encouraging longitudinal movements.

5.3. Concept and design elements

Facing the growing multiplicity of uses and situations that must be attended to, the urban park is leaving behind its classical conception. Historically it has been linked to an idea of a bucolic garden for contemplation, rest and sauntering. Today, this idea creates more and more controversy due to the new demands that it must satisfy. When we started to design the park, we considered the benefits of hybrid spaces, which are able to satisfy various requirements. We are talking about infrastructure and city, infrastructure and landscape, architecture and park. These complex structures, born to integrate specific activities, are also defined by their possible use as a free space, their articulation with the city and their landscape component.

Conceptually, the project involves double logic. Lengthwise, it is understood as a combination of five types of programs or programmatic elements. Cross-sectionally, it is structured into six movement vectors, three of which work at a metropolitan level and three which are related to the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Movement vectors [3+3]

The three axes identified in the Metropolitan Scale Analysis, being the ones that connect the intervention area with the rest of the city, play a key role in our proposal. In relation to each axis and both the central and Baoshan stations, profiting from the gradient generated by the covering structure, we arrange parking lots. In addition, we design a third station conceived as a HUB between lines 3, 4 and 8 as well as the Xizang North Road. Overall, our proposal is firmly linked to Shanghai's infrastructure, opening up a completely new range of possible connections in terms of mobility and giving the existing shortfall of parking areas an active response.

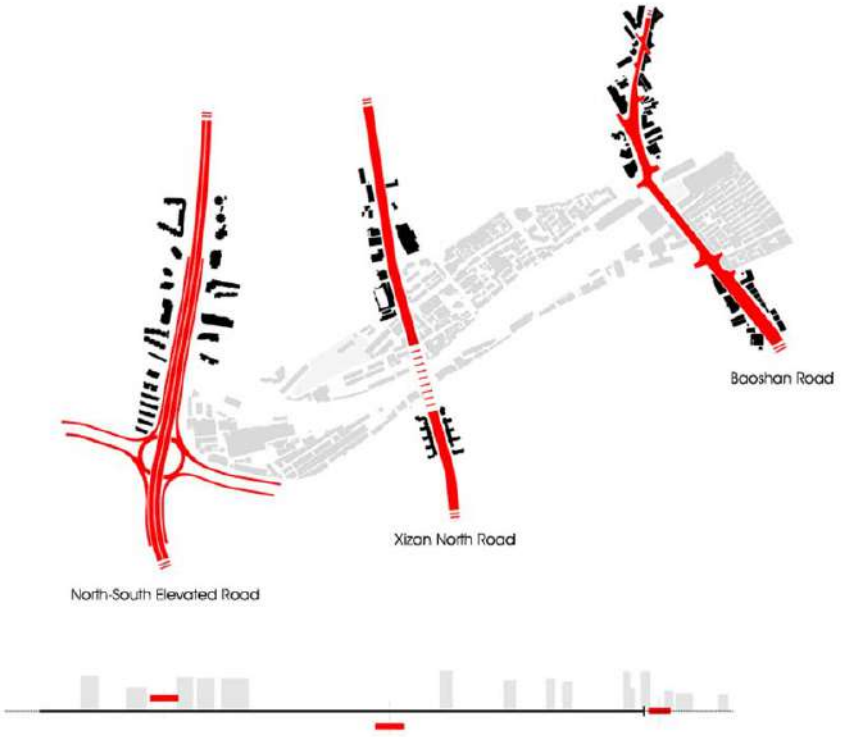

Figure 11. Existing metropolitan axis. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

On a local scale, transversely crossing the space occupied by the railways, we extend the existing roads to configure three pedestrian axes stitching both sides.

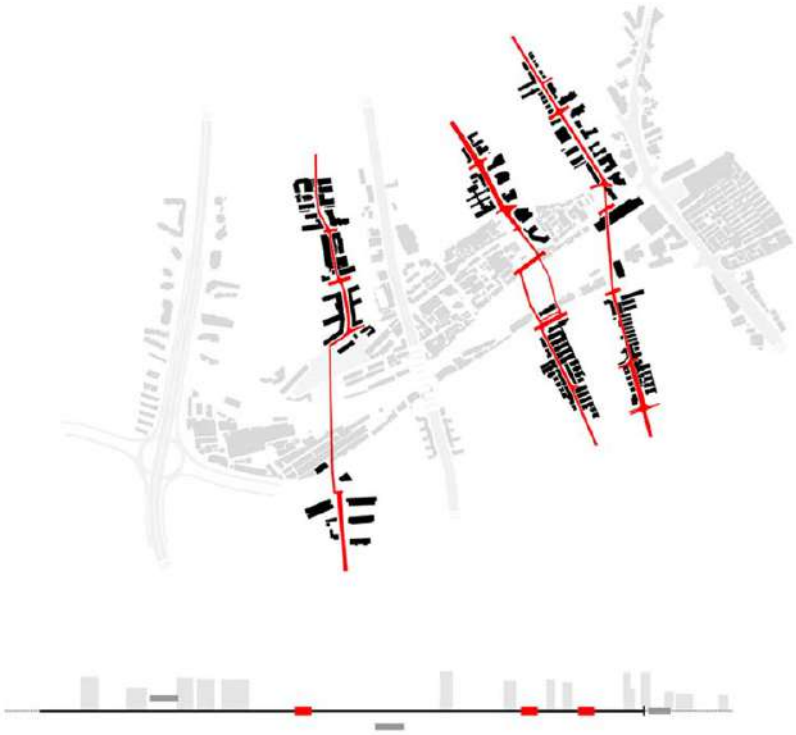

Figure 12. Generated pedestrian axis. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

Programmatic elements [5]

Related to the principal uses, the users could find five elements of design in the park. The links between them will form some kind of continuous and amorphous mesh. The five elements (like the five traditional elements in Chinese culture) are:

- NATURE. Understood as green structure, gives identity to the proposal and unifies the project. In addition, it allows an easier connection with the park system scheduled in the metropolitan plan.
- TRANSPORT. Shanghai Railway Station, Baoshan Station and the new HUB station over Xizang North Road would act as nodes of attraction for metropolitan flows. The planned parking lots would reinforce the intermodal function and would fulfil the needs of the new functional program.
- COMMERCE. Based on the attraction generated by the two polarities located at the ends of the park (one is the renovation of an existing market and the other is built from scratch) and the commercial axis that connects them.
- LEISURE + SPORT. Placed following a systematic and equidistant way one would find theatres, bars, restaurants, clubs, sports centres, etc.
- CULTURE + TECHNOLOGY. It adopts a similar logic. In this case, one would find a technological campus, some outdoor stages, a convention centre, etc.

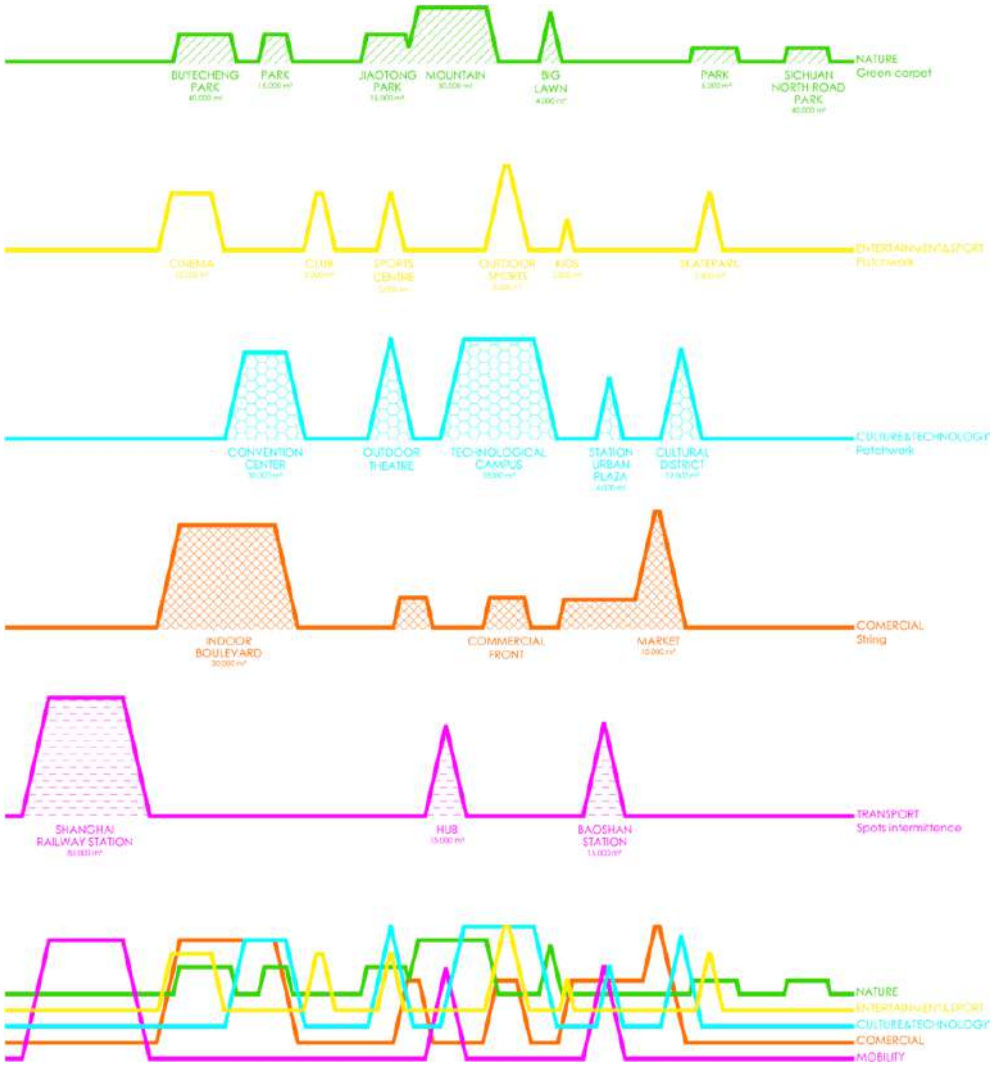

Figure 13. Diagram of the hybridization of uses and its intensity according the five traditional elements (green: nature; yellow: entertainment and sport; blue: culture and technology; orange: commercial; purple: transport). Source: UPC Team, 2015.

5.4. Projects units

The project tries to provide a strong urban identity in Zhabei. One of the components of this identity is based on the diversity and mixture of the proposal, again reinforcing the hybrid character of the whole.

Subordinated to the design patterns explained in the previous section, we identify seven project units. These are unique elements inside the project. They are parts of a whole that respond to and articulate a superior logic.

In terms of economic feasibility, linked to the phases of development, each unit has been thought of as valuing the right balance between public and private surfaces. As a result, private investors may face the cost of public spaces next to each of the units. From west to east:

Promenade buildings

The correct relation between our project and the Shanghai Railway Station is essential. Due to the strong attraction and the high number of passengers which will be generated, we need to create a solid link between the two sides. For this reason, we propose a large building that passes over the North South Elevated Road and connects the station with the downtown area.

Conceived as a horizontal skyscraper, similar to *L'Illa Diagonal* in Barcelona, it will contain, among other programs, a shopping boulevard, cinemas and a convention centre. The complexity of the downtown with its direct connection with the Shanghai Railway Station ensures that we are proposing a new centrality in the Shanghai area.

Figure 14. Axonometric perspective of the longitudinal promenade to the Shanghai Railway Station through proposed buildings. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

Downtown

Downtown emerges next to the intersection between the North South Elevated Road and Haining. This area will have the highest level of activity and programmatic density of the project. It is a superstructure conceived as a superposition of platforms at different levels, which allows us to make a smooth transition between the park level and the city level. On this podium, occupied by public programs, eight towers combining offices, hotels and residences will appear.

The main feature of these towers is their associative condition. They are conceived as a group, part of a bigger unit, not as individual elements.

Figure 15. General view of the downtown area. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

Intermodal station and the mountain

In the central part of the intervention area, we plan an intermodal station connecting underground lines 3, 4 and 8 with both public and private transport coming from Xizang North Road. In addition, entrances at the park and city levels support the relation between infrastructure and pedestrians.

An artificial mountain covers the entire infrastructure. If the entire project has its climax in the downtown towers, the linear park has its own on this peak. In terms of execution, this could be constructed from the material produced by excavations and demolished buildings, covering the latest layers with natural soil. This solution was used in Germany to reuse the debris of the buildings bombed during the World War II.

The hillside oriented to the park will have an area of opportunity on its west side. Like a Greek theatre, it will have a series of grandstands able to accommodate a large number

of people. Thus, the cultural mountain, the magic mountain or the mountain as a spiritual symbol, will become one of the icons of the park, a stage for all kinds of shows and events and a privileged point of view from which to observe the park and its surroundings.

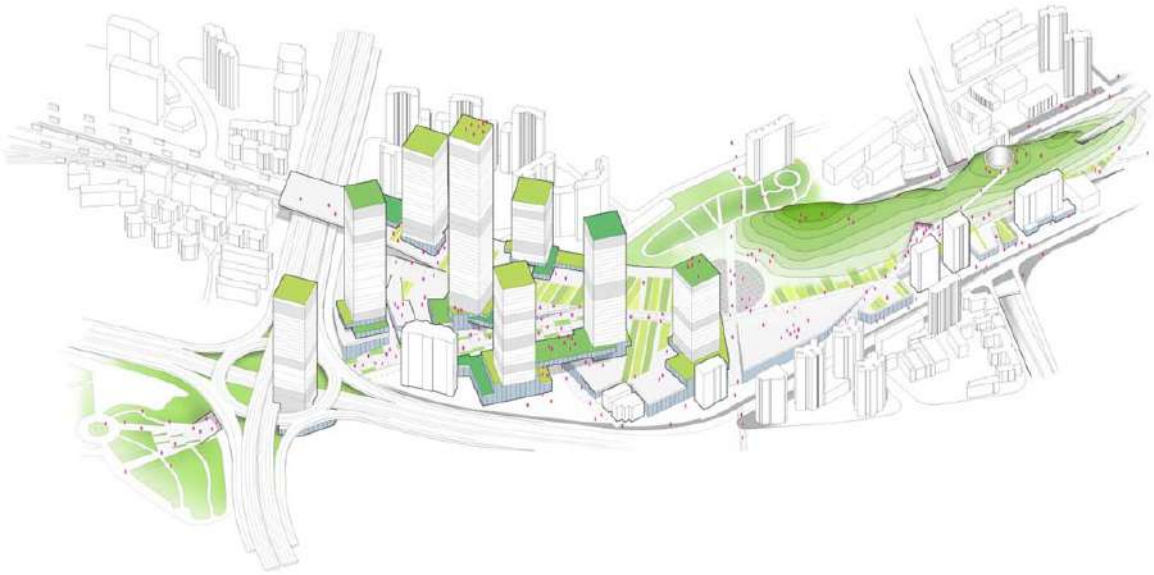

Figure 16. Axonometric perspective of the green carpet in the downtown area and the mountain. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

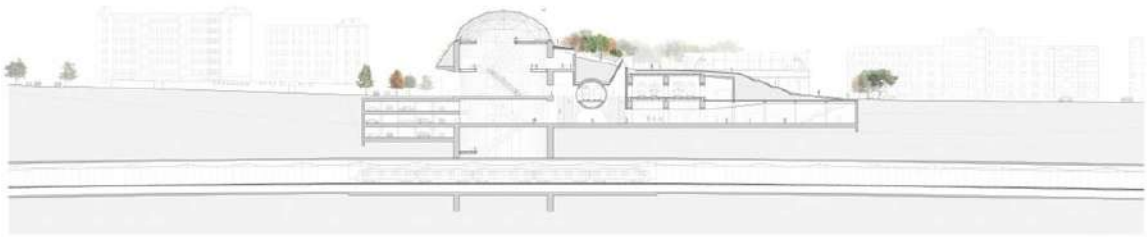

Figure 17. Cross section of the intermodal station under the mountain. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

Commercial front

As we have said before, the partial pedestrianisation of Tianmu Road, moving some of its current traffic to Haining Road, will encourage the creation of a commercial street on the southern edge of the park. It would be an irregular front, which would combine different shops and pre-existing buildings with ramps, stairs and elevators connected to the park level.

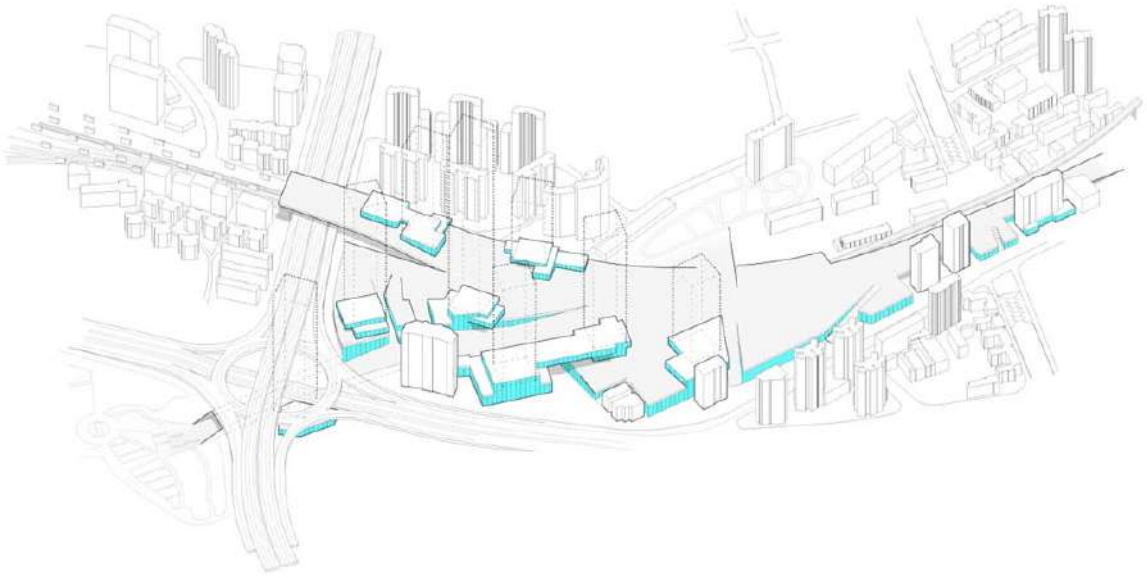

Figure 18. Axonometric perspective of the commercial front. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

Technological campus

In the northeast side, a new configuration of the urban fabric offers the opportunity to redefine the park limits. We have defined a linear building system that reinforces the continuity of the new pedestrian axes by the generation of continuous fronts. The new blocks contain a technological campus (Research + Development + Innovation, known as R+D+I) combined with residential units for students and those residents who need to be relocated.

Closed blocks

On the southeast part, we have designed a closed block system absorbing some of the pre-existing buildings and generating a new facade for the park.

Market

Along Baoshan Street, next to the metro station, the renovation of the old market creates a new meeting point in the area. We have considered the preservation of the traditional urban fabric (lilongs) as a possibility. In this case, the rehabilitation of the lilongs located in the southern part of the market and the inclusion of a cultural program specially designed for local users would increase urban activity in the area. In addition, the undergrounding of the railways beyond Xizang North Rd and the placement of the covering structure at a city level would contribute to encouraging movement between the market, our park and the Railway Museum surroundings.

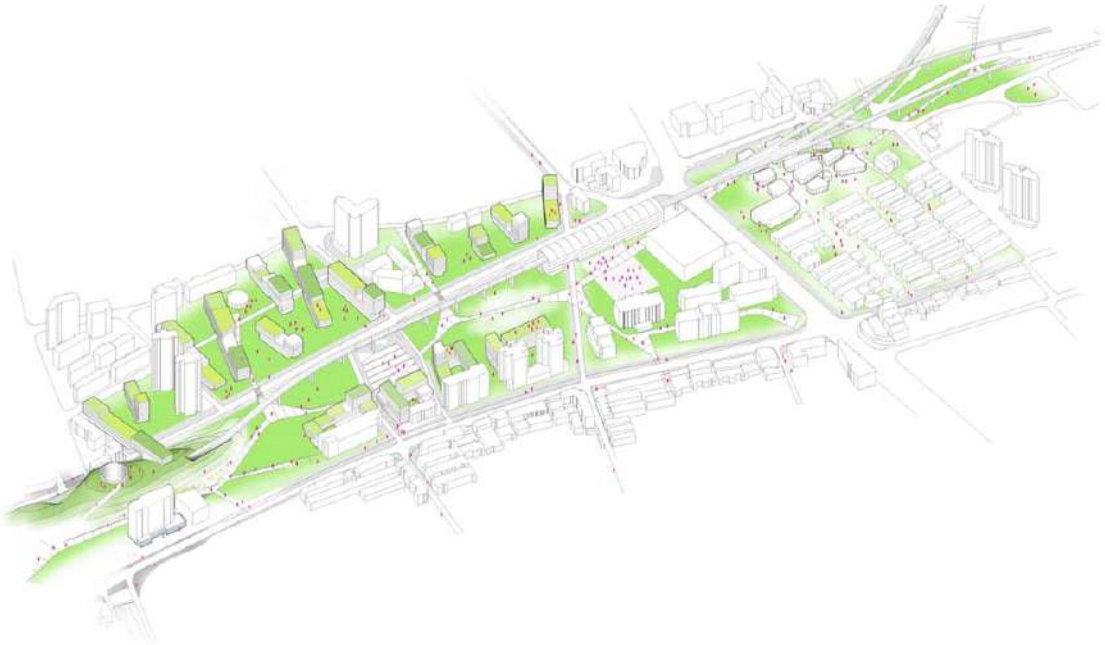

Figure 19. Axonometric perspective of the technological campus, the closed blocks and the market. Source: UPC Team, 2015.

6. Conclusion

Thanks to the proposal of the UPC Team, several new features which are harmonious, inclusive, friendly, smart, accessible, and sustainable have been introduced in the urban planning of this central area in Shanghai. These new concepts, which define a change of paradigm in the ideation of Asian cities, helped to project not only a simple park, but also a structuring park in Shanghai. All the items described in this article transform an existing urban border into an urban zipper to contribute to the improvement of life. According to this attitude, the motto that has followed the UPC Team while developing the project has been the one used during the Shanghai International Exhibition 2010, "A better city for a better life." The UPC Team decided to recover the slogan because the equipped park tries to offer a fully new lifestyle that incorporates a vibrant public life, fostering liveability and human cohesion on a local and metropolitan scale. The intervention seeks to regenerate the area thanks to its highly respectful and accurate design, linked to the aims of the Master Plan 2020–2040. Indeed, this innovative spatial design expects to bring new ways of human development within the whole city of Shanghai.

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REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

Cruising Place.
The Placemaking Practices of Men who Have Sex with Men

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Abstract
There is a fundamental belief in placemaking practice that place is a reflection of people - their memories, values, culture, and socio-spatial traditions – and that successful placemaking is the manifestation of these traditions in public policy, public space, and ultimately public life. As placemaking professionals, we work to advocate for, facilitate, and operationalize placemaking practices of the people and communities we work with. An essential part of this effort is recognition that effective placemaking involves collaboration between specialists and community stakeholders and this sentiment is expressed by institutions on the forefront of our professional and academic discourse. Placemaking professionals also place an emphasis on activating space through programmatic intervention, guided by the belief that the most effective way to generate value in public space is to create a reason or excuse for people to be there by encouraging activity, particularly economic, but also communal, political, and cultural activity.
The ongoing operationalization, sanitization, and commoditization of place inevitably results in the undermining of marginal placemaking practices, especially if they subvert our definition of a "good place." Placemaking professionals have the ability – the obligation - to cultivate a broader, more inclusive concept of place. This paper is an analysis of the social, spatial, and historical forces that have given rise to one particular form of unsanctioned placemaking practice - the activity of "cruising for sex" in public parks by men who have sex with men (MSM).

Keywords: placemaking, public parks, cruising

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There is a fundamental belief in placemaking practice that place is a reflection of people - their memories, values, culture, and socio-spatial traditions – and that successful placemaking is the manifestation of these traditions in public policy, public space, and ultimately public life. As placemaking professionals, we work to advocate for, facilitate, and operationalize placemaking practices of the people and communities we work with. An essential part of this effort is recognition that effective placemaking involves collaboration between specialists and community stakeholders and this sentiment is expressed by institutions on the forefront of our professional and academic discourse. Let us look at one example from Project for Public Spaces (PPS). On their website, PPS's definition of placemaking appears inclusive and altruistic - a rejection of the myopic elitism of top down urban planning, "when people of all ages, abilities, and socio-economic backgrounds can not only access and enjoy a place, but also play a key role in its identity, creation, and maintenance that is when we see genuine Placemaking in action." (PPS, 2009) However, beneath a veneer of magnanimity in our discourse lies an implicit indifference to placemaking practices that subvert traditional norms.

What we see emerging in current placemaking practice are methods and approaches that reinforce existing power structures and that operate under the guise of public safety, cleanliness, and economic development with definitions of community that are abstract and idealistic. (Delany, 1999) Additionally, the language used in our professional discourse to evaluate placemaking efficacy has the potential to undermine marginal social practices. PPS defines a "great place" through the lens of four categories: sociability, access & linkages, comfort & image, and usage & activities. These categories are subsequently broken down into "intangibles." These intangibles, "safe", "green", "active", "useful," "welcoming", "real", etc. have embedded in them a critical morality. Words that are vague and relative like "real," "safe," "clean," and "welcoming" become qualifiers for desirable activities in public space. This language prioritizes activities that fit into a narrow, moral, and normative interpretation of place while ignoring more subversive and marginal placemaking practices, working against the creation of places that are equitable, inclusive, and just.

Placemaking professionals also place an emphasis on activating space through programmatic intervention, guided by the belief that the most effective way to generate value in public space is to create a reason or excuse for people to be there by encouraging activity, particularly economic, but also communal, political, and cultural activity. In *Place, an Introduction* Tim Creswell uses Yi-Fu Tuan's analysis of a Wallace Stevens poem to illustrate this same idea, "…the mere act of putting a jar on a hill produces a place which constructs the space around it. Wilderness becomes place." (Creswell, 2014) In Life Between Buildings, as part of a critique of the desolate and inactive public spaces created by modernist architects and planners, Jan Gehl writes that activity in public space has the effect of perpetuating itself, "Something happens, because something happens, because something happens." (Gehl, 1971) PPS calls this the power of ten, "places thrive when users have a range of reasons (10+) to be there. These might include a place to sit, playgrounds to enjoy, art to touch, music to hear, food to eat, history to experience, and people to meet." (PPS, n.d.) The assumption made in these three examples is that activity is a catalyst for more activity and that an increase in activity results in a more robust public space. Much like Wallace's jar, placemaking professionals use food trucks, movie nights, pop-up libraries, and markets to create a sense of place. However, these programmatic interventions are a symptom of a

colonialist mentality within the placemaking profession that treats presumably dysfunctional, underutilized, or awkward public space as a clean slate, ready to be activated by a sublime collaboration between engaged communities and selfless professionals. What these interventions do indeed create is a reason for people to enter and stay in a place by encouraging a type of conspicuous consumption that leads to the commodification of place and trades genuine, organic placemaking for cheap marketing gimmicks.

The ongoing operationalization, sanitization, and commoditization of place inevitably results in the undermining of marginal placemaking practices, especially if they subvert our definition of a "good place." Placemaking professionals have the ability – the obligation - to cultivate a broader, more inclusive concept of place. This paper, *Cruising Place: The Placemaking Practices of Men who Have Sex with Men,* is an analysis of the social, spatial, and historical forces that have given rise to one particular form of unsanctioned placemaking practice - the activity of "cruising for sex" in public parks by men who have sex with men (MSM). The architect Kathy Pool calls these places "recycling territories" that house those without property, shelter homeless people displaced by more restrictive politics, provide cover for socially shunned citizens, accommodate diverse populations not as actively fostered elsewhere, and that rarely disallows or diminishes more codified activities and populations that are accepted everywhere. The flexibility of natural landscapes afforded by urban public parks provide space for marginalized populations to inhabit, manipulate, and make place with minimal interference, unlike more formalized, programmed urban spaces. (Pool, 2000) Incorporating other, more obscure, subversive, and marginal placemaking practices - practices that push, challenge, and negotiate the boundaries of our social norms - will allow us to develop a more comprehensive understanding of what it means to make place. These places are the frontier of marginal placemaking - the hidden spaces of subversive placemaking practice. In order to open one door to this new discourse, I chose four places where MSM cruise as the central focus of this study. These sites were The Back Bay Fens and Belle Isle Reservation in Boston, Massachusetts, USA and Cunningham Park and Forest Park in Queens, New York, USA.

Because cruising for sex is in a grey area legally (Queally, 2016), the realities of studying it as a placemaking practice requires a different set of research tools than those typically used by placemaking professionals. Tracking and counts, for instance, provide useful quantitative data, but in the context of cruising, provide little practical information. The very nature of cruising requires one to be invisible to the uninitiated, making it nearly impossible to distinguish MSM cruising for sex from everybody else. To find a way to objectively differentiate cruisers from non-cruisers, I analyzed cruising places through four lenses – historical, sociological, anthropological, and theoretical. Historical and sociological research of the behavioral patterns exhibited by MSM was crucial at the beginning stage of analysis. Laud Humphries' work on "tea rooms" (public bathrooms used for cruising) from the 1960's was helpful in identifying patterns from an empirical perspective. (Humphreys, 1970) Hal Fischer's "Gay Semiotics" and Michel Foucault's essay on heterotopias provided additional anthropological and theoretical backing. (Fischer, 1977) (Foucault, 1967).

Figure 1. Belle Isle Reservation in Boston, Massachusetts,. Illustration by the author.

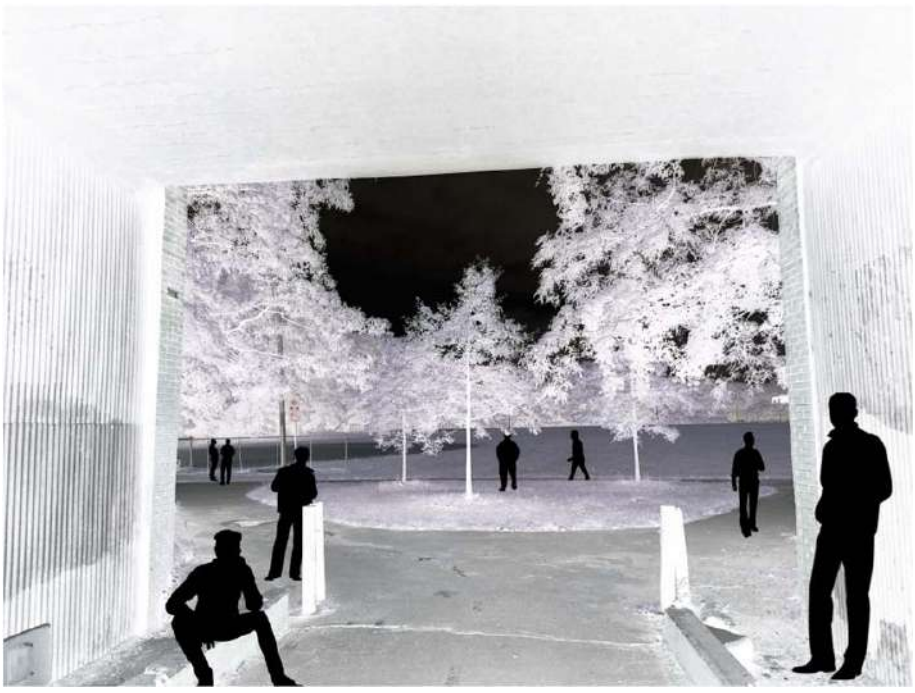

Figure 1. Cunningham Park and Forest Park in Queens, New York. Illustration by the author.

At each site, through diagrammatic spatial analysis coupled with photo documentation, along with formal and informal interviews with MSM, it was possible to gain a more complete understanding of how MSM make and maintain place through cruising for sex. Respondents displayed a sentimental conception of place when interviewed both

formally and informally. One man referred to Forest Park as a, "gay backyard," and further emphasized this in response to a formal survey about other MSM in the park, "I would feel like I'm losing a place to escape to for relaxation and community/hanging out…It's a place to get away and enjoy themselves because they can't in the outside." Beyond the experiential understandings gained through personal interaction, a comprehensive spatial analysis of these sites demonstrated how public parks have the spatial capacity to accommodate the placemaking practices of MSM and other marginalized groups - practices that have been side-lined by other, more codified and restrictive built landscapes.

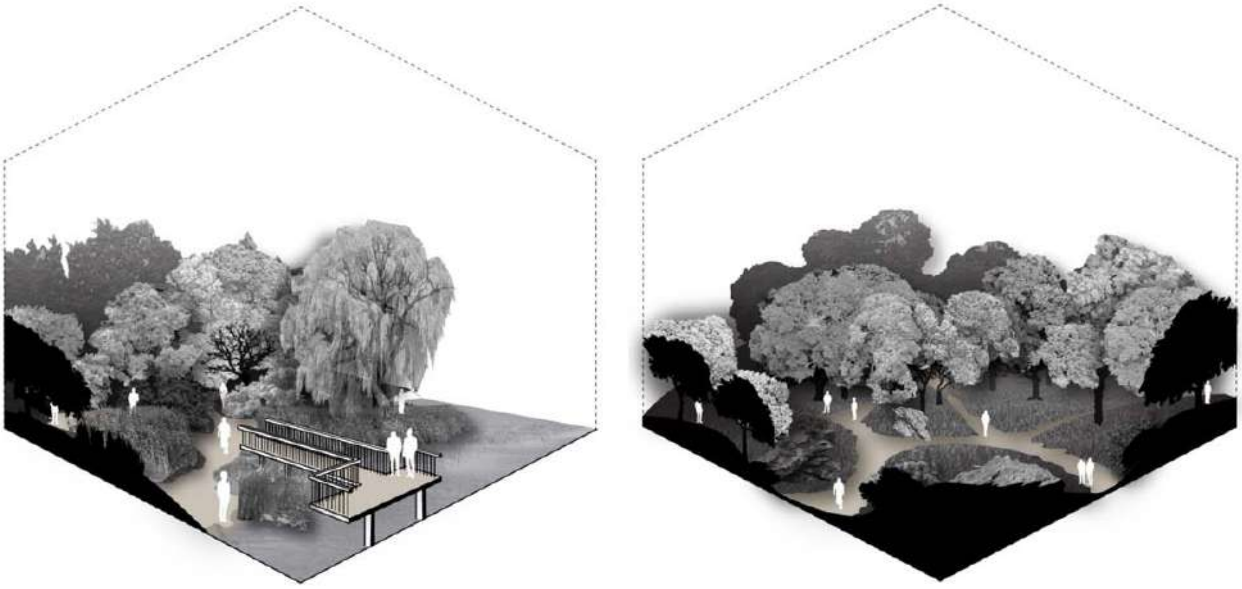

Figure 3 and 4. Formal typology: (left) cul de sac, (right) ramble. Illustrations by the author.

At all four cruising places, the distribution and types of sex-specific litter, the way pathways are carved into vegetation, how private areas connect to larger paths, and the way weather and seasonal changes affect usage patterns share spatial parallels. Distilling and categorizing these similarities through a spatial typology revealed six discrete spatial configurations – runway, ramble, cul-de-sac, maze, shelter, and field. These spatial configurations are ubiquitous among urban public parks and can be observed at several other outdoor cruising places not included in the four case studies. While each configuration manifests in unique ways at each site, their overall spatial qualities are nearly identical. Each of the six spatial types explored accommodate at least one of five contact relationships – mixing, viewing, colliding, connecting, and concealing. When separate spatial types are combined to form a larger configuration, cruising will inevitably occur in these places, given that there are MSM in close proximity to one another and interested in sexual contact. To illustrate this, let's look at a Yelp review from of one of the case study sites, Bell Isle Reservation,

> *"… as you enter the parking lot there tend to be a lot of idling vehicles with middle aged men peering at your every move especially if you are a guy which is a little creepy. As I*

> *walked into the paved foot path to the bridge and lookout tower I noticed a lot of dirt foot paths leading into the brush. My dog went nuts barking and got off his leash. I chased him in there and caught him pretty quickly. As I put his leash back there were sounds of moaning. Not more than 20 feet away from me down through the brush were two naked men obviously engaging in a sexual activity. You can figure out that this is obviously a gay sex playground."* – "Ron W.", Yelp"

By the end of the study, from the research, in particular from the formal and informal interviews with other MSM. Sex-related refuse appears to be an integral part of the functioning of cruising places, creating a type of informal wayfinding for MSM. One interview respondent said when asked why they first started cruising in Forest Park, "Started young 14 found out about it from school trip. Saw condoms, that's how I knew." The refuse was an indicator of very specific past actions and was a crucial sign of placemaking specific to MSM. Additionally, cruising places appear to transcend cultures, borders, government systems, and can appear anywhere as long as spatial and infrastructural conditions support it. In fact since its inception, the gay cruising website cruisinggays.com has catalogued over 43,000 cruising places worldwide. Most of the cruising places listed are in North America and Europe, however, presumably because the website is based in the U.S. and is in English. It is safe to assume that there are many more cruising places outside of the US and Europe that aren't listed on the website. By 1997 the site was receiving over 130,000 hits per day and had established itself as a bridge between online and real-world cruising (Blum, 2016).

Figure 5. Man cruising in Forest Park. Picture by the author.

MSM use cruising to carve out places of belonging and liberation that are crucial for homosocialization and these cruising places are oftentimes threatened by the privatization and over-programming of adjacent public space. (Isay, 1989) (Delany, 1999) Finally, marginal places (the leftovers) provide the necessary space for marginalized placemaking practices (Rogers, 2012) (Blum, 2016).

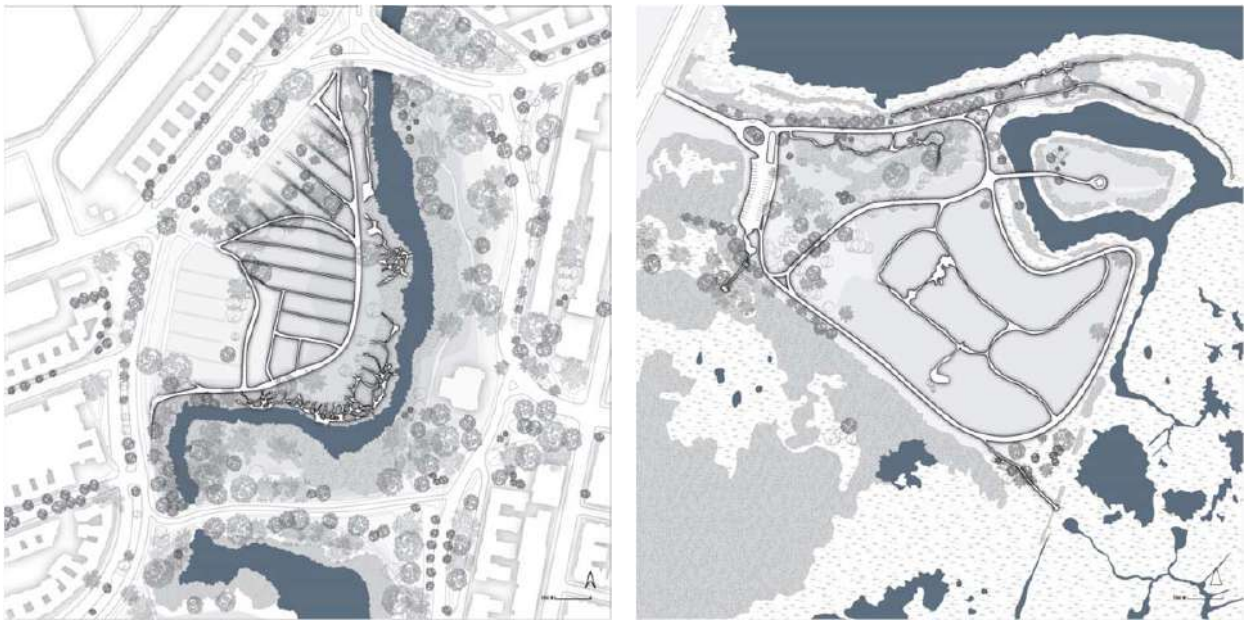

Figure 6 and 7. (left) Back Bay Fens, (right) Belle Isle. Illustrations by the author.

Figure 8 and 9. Public left in the park. Illustrations by the author.

These conclusions about the placemaking practices of MSM eventually led to five core recommendations. First, we need to regard leftover, marginal spaces as more than just places that are dysfunctional, unused, or in need of occupation by current placemaking interventions. Second, we must recognize the placemaking value of fringe spaces to marginalized groups. Third, it's imperative that we push to adjust public policy and design approaches that allow for more private areas in public space. This includes an end to entrapment and policing of people engaged in discreet public sex. Fourth, we

should encourage more unplanned contact in public space rather than networking-oriented, hyperprogrammed events. Finally, it's our obligation to encourage members of marginalized communities to become professional placemakers, planners, and designers in order to be more effective at addressing the placemaking needs of marginalized people and places. These strategies could help foster a deeper understanding of the placemaking needs of marginalized people. Our efficacy as placemakers is dependent upon broadening our perception of what it means to make place. By encouraging diversity of perspective in our professional practice and academic discourse, we will increase our capability to make public space more open, inclusive, and equitable.

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REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

Remediating Sunset Park.
Environmental Injustice, Danger, and Gentrification

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Abstract
This paper examines narratives from users and designers of a recently opened public park created via brownfield remediation processes on a historically industrial urban waterfront in the Sunset Park neighbourhood of Brooklyn, New York City. Interviews reveal that designers and community members were pivotal contributors to the transformation of a site that was previously associated with danger and toxicity into something of greater ecological and social value. Designers' visions played a key role in subsequent user experiences in the park, but community input and struggle both sparked, and drastically altered, the park's design trajectory in an effort to claim the park as a neighbourhood asset and limit the degree to which it would contribute to displacement of existing residents. This project is unique because it is a publicly funded remediation of a municipally-owned contaminated site, yet initial project designs were geared toward on-site revenue generation to fund operations. Two broad implications of this study are (a) projects of this nature can represent a paradox of activism in that it is unclear how far community activism can go to address the systemic problems associated with environmental gentrification and (b) there is a need for studies of environmental gentrification to take a granulated approach to the positive and negative aspects associated with these spaces rather than look at them as more holistically positive or negative endeavours. The multiple scales of ambiguity and ambivalence that emerged from this study are emblematic of the dynamics associated with brownfield remediation, green space creation in historically underserved communities, and environmental gentrification.

Keywords: parks, environmental gentrification, brownfield remediation, waterfront revitalization, environmental justice

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1. Introduction

The remediation of urban waterfronts into green spaces provides a valuable opportunity to examine the convergence of many factors, key among which are the provision and function of public spaces, the intersection of human and ecological systems, and the changing demographics of urban centres via processes of environmental gentrification. In New York City, many waterfront spaces have undergone rapid transformation into publicly accessible green spaces in the last two decades, including Brooklyn Bridge Park, Governors Island, and Hudson River Park, among others.

Development efforts along the New York City waterfront are not limited to publicly accessible park space. In fact, waterfront initiatives in the city include building "luxury residential towers, cruise ship terminals, high-end retail, and high-value added production to replace the obsolete industrial infrastructure that defines much of New York City's 520-mile waterfront" (Hum, 2014). A signifier of a concerted effort to reshape the city's waterfront was released under Mayor Michael Bloomberg with *Vision 2020: New York City Comprehensive Waterfront Plan*, which included the stated goals of expanding public access, supporting the working waterfront, restoring the natural waterfront, and increasing climate resilience, among others (New York City Department of City Planning, 2011).

But how do these changes relate to the people living in and near these areas? Remediation of such environments forces reconsideration, and a potential collective re-envisioning, of what the spaces in question should be and who they should serve. Harvey (2008) argues that the "quality of urban life has become a commodity," and that cities today provide an "aura of freedom of choice, provided you have the money" (p. 31) to patronize the shopping malls, restaurants, and marketplaces provided therein. Harvey describes this process of commodification as manifesting in the built form through *fortified fragments* such as gated communities and privatized public spaces formed via mechanisms of *creative destruction*, whereby it is "the poor, the underprivileged and those marginalized from political power that suffer first and foremost" (Harvey, 2008: 33).

This paper focuses on one brownfield remediation project on the Brooklyn waterfront that involved the transformation of abandoned shipping piers into a waterfront public park, Bush Terminal Park (see Figure 1). Interviews with park designers and park users in the months following its public opening reveal that designers and community members were both pivotal contributors to the transformation of a site previously associated with danger and toxicity into something with greater ecological and social value. The designers' visions played a key role in subsequent user experiences in the park, but community input and struggle both sparked, and drastically altered, the park's design trajectory in an effort to claim the park as a neighbourhood asset and limit the degree to which its presence would contribute to gentrification. Findings from this study aid understanding of the complex relationships between brownfield remediation, green space creation in historically underserved communities, and environmental gentrification.

1.1. Brownfield Remediation

A myriad of public and private practices in the twentieth century in the United States of America left many neighbourhoods deeply divided along racial and economic boundaries. As Checker (2019) describes, one of the key mechanisms that proliferated such divisions was so-called *redlining* following the Great Depression, wherein federal and private banks systematically segregated neighbourhoods through refusals to insure mortgages to people

of color in white neighbourhoods. Additionally, federal funds for infrastructure were frequently steered toward white suburban areas, which left poor people of color disenfranchised, often in urban areas with high concentrations of industrial facilities. The combination of the structural transition away from a manufacturing-based economy and environmental legislation in the 1960s and 1970s then led to drastic job losses in such communities, yet the noxious remains of previous industrial uses remained. Quantitative analyses of the locations of hazardous sites in the United States indicate they are more common in minority areas today, even if the links between poverty and such hazards are more nuanced (Campbell et al., 2010; Ringquist, 2005).

Figure I. Bush Terminal Park in relation to the Sunset Park neighborhood, including the Brooklyn Army Terminal, Brooklyn Marine Terminal, Gowanus Expressway, and Sunset Park (The City of New York, 2009, p. 9, modified by the Author). Note:The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

In sum, during the last half of the 20th century, people of color in urban areas faced environmental pollution, as well as job instability, ever-diminishing public benefits, rising crime, and a host of other racial barriers to opportunity. (Checker, 2019: 6)

One aspect of the fallout from deindustrialization in the United States is a patchwork of vacant and contaminated industrial sites, or *brownfields*. The US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) estimates that there are more than 450,000 brownfields in the United States, a result of so many industrial areas that are no longer operational, yet remain unremediated (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2014). The formal definition of a brownfield is a real property for which "the expansion, redevelopment, or reuse of which may be complicated by the presence or potential presence of a hazardous substance, pollutant, or contaminant" (*Small Business Liability Relief and Brownfields Revitalization Act*, 2002, sec. 211). Brownfields range in scale and degree of toxicity from former small businesses such as gas stations and dry cleaners to large industrial facilities. Common pollutants at brownfield sites include asbestos, lead,

petroleum, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), and other volatile organic compounds (VOCs) (Eckerd and Heidelberg, 2015). Once abandoned, brownfields are also often associated with further deterioration of environmental quality through illegal dumping (DePass, 2006). Abandoned contaminated sites risk leaching toxic chemicals into the air and groundwater, and they are also associated with depreciations in surrounding land values and increased joblessness (Leyden et al., 2011 in Eckerd and Heidelberg, 2015). In this paper, I use the term brownfield as defined above, with an understanding that there are important distinctions between contaminated site remediation projects that (a) emphasize private sector development incentives, (b) are Superfund sites (those where the federal government is generally involved), and (c) are publicly owned and publicly funded, such as the subject of this study (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2013).

An early attempt by the federal government to address brownfields was the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 (CERCLA), which was a regulatory law primarily geared toward providing federal assistance to locating and holding accountable the entities responsible for creating brownfield conditions (Eckerd and Heidelberg, 2015). But this approach is often met with limited success because the original entities frequently no longer exist by the time compensation is sought. Many brownfield sites that are ultimately successfully remediated involve a combination of public and private funds on otherwise valuable land.

A 2002 amendment to CERCLA was designed to further encourage private brownfield remediation through a combination of regulatory relief, tax-related incentives, and expedited permitting (Eckerd and Heidelberg, 2015; Haninger et al., 2012). But the fact that so many successful remediation projects involve government incentives and private investors could be an indication that many projects that move forward with remediation activities are already attractive development opportunities, while those that are seen as less lucrative might remain neglected.

> The goal of a market approach is to make remediation more attractive to the market by making redevelopment more profitable, but private developers are not inclined to take on a particularly complex remediation project unless the land has high potential value and quality infrastructure. (Eckerd and Heidelberg, 2015: 254)

If this is the case, Ekerd and Heidelberg argue, remediation projects might often prioritize economic development in place of addressing health and equity concerns. Their conclusions align with previous research indicating that relief from liability, market-based incentives, and less contaminated sites are key drivers of developer interest in potential remediation projects (Alberini et al., 2005; McCarthy, 2009). Eckerd and Keeler (2012) also find that while brownfield sites are commonly located in poor and predominantly minority communities, the sites in minority communities are typically cleaned up more slowly. DePass (2006) and Pearsall (2010) argue that brownfield redevelopment projects should address the social issues of surrounding communities in addition to the direct environmental concerns, and that community members who have historically borne the risk of exposure to contamination ought to share in an equitable, or proportional, degree of benefits associated with remediation.

1.2. Environmental Sustainability and Environmental Gentrification

Sustainability, or *greening*, initiatives are common and broad classifications of efforts to address environmental issues in urban environments. A frequently cited early formalization of the concept of *sustainable development* originates from the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, often referred to as the Brundtland Report, which states that sustainable development is that which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1988, ch. 4, para.1). A key consideration in the Brundland Report and subsequent refinements is that *needs* should be prioritized relative to the world's impoverished and historically disenfranchised groups (United Nations General Assembly, 1992).

Despite the foundational definitions of sustainability as interwoven with addressing the needs of impoverished and disadvantaged communities, a failure to address equity "pervades most 'green' and 'environmental' sustainability theory, rhetoric, and practice" (Agyeman, 2013: 4). Ecological benefits may come through the implementation of urban sustainability-oriented initiatives, but the creation of such environmental amenities is often associated with attracting wealth and displacing low-income residents and businesses.

For example, sustainability initiatives and urban environmental amenities were essential elements of New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg's effort to develop a cohesive *brand* for the city upon taking office in 2002, utilizing the argument that New York City was worth the high costs of living and doing business. As such, Bloomberg's administration courted specific industries that "held to be well suited to take advantage of the city's 'value proposition' (e.g., biotechnology, pharmaceuticals, tourism, and media)" (Brash, 2011: 115). One of the primary vehicles for accomplishing this goal was prioritizing the development of amenities to make the city more attractive to those industries and the people who worked within them. Michael Bloomberg has been widely criticized for supporting policies and development patterns in an effort to transform New York City into a *luxury city*, thereby making it a less livable place for those not associated with what Brash describes as the *Transnational Capitalist Class* (TCC) and the *Professional Managerial Class* (PMC) that support them (Brash, 2011).

The formalization of Bloomberg's strategy for approaching environmental concerns in city came through *PlaNYC: A Greener, Greater New York* (2007), which identified environmental goals across multiple categories and explicitly called for remediating the city's brownfields and repurposing them for contemporary uses, as well as increasing park access across the city. One initiative that followed PlaNYC was the City's Brownfield Cleanup Program (BCP), which was intended to serve as a more accessible form of funding and assistance to developers and investors than were typically served by the federally analogous program launched in 1995 (New York City Mayor's Office of Environmental Remediation, 2010). As Checker (2015) argues, many of the measurable environmental goals outlined in PlaNYC were "ultimately linked to – and frequently served – its real estate agenda" (p. 166). The BCP, in particular, was responsible for several highly controversial redevelopments in New York City, many of which were associated with luxury commercial and residential development (Checker, 2015).

Because so much of New York City's waterfront is comprised of antiquated industrial uses, there is potential for a radical transformation of waterfront infrastructure and buildings into new amenities that address environmental concerns and spur economic growth. However, while the opportunities are abundant for addressing extensive environmental challenges through waterfront revitalization and brownfield remediation, many residential communities that surround and are interspersed within these areas are dominated by historically low-income, working-class people of color.

A tremendous risk to existing communities that accompanies environmental remediation is the loss of affordability that comes with improved aesthetic qualities and rising land values. Such transformations support gentrification, which is a process whereby new residents (typically young, white professionals with higher education and income levels) replace disproportionately low-income, working-class residents from "older and previously deteriorated inner-city housing in a spatially concentrated manner" (Marcuse, 1985: 198–199). Smith (Smith, 2002) describes gentrification as a key aspect of neoliberal urbanism, which is fueled by a "systematic partnership of public planning with public and private capital" (p. 441) organized to fill a void left in the absence of liberal urban policies and oriented toward highest immediate returns instead of regulating the direction of economic growth.

The development of green amenities, particularly those associated with brownfield remediation sites, could support *environmental gentrification*, which Checker (2015) defines as a relationship between upscaling low-income neighborhoods and reducing environmental burdens therein with "green initiatives that appeal to elite ideas about 'livability'" (p. 159), such as parks, bike lanes, and farmer's markets. Checker argues that many urban sustainability redevelopment initiatives risk supporting environmental gentrification, wherein efforts to improve neighborhood quality are co-opted to attract more affluent residents, the reduction of environmental burdens in one neighborhood lead to their concentration in another, and environmental concerns become framed as technical concerns solvable largely through private investment.

Brownfield redevelopment projects, in particular, are linked with gentrification and displacement of people of color (Essoka, 2010). Gould and Lewis (2017) describe how *greening* initiatives in neighborhoods are one of the first steps toward gentrification often undertaken by what they describe as the *green growth coalition*, a network of elite politicians and real estate developers that advocate for greening and subsequently reap the rewards.

> *There is no doubt that urban greening and sustainability initiatives are necessary to address environmental issues, especially climate change. However, without policies that are attentive to the social justice aspects of sustainability, greening leads to great inequality, and adds credence to claims of environmentalism and environmentalists being elitist.* (Gould and Lewis, 2017: 4)

The case under study in this paper is particularly interesting because it is a remediation project that did not rely on the more common private development incentives to spur remediation and redevelopment, but it was nonetheless initially planned as reliant upon public and private funding in construction and operations, respectively.

2. Method

2.1. Study Area

2.1.1. Sunset Park

The Sunset Park neighborhood of Brooklyn, located near the western edge of the borough and south of Greenwood Cemetery, is named after a 24-acre park that was constructed in the 1890s atop a hill at the center of the neighborhood. From its apex, the park offers views of much of the city and serves as a heavily trafficked center for recreation. The neighborhood around the park has transformed through a series of waves of immigration throughout the history of New York City. Dutch settlers first came to the area in the 1600s and employed African slave labor to establish farmlands along the waterfront. Beginning in the early 1800s, subsequent waves of immigrants from Ireland, Norway, Finland, Poland, and Italy arrived in search of employment opportunities along the industrializing waterfront (Hum, 2014). Many of the large population of Norwegians in Sunset Park were engaged in maritime-related jobs such as shipbuilding and sailing even as late as the 1940s.

Neighborhood demographics shifted again in the 1950s and 1960s with new Puerto Rican residents, and Sunset Park has been a majority Latino neighborhood since the 1970s. However, each decade since has seen a substantial growth in Asian residents, which increased from 21.8% to 33.8% from 2000 to 2015, while the Hispanic population decreased from 47.9% to 38%. The percentage of white residents has remained relatively stable during this period, between 23% and 24.3% (NYU Furman Center, 2017).

One key moment in the industrialization of the Sunset Park waterfront was the construction of the Bush Terminal complex, spearheaded by Irving T. Bush in the 1890s. Once fully developed, the then highly innovative manufacturing, warehouse, and port facility consisted of 118 warehouses with 25 million cubic feet of storage space, eight piers, an internal railway system, and other industrial facilities (Hum, 2014). Bush Terminal employed tens of thousands of residents and was the busiest, and largest, facility of its type in New York City (Ment, 1980 in Hum, 2014).

Bush Terminal facilities were designed prior to the advent of containerized shipping methods, and thus the campus was largely unable to compete when modern shipping facilities were constructed in New Jersey. These changes, along with drastic shifts in the broader industrial composition of the United States, led to substantial economic declines along the Sunset Park waterfront and in surrounding neighborhoods. By 1969, both the Brooklyn Army Terminal and Bush Terminal piers had closed.

Another key component in the depression of the Sunset Park neighborhood was the 1941 construction along Third Avenue of the Gowanus Expressway, and its elevation and widening in the late 1950s. While the expressway has been credited with supporting industrial activity on the waterfront, it created a stark physical separation between much of the residential neighborhood and the waterfront, and deeply disrupted an established business and cultural district along Third Avenue. Sunset Park was designated a federal poverty area in 1964, the same year that the Varrazano-Narrows Bridge to Staten Island opened, which further facilitated white flight from the area (Gould and Lewis, 2017).

In the following decades, low housing costs attracted new immigrants, many of whom came from Latin America and Southeast Asia. Today, the neighborhood has a population

of 149,773 and a poverty rate of 31.6%, with median household income in 2015 of $45,710 (in 2016 dollars), which decreased from $48,870 in 2000. Changes in real estate values, however, are reflective of the broader changes in New York City, as median single family home prices increased from $346,340 to $1,197,500 from 2000 to 2015 (NYU Furman Center, 2017).

2.1.2. Bush Terminal Park.

The focus of this study is Bush Terminal Park, a waterfront park situated on the site of the former Bush Terminal complex. After years of community-driven advocacy, and subsequent remediation and construction, the park opened to the public in November 2014.

Following the closure of the Bush Terminal complex in the 1960s, the City of New York Department of Ports and Terminals contracted with a private company in the 1970s to fill the areas between the piers for the eventual purpose of constructing storage and parking facilities. However, this activity stopped after several years due to concerns about the nature of the fill material. It was later determined that illegal disposal of liquid wastes such as oils, sludges, and waste waters occurred on the site during the fill period, leading the City to secure the property and begin a series of contamination investigations from the 1980s into the early 2000s (New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, 2004). Along with other community residents, a local Latino community-based environmental justice organization, UPROSE, began advocating for the construction of a park on the site in the 1990s (Gould and Lewis, 2017).

Following years of community activism and planning, the Bloomberg administration announced in 2006 $36 million in funding from a combination of federal, state, and city sources for the remediation of the site and construction of a recreational park (Fried, 2006; New York City Office of the Mayor, 2006). As constructed, the park is located within a commercial complex that is owned by New York City and under the jurisdiction of the New York City Department of Small Business Services (DSBS) (New York City Department of Parks and Recreation et al., 2014). Moreover, the Bush Terminal complex is administered by the New York City Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC), so NYCEDC coordinated the park design and construction process, but the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) took over operations following its opening to the public (New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, 2014).

In October 2014, as Bush Terminal Park neared opening to the public, representatives of DSBS, NYCEDC, and DPR signed a memorandum of understanding with an initial term of 20 years that established DPR as responsible for park maintenance and operations. However, the agreement also states that, in addition to other responsibilities, NYCEDC would provide an annual maintenance payment to DPR that could only be used for the park itself (New York City Department of Parks and Recreation et al., 2014).

Bush Terminal Park participated in New York State's Environmental Restoration Program (ERP), wherein the state provides grants to municipalities for the purpose of site investigation and remediation of eligible brownfield sites. For a site to be eligible to participate in the ERP, it must be owned by a municipality or at least jointly owned between a municipality and a not-for-profit corporation, among other requirements. The ERP is distinct from other programs administered by the state, including the State

Superfund Program (SSF) which functions as an enforcement program, and the Brownfield Cleanup Program (BCP), which is designed to enhance private-sector remediation of brownfields largely through brownfield investment incentives to private developers in the form of tax credits for remediation and development (New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, 2006).
Remedial construction began at the site in August 2009 and the Certificate of Completion is dated May 28, 2015 (New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, 2018). According to the Site Management Plan developed by the environmental engineering firm that conducted the testing and remediation of the site, soils and fill materials, as well as groundwater and sediments, were impacted by the presence of polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs) and metals. Methane was also present in soil gases on the site. "As a whole, the petroleum-related compounds, solvents, PAHs, and metals detected in the environmental media at the site are consistent with the alleged dumping of plating wastes and oil sludges at the site during the 1970s" (TRC Environmental Corporation, 2014: 1-7).

Figure 2. Composite aerial photograph of Bush Terminal Park (Bluesky et al., 2016, modified by the Author). The image illustrates the single point of entry to the waterfront park through the Bush Terminal industrial campus following the park's initial opening to the public. Major features of the park include two athletic fields, a comfort station, the protected natural area, and tidal pools.

The site remediation process first included *deep dynamic compaction* (ibid: 1-5) in 2006 wherein a 6-foot diameter, 15-ton concrete tamper weight was dropped repeatedly from 50-foot heights to reduce site grades and future settling potential. The key remediation strategies employed thereafter included: (a) a one- to two-foot cover system of soil, concrete, and turf across the site; (b) a riprap stone cover system to stabilize the shoreline; and (c) a passive landfill gas management system. No soil or contaminated landfill materials were removed from the site as a part of the remediation, as the remediation strategies were designed instead to reduce the possibility of human exposure via containment of existing contaminants (with the exception of methane) (TRC Environmental Corporation, 2014).

Figure 3. Photographs of Bush Terminal Park (all pictures by the Author).

Design features of Bush Terminal Park as of its opening included two large synthetic turf playing fields, tidal pools, a *protected natural area*, a rip-rap stabilized jetty, a comfort station (with bathrooms, storage, and staff offices) constructed from repurposed shipping containers, open green space, and walking and bicycle paths (see Figures 2 and 3). Notably, the park opened with only one point of entry, which required users to enter the Bush Terminal commercial campus at 43rd Street and First Avenue and navigate through the campus toward the Brooklyn waterfront before entering the park.

Bush Terminal Park is an ideal site for this study because it is a newly opened waterfront park made possible through the remediation of an existing waterfront brownfield site. The Sunset Park industrial waterfront is also unique because zoning designations protect the commercial character of much of the waterfront area and the NYCEDC, which manages much of the land in the area, has a commitment to shaping a so-called *sustainable urban industrial district* on the waterfront in the years to come (Hum, 2014; The City of New York, 2009). Bush Terminal Park stands in stark contrast to another recently constructed Brooklyn waterfront park to the north, Brooklyn Bridge Park, which controversially relies upon commercial and high-end residential development to fund its construction and operations, and in doing so serves as one manifestation of public park financial self-sufficiency increasingly common in New York City following the city's fiscal crisis in the 1970s (Benediktsson, in press).

2.2. Field and Analytical Methods

I conducted field work on the site beginning in late spring 2015 into spring 2016. In addition to participant observation at the park and review of historical documents, the primary data for this study are semi-structured interviews with park users (n = 16) and landscape architects (n = 4), including one representative of NYCEDC who worked on the design of the park at various stages from the project's inception through construction (Low et al., 2005). Adult park users were selected to represent a variety of user types in terms of group size, activities, and demographics. Landscape architects were selected from a small pool of individuals who worked directly on the project, and included both senior leadership and project managers.

Interviews with park users ranged from five to 20 minutes and included open-ended questions about how users feel about the park, how they use it, and their impressions of the neighborhood as a whole. Interviews with landscape architects were at least one hour long, conducted at their respective offices, and structured around design choices, processes, and constraints, as well as their perspectives on the role the park serves in the neighborhood. I used a narrative analysis framework to analyze the interview data (Daiute, 2014).

There are notable differences between the respective natures of my interviews with park designers and users. The designers I spoke with all had years of experience working on the project at various stages throughout its design and construction, so my interviews with them were geared toward eliciting narratives that would communicate historical accounts of the park creation and the values and perspectives they took to the process. In contrast, park users I interviewed varied considerably in terms of their historical involvement with, and even knowledge of, the park. In many cases, users I interviewed had only recently learned about the newly opened park at the time of interviews.

With this difference in mind, I do not intend to present designer narratives as unquestioned historical fact in contrast with users' expressed experiences. I do consider the histories described by park designers, but with the knowledge that they are constructed narratives. The selection of these groups as primary units of analysis for this study is worthwhile because they reflect common dynamics in urban design, and I analyze the narratives with the intent of exploring alignments and tensions in their perspectives about the Sunset Park neighborhood, visions of what the park could be, and how it was implemented. All research associated with this study was conducted following review and approval of the research protocol by The City University of New York's University Integrated Institutional Review Board (IRB File #2015-0527).

3. Results

3.1. Remediation Visions: Fears and Desires

3.1.1. Recent history of fear and toxicity

The creation of an entirely new publicly accessible green waterfront park provides residents a unique opportunity to engage in new activities and imagine new futures. It was common for park users to describe the new park as a space that contrasted starkly with their memories of the neighborhood in decades past, particularly in relation to fear and toxicity. For example, some users spoke of a general sense of danger that previously permeated the neighborhood, and how it was common to cluster into groups in and around their homes to form a kind of bubble of security in an otherwise unsafe place and time.

> *But when I grew up, I grew up, I was born in this area and, uh, there were a lot of gangs in this area. In the 50s and the 40s, and there was a certain area you knew not to go here, you knew not go to there because if you went there by yourself, you were in trouble. But where I grew up … there was a bunch of guys that we all hung out together and it was like our little safe zone. You didn't go past that.* (User #8)

The narratives of fear were often described in relation to space – areas outside of the home or beyond a certain number of blocks were often imbued with danger. But these boundaries were not entirely rigid or impermeable, and fear was also described in both narrow and broad temporal terms, as though it was simply a time of fear that people were living through.

> *But in the sixties? You were petrified. When I came home when I was a kid from school. It was six o'clock. We were terrified until I got home. Checking the door and the windows. I mean, we had in where I grew up in my, in our house, we had maybe a ten times burglaries. My sister once opened the closet and somebody was there. So it was different, in the sixties it was terrible. Terrible. Today it's, I tell my kids all the time, "You don't even … you have no idea what we went through." We were living in fear.* (User #7)

The deindustrialized waterfront of Sunset Park was remembered as particularly dangerous, due to the combination of abandoned facilities and remnant toxic chemicals. One park user recalled what is today the site of Bush Terminal Park, after it had been closed to the public but prior to redevelopment:

> *I used to break bottles and throw things in here when I was a kid … Oh, this was basically a dump. This was a dump, an industrial area. It had a lot of toxic waste back here … They used to port, and there's a lot of oil, propane tanks, so there was a lot of toxic, a lot of toxic waste … When I was a kid, yeah, if I hopped over the fence, but I got chased by the security guards.* (User #15)

3.1.2. Designer remediation visions: Environmental and social remediation

The combination of historic crime, toxicity, and limited park space and waterfront access in Sunset Park made clear the potential benefits of remediating the space and creating a new waterfront park. Community-driven advocacy is largely credited for launching the process for creating the park and keeping pressure on the city to keep the project moving forward, but the perspective of landscape architects active in the park's design inevitably effect the ultimate user experience. When asked to describe what they felt were important features of the park, several themes emerged from the designers. The most common themes were desires to create a *natural* feeling place that would allow users to escape the city and foster a sense of connection to *the environment* by being in the park.

The community outreach process led to the inclusion of large athletic fields on the site, but one designer expressed that they would have preferred not to dedicate any space to active recreation:

> *Well, yeah, what I wish it could have done is that it didn't have sports on the waterfront to take up a very valuable waterfront space. Um, and that it was a much more environmentally-oriented place. [Interviewer: And what does that mean to you?] Well, that it was much more about how an urban park can reflect the original environment of New York City, that it became, there were other activities besides soccer and baseball for kids to do, um. [Interviewer: Like what?] Boating, uh, restoring – restoration of the environment, um, non-active, I mean non – a different kind of recreation than that.* (Designer #3)

Some designers also attempted to position park features relative to iconic elements of New York City. For example, a small hillside was formed to create views of Manhattan and highlight the park's position on the waterfront.

> *So these lines are very deliberate, the trees were planted in lines in deliberate places as well as our platforms … we're all gearing it out toward the Statue of Liberty and the, and the harbor … And then our benches, instead of being random through here, we really focused them out toward the water's edge so the view is right where you want to be. You want to be at the water's edge.* (Designer #1)

I also asked the park designers about who they felt the park was designed to serve. In contrast to other waterfront parks in New York City, such as Battery Park and

Brooklyn Bridge Park, for whom attraction of tourists and functioning as a destination park was a key consideration, the designers described Bush Terminal Park as intended primarily as a neighborhood park.

> … The scale of it, I think both and the facilities, the way they were envisioned were really, um, designed to be a community amenity so that kids in the neighborhood with their parents and school groups and what-not would be able to come to the park and use it … if they have a picnic, a company picnic or a class picnic or a ball field, uh, ball game, or different leagues. (Designer #1)

3.1.3. Amenities and operations plan

Interviews with landscape architects for the project revealed that initial plans for the park project included a long list of elements not eventually constructed, such as a miniature golf course, a banquet hall, and an ice skating rink. There was also a plan to operate the park under NYCEDC as opposed to DPR. Many park amenities would have been revenue-generating entities whose operations were designed to cover the cost of park operations, which would be necessary under NYCEDC management.

> *Well, that was one of the changes, is that originally, the idea of this master plan was that there would be an alternative maintenance methodology set up that would be more of a public-private partnership so that whatever sort of entity was set up to work on the park that it would remain in EDC's hands, but would be funded through various, five, various facilities that were built on the site.* (Designer #3)

However, the designers said plans to construct amenities that would charge admission fees or generate revenue for the park through other means were met with resistance in the community outreach process.

> *"They didn't want to feel like their park was being, that they would have to, they'd have to get a permit and pay to play in their own neighbourhood park"* (Designer #4).

According to the designers, following this the park was slated for operation by DPR as opposed to NYCEDC, as DPR could draw from its city-wide operations budget to maintain the park without requiring on-site revenue generation. However, according to one designer, while NYCEDC management would have brought with it the need for on-site revenue generation, it also would have had the capacity to provide additional amenities because the revenue from their operations could be directly applied to the operations and maintenance of the park. Under DPR management, in contrast, revenue generation was not required for operations, but there would be much less financial support of the park on an ongoing basis, necessitating a drastic scaling back of design plans.

> *I don't know if the community realized or cared that the quality of what was happening on the site was going to change because the Parks Department doesn't have a funding stream to maintain things. They just don't have a funding stream.* (Designer #3)

3.2. Remediation Realities: An In-Between Park

The designs that emerged following plans for DPR operations took on the general characteristics of the park as eventually constructed. Even so, many planned elements were not constructed at the time of the park's opening, including an environmental education center, an overlook, variation in the hardscaping, additional seating, parking, and extensive access points. The landscape architects described various reasons for the reduction in scope, which included higher than expected construction estimates and reduced funding availability primarily as a result of cost overruns associated with the remediation process. The end result was a park with very basic design elements, to such a degree that many park users described it as feeling incomplete or constructed cheaply. Notable negative attributes of Bush Terminal Park users described include limited seating, insufficient shade and access, a failure to provide playground space for young people, and a general sense that the park construction was incomplete or inadequate.

3.2.1. Limited access

If Bush Terminal Park feels to some users as though it is only partially implemented, then its strained connection to the surrounding neighborhood further emphasizes the park's unorthodox nature. Bush Terminal Park is located inside a commercial campus within a largely commercial neighborhood that is separated from the bulk of nearby residences via the Gowanus Expressway. Moreover, at the time of its opening, the park had a single entry path through the Bush Terminal campus, with limited signage and parking. As such, park users commonly referred to challenges accessing the park.

> *Well, the first time I walked here, I walked actually from my place. I walked down south, I found the piers over there and then I started walking this way on Second Avenue knowing that there was a park here, and I like, tried to go through. I saw the fields and I was like, "Oh, wow, what is that?" I actually went on that like, depot over there. So I had to walk all the way around until I found the entrance.* (User #14)

Designers of the project generally echoed these concerns, but said they felt pressured by budgetary constraints as well as logistical issues related to safety and security associated with the surrounding Bush Terminal campus and its active rail lines.

> *So, you know, it was a great place, in that it provided land. But there was no real political forward thinking, resolution, to any idea of how it was going to function. Because, basically, the entire Bush Terminal is not public, yet you've got to somehow get the public into this place so they can use it. And it was kind of like saying, "Here's this park, but good luck getting there."* (Designer #2)

3.2.2. Protected natural area

Another oddity that exemplifies the physical manifestation of challenges associated with remediating an industrial brownfield into a public park is the *protected natural area* along its western edge. Prior to remediation, much of the site was densely covered with trees and plants that had grown during its period of inactivity.

> *Before anybody did anything with this site, it was amazing looking. It looked like, I mean, if you were in a boat, you would go by this area that looked like it was primeval forest. I mean, it was probably kudzu vine, but it was, it had been closed for umpteen years and it just naturally grew up with all sorts of viable plants as well as garbage, but it was a huge – I mean there was so many birds here, it was just amazing. And so we were really trying to keep some of that.* (Designer #3)

There was an idea among designers that the trees growing on this otherwise contaminated site were symbols that "nature was taking it back" (Designer #1). The designers also indicated that DPR wanted to avoid cutting down trees on the site, and furthermore, desire among community members to maintain the trees in this area is recorded in the remediation Record of Decision (New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, 2004). However, one of the primary methods of brownfield remediation employed on the site, covering the area with clean fill, created a condition that would likely suffocate the trees in the heavily wooded area if left in place.

> *In the end, they decided to leave the trees up, bury them in soil, let them slowly die over time, but also plant other trees between them. So that was their way of preserving ecosystem services of the trees as the older ones died from strangulation from lack of oxygen. The challenge that created, then, was that you could have a potential for a tree that's dying falling on somebody and injuring them. So the park created this artificial line right here where they couldn't let people go into it. Because they've created a hazardous condition by their unwillingness to grapple with the environmental remediation.* (Designer #2)

Figure 4. The range fence that separates a pathway in the park from the protected natural area, with physical traces of users crossing the barrier and ad hoc repair to the fence with bailing wire (by the Author).

According to these narratives, a convergence of intentions to preserve trees yet also mitigate risk of human contact with contaminated materials created a new risk condition of falling trees. The end result was to prohibit people from entering the

wooded area with a fence and signs that state: "PROTECTED NATURAL AREA NO ACCESS." But even so, the fence that demarcates the protected area is a low range fence that is not contiguous across the site, and there is ample evidence of the fence being climbed over, as well as physical traces from people traversing the wooded area (see Figure 4).

3.2.3. A neighbourhood in transition and a *hidden oasis*

As constructed, Bush Terminal Park is a fascinating conglomeration of the site's recent history as an industrial dumping ground, point of community contestation, and public works project caught between drastically different forms of funding. Despite its significant shortfalls, and possibly in part due to them, many park users described the park as a very special place. Two of the park's greater limitations – its limited access and provision of amenities – were also associated with positive qualities: that it feels like a *hidden oasis* and a natural, peaceful space.

> *I kind of like it that it's hidden. I kind of like how not so many people know about it, so like if you have a special occasion, or you don't want so many crowded people, garbage everywhere, you know, it's kind of nice to have some kind of like hidden little sanctuary type of thing going on.* (User #16)

Park users frequently described Bush Terminal Park as a relaxing and peaceful place, where if not playing sports on one of the large fields, there is little to do other than sit quietly and enjoy the views of the water and greenery, which is a notable contrast to many other parts of the city.

> *It's, eh, human nature, to look for this especially in the summer to see some open space to enjoy the God's present. Fresh air, you see water, you see nature, you see grass, you see obviously buildings, ships and boats, and it relaxes you. It refreshes you, it reboots you*. (User #7)

3.2.4. Environmental gentrification

The creation of Bush Terminal Park is one of many signifiers of change in Sunset Park. It is one small step toward correcting injustices that have plagued the neighborhood's residents for decades and meeting their needs for open space. As such, the park is also a part of the changing narrative that park users have about their neighborhood as a whole.

> *You know, Sunset Park is, well it was once, you know, I would always tell people, "I live in Sunset Park," and I would get a blank stare. But I would tell them I live between Park Slope and Bay Ridge. So maybe now when I say, I can say with a little more pride that I live in Sunset Park.* (User #18)

Unfortunately, common elements of gentrification in general, and environmental gentrification in particular, are already evident to park users.

> *I think it's awesome, however, it is getting expensive. You can't find a bedroom apartment for no less than fifteen hundred. You know, and before it was cheaper to live*

> *here, but the area wasn't so great as it is now. Like you couldn't go out to a park like this and hang out, because you'd have to go to Prospect or you'd have to go further out. But it's getting nicer, it's just getting expensive.* (User #16)

When asked about for whom the park is designed, and its relationship to the neighborhood and gentrification broadly, the designers described an intention to design the park as a neighborhood park, but they also expressed knowledge of tensions associated with remediation and displacement.

> *I think there's a fear of that in neighborhoods that, you know, you're going to put this really nice park, or you're going to build a fancy building, it's going to attract people and then you're going to push out the people that are there. So I think there's a real sense of that, you know, here as well, that it's a neighborhood park, not more than that.* (Designer #4)

But it is unclear if it is possible to create a *neighborhood park* in these conditions that would not play a role in shifting demographics.

> *In our department, they just say, "Here's a design, here's a project, here's a pot of money," you know, "Let's get it built." I think the big questions about that are, you know, left for the PhDs to debate in the years to come. I think it remains to be seen what will – how that will affect the overall growth of the neighborhood, what will happen in the neighborhood over time.* (Designer #4)

Elizabeth Yeampierre, the executive director of UPROSE, who was described by designers as being highly involved in the community outreach process for the park, has spoken publicly about Bush Terminal Park as a double-edged sword: a much needed amenity for local residents that is simultaneously a part of a larger process that will ultimately push lower-income people of color out of the neighbourhood.

> *Just yesterday I went to a park that our organization was responsible for making happen together with a bunch of other people … and I sat there in that park, that we fought for fifteen years to get for our community in Sunset Park, and watched as the gentrifiers strolled through, got into my office and saw how developers in our community are using our successes, our ability to reclaim these spaces, our ability to do things to serve those communities that have been the reluctant hosts to all of the environmental burdens in our community that suffer from public health disparities – asthma, upper respiratory disease, the whole nine yards – and deserve to have open space and deserve to have environmental amenities, that at the moment that we succeed, and at the moment that we put our limited resources to make those things happen, they get taken away from us, as if we don't deserve to have those things. And we get pushed out.* (Yeampierre, 2014)

4. Discussion

Bush Terminal Park arose from a history of environmental injustices borne upon low-income people of color, and it came into being largely due to advocacy to address

brownfield conditions and create much-needed park space for residents of the surrounding neighborhood. Interviews with designers and users of Bush Terminal Park associated with this study, however, reveal that the park stands as the physical manifestation of sometimes aligned, and sometimes conflicting, constituencies. For example, the designers' interests in creating a peaceful and ecologically-oriented space seems to resonate with many park users' desires and experiences. But tensions with the initial plans for the park's funding structure and even a design emphasis toward passive as opposed to active recreation appears to have pushed the eventual design in directions that conflicted with designers' early conceptions. These sometimes conflicting constituencies nonetheless ultimately took part in transforming a dangerous, toxic, and unused portion of the New York City waterfront into something of greater ecological and social value. Yet despite the improvements it represents, Bush Terminal Park has a complicated relationship with the neighborhood it is supposedly designed to serve. Themes that emerged from this analysis indicate that it might best be characterized as an ambiguous space, on both spatial and temporal dimensions.

4.1. Spatial Ambiguity

Design plans for Bush Terminal Park vacillated wildly from its conception through construction due to many factors including designer goals, community activism, remediation requirements, risk management, and fiscal constraints. As described by users, the park seems in some ways incomplete or cheap due to its finish materials, limited amenities, and even the poorly executed *protected natural area*. But my observations revealed that these limitations are also associated with park users finding creative solutions to navigate its ambiguous design.

For example, it is common during sporting events for people to bring their own folding chairs, umbrellas, and even pop-up tents to block the sun. At one point, I noticed a plastic chair brought out to the waterfront edge of the park at the end of the *protected natural area*, and fallen logs arranged in a semi-circle, apparently for seating. Watching people engage with the jetty also demonstrates navigation of this spatial ambiguity. The jetty consists solely of a rip-rap stabilized perimeter that slopes into the water and an asphalt strip that runs down its center. Park users frequently walk or ride bicycles to the end of the jetty and sit on the rocks to enjoy the views. They do so despite white painted stenciling on the asphalt that reads "KEEP OFF ROCKS NO DIVING NO SWIMMING" and occasional calls from park staff via loudspeakers to stay off the rocks. Given there is nowhere to sit on the jetty, or any other design features upon it, what else should park users do? They are left to navigate the ambiguous messages communicated by the partially executed design and define the spaces for themselves.

Bush Terminal Park's ambiguous nature is also evident in its location, as it is situated deep inside a commercial campus within a largely commercial district separated from many nearby residents' homes. Fittingly, many park users expressed surprise at finding out about the park, as well as confusion about how to get there. On one of my first visits, I saw a family in a minivan slowly drive up to the entrance of the campus at 43rd Street and First Avenue, and after a moment of consideration, begin drive away until a private security guard who happened to be nearby called to them and waved them into the complex, telling them the park was inside.

However challenging and emblematic of funding and design limitations, the negative attributes of the park's design and location are also associated with some of its most valued characteristics. The limited design features seem to contribute to users' frequent descriptions of the park with terms like *secret* and *hidden oasis*. The athletic fields are hugely popular, but the *protected natural area* also adds a sense of roughness, privacy, and flexibility partially due to its loosely defined boundaries. As such, park users simultaneously confront the limitations of the park design and use its spatial ambiguity to set their own terms of engagement and make it their own.

4.2. Temporal Ambiguity

It would be a grave error to conclude that Bush Terminal Park is a completed project and that its relationship to the surrounding neighborhood stable. In fact, Bush Terminal Park might be conceptualized as a localized manifestation of contestation and transformation currently in process. Narratives about what the park is, and who it serves, will undoubtedly change in the years to come as the nature of the surrounding buildings and neighborhood transform.

Many user narratives about the park are set against a backdrop of what the neighborhood *used to be* and how it is currently changing. The historical aspects of such narratives frequently feature fear of crime. As Pain (2000) states, fear of crime is associated with a broad and complex "range of emotional and practical responses" (p. 367) to threats and an expression of perceived danger among individuals and communities. The nature of fear and cities, in particular, has been explored from a multitude of perspectives (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001). While this analysis cannot fully unpack the complicated nature of fear-laden historical narratives among park users, there appears to be a relationship worth investigating between the diminishing historical crime-related fear narratives and increasing contemporary fears of displacement via gentrification.

Park users' narratives about the history of the Sunset Park, and the degree to which fear was woven into their daily experiences and even the physical landscape are key aspects of neighborhood gentrification. As much as gentrifying forces can signal a loss of identity and spur displacement, its early stages can bring benefits to historically disenfranchised residents – even if those amenities may not ultimately be *for* them (e.g., better government services, more affordable pharmacies, better grocery stores, and in this case, a new park). Park user narratives often demonstrated a direct contrast between the old but dangerous neighborhood that was theirs and the transforming new neighborhood that is better and yet simultaneously slipping away.

Residents and activists in Sunset Park had ample justification to be alarmed about the potential for Bush Terminal Park itself to function as a mechanism to raise land values and usher in new residents and commerce at the expense of housing and job security for existing residents. In consideration of the park's relationship to gentrification, designers described their intentions to reflect the needs and interests of community members in the design of the park, but they were also cognizant of the systemic underfunding of DPR parks. As such, the potential for NYCEDC management of Bush Terminal Park, and the inclusion of on-site revenue generation that could support the park directly, could have provided a reliable pathway to much more extensive on-site amenities and maintenance programs. Under the NYCEDC operations model, one landscape architect even described what Brash (2011) might refer to as a planned

reliance upon economic activity in the park by the *Transnational Capitalist Class* to fund its ongoing operations, a group that bears little resemblance to the historically working class, immigrant residents of Sunset Park.

> *The really lucrative part of that [ice rink] business is renting them to leagues who are, you know, like a Wall Street brokerage firm, or whoever, you know, kind of like the people who do the corporate challenge in Central Park, that they could pay – they would pay to play at two o'clock in the morning. That, during the day, when the kids are around, that the people who would be paying huge prices would not be around. So that they could offer to the community, for free or at low cost.* (Designer #3)

Smith (2002) argues that neoliberal urbanism expresses capital production rather than social reproduction and implements gentrification as a generalized urban strategy. While landscape architects described the park's early plans as capable of meeting the needs of highly divergent socioeconomic groups through stratified fee structures, there would still be a significant risk of exclusion via economic barriers to access and participation for neighbourhood residents. More specifically, the potential of revenue-generating space at Bush Terminal Park could have signalled to residents that the park would not be *for* them, and as such, those uses could have represented a cultural, as well as economic, imposition (Low et al., 2005). The pushback from community members against a funding mechanism that would have coupled greater amenities with fee-for-service public space can thus be interpreted as a mobilization against the forces of neoliberalism and environmental gentrification; an act of resistance to Bloomberg's *luxury city*.

Despite efforts to claim the park as a neighbourhood asset, the broader forces of gentrification are actively at work along the Brooklyn waterfront, further emphasizing the park's liminal relationship to its surroundings (Gonzalez, 2016). Notable recent transformations include a 12-year, $1 billion plan underway at the Industry City complex which is already home to the Brooklyn Nets training facility and myriad of *innovation ecosystem* technology and food companies, the purchase of Sunset Industrial Park for $91.5 million in 2013, and the opening of Sunset Park Materials Recycling Facility in 2013, among others (Industry City, n.d.; Kensinger, 2016).

Infrastructure projects associated with the Bush Terminal campus that surrounds the park also continue, including the addition of a second entrance to the park that opened in 2017. A crucial element of ongoing, and drastic, changes to the Bush Terminal campus are planned as a part of Mayor Bill de Blasio's 2017 commitment of $136 million in funding to create a "Made in New York" campus. The project is intended to transform the Bush Terminal campus into a "a hub for garment manufacturing and film and television production, and support more than 1,500 permanent jobs" (New York City Office of the Mayor, 2017, para. 1). The plan represents a stark departure in tone from the Bloomberg administration via a commitment to supporting upward career mobility for New Yorkers and prioritizing Sunset Park residents when applying for jobs at the modernized facilities. However, the degree to which the campus will support existing residents and businesses is unclear, and existing tenants have reported rent increases and pressure to vacate (Kensinger, 2017).

Bush Terminal Park is a unique example of environmental gentrification and contaminated site remediation because its position as a publicly funded project may

have allowed for a greater impact of community advocacy. The project did not rely on private developers to drive its progress and, moreover, community advocates resisted initial plans for privatization of its operations. Nonetheless, these findings demonstrate that despite best intentions, results are mixed and the park occupies an ambiguous space both spatially and temporally. Bush Terminal Park is not only emblematic of this liminal state, but a part of its unfolding. Yet while users are aware of these fluid dynamics, they also find value in what the park provides. The result is a park whose design combined community and designer perspectives to transform a site that represented economic decline and environmental injustices into new and valuable green space for the community it serves, whichever community that ends up being.

5. Conclusion

This study of Bush Terminal Park demonstrates that even with community input and activism, results can still be ambivalent. Close investigation reveals that this project had political, economic, and social forces at many scales driving it in one direction met by counter forces pushing it back in another. There are two broad implications that can be drawn from this study. First, the park represents a paradox of activism in that it is unclear how far community activism can go to address the systemic problems associated with environmental gentrification. Activists and community members attempted to shift the trajectory and ownership of the park to retain it as a neighbourhood amenity, and even though they were successful in that effort, the park cannot ultimately be separated from broader forces. Second, this study demonstrates the need for studies of environmental gentrification to take a granulated approach to the positive and negative aspects of these spaces rather than look at them as holistically positive or negative endeavours. The multiple scales of ambiguity and ambivalence that emerged from this study are emblematic of the dynamics associated with green space and gentrification broadly.

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REPORT FROM 'PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE OF PUBLIC SPACE'

Placemaking in Practice.
Lessons learned from activating public space on campus

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Abstract
University campuses offer unique environments rich with opportunities to test, challenge and innovate. Yearning for possibilities of social interaction and the need for better, livelier public spaces on campus, students from the Master of Urbanism Studies program at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm, Sweden have facilitated Placemaking Week on campus for two consecutive years. The tools of placemaking were put into action as students organized the inaugural Placemaking Week at KTH. The project was collaborative by nature in every aspect of the process, challenging the students to navigate the complex interplay between public and private actors. To achieve the partnerships necessary to initiate Placemaking Week, stakeholder's strategic drivers and potential roles were defined early in the process. All influential stakeholders were engaged, as understanding their concerns and working with them created strategic partnerships which otherwise may have acted as obstacles. These partnerships were important to the program's sustainability, co-producing a long-term strategy together with the stakeholders as the cohort of students change each year. Through the approach and execution of each Placemaking Week, the potential of placemaking as a tool to foster community was assessed, formally studied and documented for learning purposes. The results of this study demonstrated that space could be made livelier and provide better opportunities for people to spontaneously interact, even with stringently limited time and resources. Further, Placemaking Week has provided content for the campus plan and contributed to building a trust-based relationship among stakeholders. With each year, the implementation process enables these relationships grow. Finally, the recurrence of Placemaking Week, which has been executed for the third year in a row, shows positive signs of embedding itself in the campus and student culture.

Keywords: placemaking, bottom-up, public participation, sustainability

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Introduction

Unlike equations that call for straight-forward answers, wicked problems are intricate and interconnected puzzles without a simple solution. Design theorist Horst Rittel (1973) was first to coin the term "wicked problem" to refer to complex challenges without an easy answer. Climate change, public health, and urban planning are all considered wicked problems. Likewise, cities are complex ecosystems; they cannot be studied through a single lens. Instead, analysing challenges in a holistic way and considering the interdependences within them is essential in solving these hard and complex problems (Jensenius, 2012). To rigorously engage the wicked problems of designing within a city, it is imperative that graduate education includes both a theoretical and a tactile approach. The Master of Urbanism Studies program at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm, Sweden is a one-year intensive graduate program providing the framework for students to investigate and research through both course work and studio projects. The students define an opportunity to apply their understanding of public space to activate areas devoid of activity with the intention of sparking the imagination of campus stakeholders regarding the potential of public space on campus. For two consecutive years, students accomplished this through the planning and execution of Placemaking Week. The first Placemaking Week aimed at encouraging pro-environmental behaviour and action by transforming public space, while the second consisted of an installation that provided movable and informal seating that could be used in a variety of ways, inviting students and locals to discuss the future of the space together. Although different in their intention and form, these two practical experiences allowed the students to apply their understanding of not only placemaking, but the variety of challenges faced along the way, encouraging a more participatory approach to imagining the future of public space.

Background: Placemaking and Tactical Urbanism

The Industrial Revolution introduced the age of the car and the transition of streets from places for people to places for vehicles. Over time there was a decrease in public space, making way and prioritizing the automobile over people, threatening public life and social interaction. In response to this, a variety of bottom-up movements with different levels of structure have popped up with the intention of shifting the focus of public space back to people. Ranging from ephemeral actions to more holistic long-term strategies, those movements all attempt to create community and empower people through the transformation of public space (Petcou and Petrescu, 2015). Professionals from various disciplines including environmental psychologists, architects, economists, urban planners, and sociologists have studied the dynamics of public space and identified key findings. Pioneers of these movements include Jane Jacobs, Jan Gehl, Kevin Lynch, William Whyte, and many more. Today, the US non-profit Project for Public Spaces (PPS) and in Europe, the Netherlands based company STIPO (Strategy, Innovation, Process development, and Open-source), a multi-disciplinary consultancy team for urban strategy and planning, work on spreading the message while structuring an international network of placemakers. This community aims to document case studies, share lessons, best practices, and work on more rapidly making cities more human-centred.

The two case studies addressed in this paper use placemaking as a tool to activate public space and spark community development. Placemaking is a process that aims to

increase social cohesion and sustainability through the activation of public spaces including streets, squares, and neighbourhoods (Project for Public Spaces, 2007). The main idea behind placemaking is to save resources and time, or, in other words, an approach that values being agile and embracing the mentality of "lighter, quicker, cheaper" as coined by Eric Reynolds (MacIver, 2010). This hands-on, commonly bottom-up approach to urbanism has been largely used by PPS, STIPO and other planning practices. Drawing on the work of the public space pioneers mentioned above, STIPO more specifically initiated *The City at Eye Level*, an open-source learning network offering a practical methodology aimed at "improving cities, streets and places all over the world" (Karssenberg et al., 2016; back cover). Placemaking also seeks to improve community participation and collaboration, which are central to the planning process. The value of collaboration in discussions regarding the formation of public space is well documented (Gifford, 2014). Therefore, the early stages of a placemaking project are essential in order to understand the needs of the community and the potential of the space. More generally, placemaking uses bottom-up approaches to enhance and facilitate communication between communities and experts in urban planning, as well as developers and authorities. Involving a variety of diverse actors together in the process while also facilitating discussion is essential to understanding the needs and desires of each other, and even more important when it comes to encouraging members of the community to have an active voice in planning its future.

With the goal of initiating a conversation with the community around the future of public space, the research on placemaking consists of strategies that have been proven successful and are well documented online, especially with the contributions of PPS. In line with the strength and international support of the placemaking community, the students partnered with an organization to mentor and advise them throughout the process. As part of the learning process, these placemakers were invited as consultants by the students and gave feedback throughout the process. The engagement of STIPO and Fine Young Urbanists with the Master of Urbanism Studies program proved the relevancy of placemaking as a tool to address the future of public space on the KTH campus.

Master of Urbanism Studies Program

The Master of Urbanism Studies program is an advanced one-year graduate program in applied social science and design in the public realm. The program addresses the need for urban professionals from a variety of backgrounds who are specifically concerned with issues of the design of the public realm and the effects urban form has on social life and human behavior. This international program consists of students from more than thirty different countries and captures students from a variety of disciplines including, architecture, sustainable and community planning, civil engineering, psychology, etc. Together for one year, this diverse and multicultural group of students meet in Stockholm, Sweden to address the political and social forces that form public space. The program consists of a series of modules and exploratory studio courses taught by an international faculty, concluding the program with a thesis. Similar to the student body in the Master of Urbanism Studies program, the faculty come from diverse backgrounds and fields, all sharing an extraordinary body of research and professional work.

KTH Campus

KTH is located in Östermalm, 10 minutes north of the city center by train. At the entrance of the campus, there are two train stations and several bus stations. In addition to the plethora of public transportation options, the area offers an abundance of bike and ride-sharing services that all converge at the entrance of campus.

Upon walking through campus, a visitor could not go without noticing the number of active construction sites. KTH campus is constantly undergoing major transformation, a common trait of evolution among leading international universities. New housing blocks and academic buildings open each semester with additional projects soon to be completed. With all of this change underway, it has never been so important to address the improvement of public space. Public spaces are where students intuitively want to stay longer, spontaneously meet, and generate new ideas. Academically, KTH is very well known for its innovation and technical expertise through education, research, networks, and businesses; however, these activities primarily happen within individual collegiate houses, leaving the public spaces with very little sense of life. For students studying urbanism, there is a real challenge in making the campus livelier and creating a sense of community around the transformation of campus spaces.

Placemaking Week

Over the past two years, students in the Master of Urbanism Studies program at KTH were challenged to apply their skills and knowledge developed throughout the program to realize an urbanism project on campus. This project is seen as an opportunity to grow out of the academic modules as students delve into a hands-on local project. Inherently, to realize an urbanism project at the scale of campus requires students to take on leadership roles in order to plan and facilitate the event. Over the course of approximately four months, students proposed a rigorous process that included analyzing, designing, fabricating, and assessing. Through this process, students discovered the intricacies, both challenging and rewarding, of implementing a placemaking project.

Through different approaches, the students from each class took on the challenge, building on the successes of the prior year with their own unique identity. The inaugural KTH Placemaking Week was proposed by the Center for the Future of Places and the Master of Urbanism Studies students. During the inaugural year, students identified stakeholders on campus. It was essential to propose a collaboration that would be mutually beneficial for both the stakeholders and the future of Placemaking Week. After several meetings, emails, and phone calls these stakeholders agreed to support the project through both the allocation of funds and the approval of using campus property. These stakeholders included the campus landlord, Akademiska Hus, the KTH Sustainability Office that oversees the campus master plan, and the Master of Urbanism Studies program. In addition to local partnerships on campus and financial support, students collaborated with external placemaking professionals for feedback throughout the process. Each year the project had a unique theme and was led by two students. The following sections describe the evolution of Placemaking Week at KTH in addition to the approach, method, and results over the course of two years.

Case Study 1

Approach

In 2017 students planned and organized a two-day placemaking event, Sustainable Placemaking Week, with the intention to encourage pro-environmental behavior while making the outdoor spaces of the campus more inviting and enjoyable. In this case, placemaking was used as a tool to encourage changes in human behavior through the transformation of public places. As the students led the planning process, experts from STIPO continuously gave support and advice on the management of a placemaking event, while Landskapslaget AB, a Stockholm-based landscape architecture firm acted as a network activator, connecting the students with other local partners.

Method

The two-day placemaking event was organized in three main stages that included analysis, planning, and executing. The first phase consisted of analyzing spaces on campus and reaching out to local actors. A survey was sent out to understand students' perception of campus life and spaces, followed by a public workshop to understand the community's ideas and desires, foster engagement, and generate a creative vision. During that phase especially, steady communication with STIPO provided the students with feedback. The second stage was planning the event itself which included fostering and maintaining community engagement through communication, meetings, and interviews. The process also involved communicating with stakeholders, designing creative content such as promotional material, posters and maps, coordinating members, managing a small budget, and getting official authorizations.

Image 1 and 2. Planning process and design orientation (left) and group activity in public workshop (right). ©Elisa Diniz, 2017

The final stage was the building and hosting of the two-day event, which concluded with a small seminar to brainstorm about the steps that could happen next. The process of planning and executing the placemaking project raised many challenges that are thoroughly documented in *Bottom-up Urbanism: Exploring the potential of bottom up initiatives as to encourage pro-environmental behavior change and action* (Carvalho Diniz and Riou, 2017).

In a spirit of "lighter, quicker, cheaper" (MacIver, 2010), Sustainable Placemaking Week was comprised of a variety of activities located throughout the campus. Sidewalks were

marked with colored lines that led people to different areas in order to promote existing sustainability efforts.

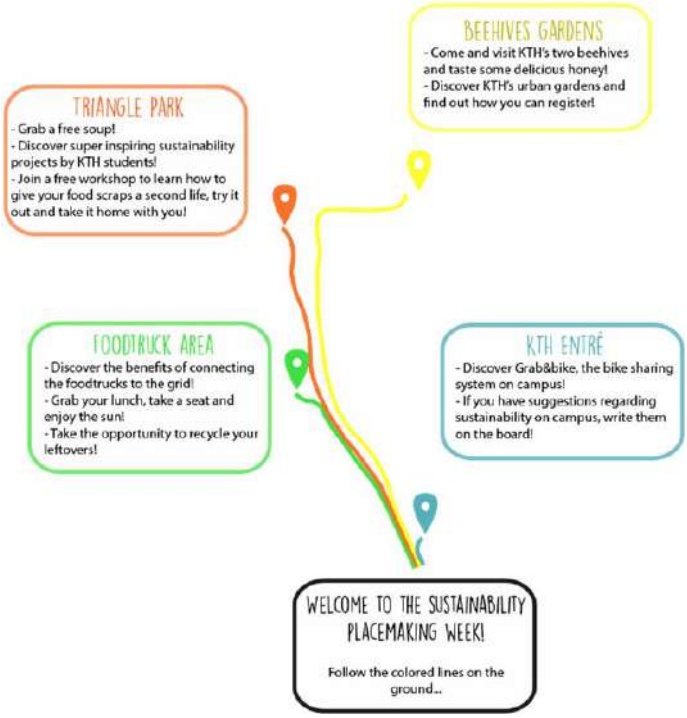

Figure 1. Map of routes and activities during the Placemaking Week ©Mathilde Riou, 2017

New experiments were also conducted to test ideas that could be implemented on both short-term, and long-term timelines. For instance, one idea was to create a more convenient and desirable environment around the food trucks that are parked every day in the main street. To do this, the students worked with the local stakeholders to facilitate their connection to the grid rather than the use of generators that produce pollution and noise. This change, paired with the addition of informal seating, made the environment and space more conducive to enjoying lunch on the grass.

Images 3 and 4: Before and after the intervention in the food trucks' area at KTH campus ©Nawarat Yangsomran, 2017

To support the concept of Sustainable Placemaking Week, there was an effort to enhance sustainable behavior among campus-users. Different activities were organized with this intention including a bike repair station, a workshop to learn how to reuse food scraps, an outdoor exhibition of student projects addressing environmental needs, and gazpacho was cooked from left-over food and was served directly on the street. Again, informal seating was provided in different spaces to encourage people to engage with the space.

Results

Sustainable Placemaking Week attracted many visitors and generated a significant amount of excitement around the possible transformation of public spaces on campus. These results highlighted the potential of KTH's public spaces and demonstrated that a bottom-up collaboration between different students and campus stakeholders could yield resourceful and creative outcomes. There were challenges around coordinating students, the other locals who were participating, and the various stakeholders, particularly regarding everything coming together in an orderly and timely fashion. Having all the users and groups communicate effectively was at times an obstacle, and there were political challenges such as connecting the food trucks to the grid. Although the interventions were experimental and of temporary nature, a thorough reflection was conducted following the event.

Image 5. Placemaking Week 2017 ©Mackenzie Childs, 2017

Case Study 2

Approach

The students who led the second Placemaking Week intended for the event to reimagine the specific public space that would become the main square of the campus in

the future master plan. The concept of placemaking remained an important tool to invite people to inhabit a centrally located yet unused public space on campus. The aim was two-fold: to engage locals in the future of the public space and to provide a precedent for stakeholders about the importance of this site.
The planning process of the event was kicked off by an exciting workshop that was part of the *Cities for All Conference* hosted in Stockholm, Sweden. This two-day conference hosted by STIPO consisted of presentations, ideation workshops, and onsite workshops. One of the options for the onsite workshops included the KTH Campus. The rapid construction in response to the recent effort to incorporate more housing on campus has driven KTH to reconsider its campus plan. Students attended this workshop and gained insights from an international group of professionals attending the conference. The data collected during this workshop was integral to defining areas of opportunity on the chosen site. For the design of the installation, experts from Fine Young Urbanists, an architecture and planning practice, provided guidance and feedback.

Method
Building off of existing relationships, students reached out to the inaugural KTH Placemaking week organizers and stakeholders. The theme of Placemaking Week 2018 was "Creating Place Through Mixed Media." The students shared a goal of better understanding the tools and techniques that planners might implement to establish a more participatory planning process. Pursuing this endeavour exercised the variety of practical and leadership skills necessary to encourage and execute public participation in planning. The theme and goals led to a more installation-based approach to the event, focusing on creating an interactive space for people to gather and discuss the future of public space.


Images 6 and 7. Design studies (left) and planning process of the installation for Placemaking Week 2018
© Michelle Pannone, 2018

To accomplish this, the process was organized into four main phases that included immersing, planning, designing, and executing. The immersion phase included reaching

out to the stakeholders and continuing the conversation that was started in the prior year. This was important so that they understood the continued concern and support for public space on campus. The organizers of Sustainable Placemaking Week 2017 provided useful insights in addition to introducing current students with the administrators. During this phase, baseline data and observations of the site on a typical day were taken for later comparison. The second phase was the planning phase which focused on the event. This included communicating with those that would be impacted by the event so they were aware and had the opportunity to collaborate. A series of both formal and informal discussions and interviews were held to inform the planning and design. Some were facilitated over email, although most were conducted in person. This phase also included many administrative tasks such as managing the budget, ordering materials, and creating promotional materials, in particular a schedule, posters, and Facebook event to get the word out. Occurring concurrently, the third phase focused on the design. The driving question was how can we create a space that encourages people to discuss the future of public space on campus? It was essential that the space was inviting, provided informal seating to urge people to stay and chat, and also featured an element of interaction. The design was developed through a series of workshops that led to testing ideas and materials on the site. The final execution of the event included a heavy documentation component to collect suggestions, observe interactions with the installation, and solicit feedback.

Images 8 and 9. Interaction with the community during assembling (left) and during the event (right)
© Michelle Pannone, 2018

To create a welcoming and playful environment, it was important to use lightweight materials that people would be able to pick up easily and use in a variety of ways. After a significant amount of material research in combination with testing to make sure the dimensions and strength were adequate for the weight of an adult, 22-liter round buckets were selected as the primary material. Using approximately 160 buckets in diverse ways provided visitors with seating, enclosure, and even fun! Campus sidewalks leading to the site were marked with circles the same size as the buckets using red paint. The same technique was used on the grass to show how buckets might be moved around the space to form different seating arrangements or even play games.

Image 10. Poster displayed online and in the area to advertise Placemaking Week © Atefeh Mortazavi, 2018

Results

The movement of the buckets indicated areas where people were most inclined to sit and enjoy the space. Some places were more conducive to group discussion, while in other places individuals were able to relax. Students documented these tendencies to provide proof of concept for the stakeholders. During the event, faculty, administrators, students, locals, children, and even pets enjoyed the space. The overwhelming increase of engagement with the space during Placemaking Week 2018 further exemplifies the opportunity for more communication and participation in public space. The ideas, proposals, and feedback of those that interacted with the installation and discussed the future of the space were documented. Their willingness and eagerness to be involved in the process of designing the future square of the campus prove the need for a more participatory planning process on campus.

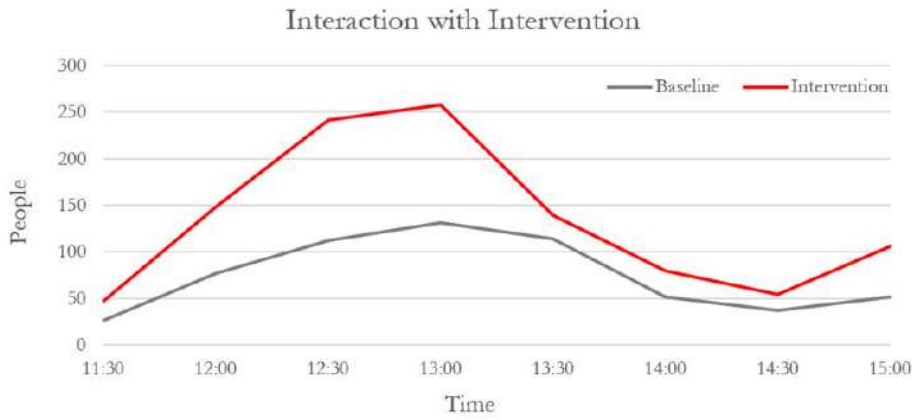

Figure 2: Graph indicating the number of people interacting with the installation © Michelle Pannone, 2018

Image 11: Placemaking Week 2018
© Michelle Pannone, 2018

Discussion and Conclusions

Placemaking Week at KTH is a great illustration of the "lighter, quicker, cheaper" principle (MacIver, 2010) with both years demonstrating that it is possible to have a great impact on how people feel in public space with limited budget and resources. Each year, informal seating was provided using basic objects such as buckets, palettes, blankets, and rugs. These objects were readily populated, appreciated, and used by those that passed by. Quick edits and refinement to the process between years improved both the planning, execution, and ultimately the level of impact. For example, students from the first year recommended documenting more thoroughly. In the second year, this led to metrics such as counting how many people used the place per hour during the day, how long they stayed, how they interacted with the space and if they were in groups or alone. However, there could still be improvements made to photos of before and after the event, in addition to filming and even interviewing some users about their experience. This type of both qualitative and quantitative data is extremely helpful to make a strong case for future proposals during feedback sessions with the campus stakeholders.

Lessons Learned

Clear communication and collaboration are key between private and public sectors and the local population. Due to the planned events requiring authorizations and financial support, it is essential to build trust and clearly communicate with the campus

stakeholders. Beyond keeping them updated on the status of a future intervention on campus, it is important to identify their needs, fears, and opportunities. Ultimately, these stakeholders have the ability to either hinder or encourage future interventions. One example of the importance of these relationships is evident in the logistics required to connect the food trucks to the grid during Sustainable Placemaking Week 2017. To accomplish this collaboration, clarification of the obstacles faced by each party was necessary. Through the process, students discovered that the streets that run through the KTH Campus are not owned by KTH nor Akademiska Hus, but rather that they are the property of the city. Therefore, the food trucks have a contract with the City of Stockholm that allows them to park on the main street that extends through the KTH Campus to sell food. As a result of this complex relationship, Akademiska Hus was reluctant to power the food trucks since it would force KTH to pay for the electricity. The argument is that the city should be providing them with electricity since the food trucks pay the City of Stockholm through their contract. Unfortunately, because the City was not directly involved in the ecosystem of actors, there were no stakeholders from that group that could resolve the situation. There were times when the students were unsure if they would be able to connect the food trucks to the grid, but after there were no other options, Akademiska Hus agreed to supply power for the event due to the environmental and spatial quality implications.

Another example was the tenuous relationship with THS (Tekniska Högskolans Studentkår) Union, which is the student union on campus. Students reached out to the THS Union and invited them to collaborate however they declined, unsure of how they could engage the project. At this point the project leaders missed the opportunity to follow up further and develop the relationship that could be mutually beneficial. Therefore, the students proceeded unaware of the concerns that THS had in regards to the project. As a result of this conflict, rather than becoming a collaborator this organization became a barrier. It was evident that if THS was better informed of the proposal, the students could have responded to their concerns and they would likely have contributed more and demonstrated their support for the projects of fellow students.

These anecdotes show that it is essential:

1. To include, or at least invite all actors who have leadership and or power and are concerned by the project; and
2. To identify and clarify the drivers and fears of each actor - or else there is a chance that important concerns will be left unstated, slowing down or undermining aspects of the project.

In conclusion, both case studies have proven that the longevity of any intervention in public space extends beyond the aspects that are visible. A strategic plan for sustaining partnerships, management, and maintenance is likely the best indicator of continued success. Designers, architects, and urban planners too often are focused on what STIPO (2016) refers to as the "hardware" and the "software." The hardware includes buildings, urban landscape, furniture, and other objects that inhabit public space while the software includes the activities and uses offered in public space. This oversimplification is natural, placing the most importance on the aspects that people are able to see and experience. However, the risk is that addressing the hardware and software only overlook the aspects that impact the execution and longevity of the space. There is a third part that is often overlooked despite its role in dictating the success and

sustainability of an intervention designated by STIPO as "orgware" (Karssenberg et al., 2016; p.320). Orgware encompasses a range of necessary components including maintenance, funding, and management. How is the space funded? Who takes care for the space and how? Who ensures events and activities planned in the space are not colliding? The orgware is what really matters by establishing the roots that ensure structure and stability of the whole. In these case studies, there was little consideration of the orgware beyond the events' date. The business model was designed only for the short term, just like the collaboration between the Master of Urbanism Studies program, Akademiska Hus and KTH Sustainability Office. With the maintenance and management dependent on students, the process remains both vulnerable and ephemeral, happening only once per year. If the findings from Placemaking Week are to be implemented and sustainable, key actors who stay on campus for extended periods of time such as professors, doctoral students, administrators, and public stakeholders must be integrated in the process. Governance needs to be addressed and shared or else the whole event will disappear with its leaders (Karssenberg et al., 2016).

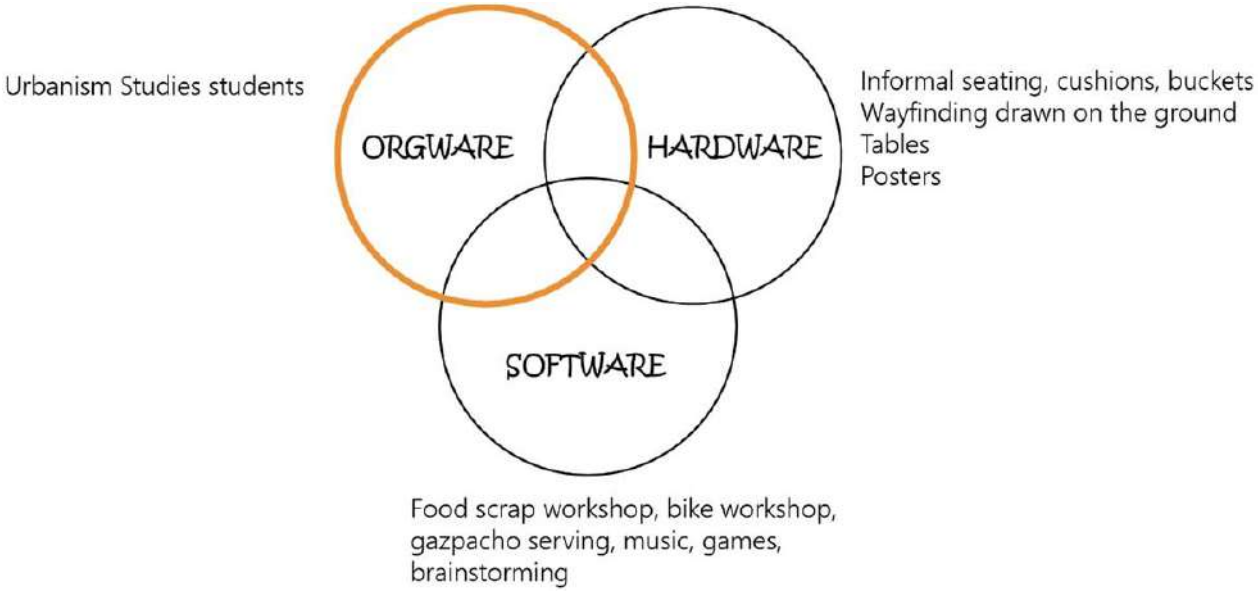

Figure 3: Diagram of the orgware-software-hardware interaction, based on the work of Karssenberg et al. (2016)

Moving Forward

Following Placemaking Week, a meeting was organized with the main actors of the campus including Akademiska Hus, KTH Sustainability Office, the Master of Urbanism Studies program, and also OpenLab. OpenLab is an innovation incubator that brings people together from diverse disciplines to solve complex problems. A permanent organization like OpenLab is an ideal partnership to establish a potential facilitator that would remain constant each year with a new group of graduate students. To conclude the project, this meeting discussed the successes, areas of opportunity, and next steps. Beyond ideas directly linked to thematic aspects of the event, such as organizing a

Sustainability Tour for incoming students to celebrate campus efforts, three main strategic directions were offered to the campus stakeholders:

1. To consider permanent outdoor seating on campus as a short-term goal (e.g. movable chairs like other universities) and the tangible outcomes from the results of Placemaking Week as an input in the Campus Master Plan;
2. To organize a workshop with the food truck owners and all stakeholders involved, including the City of Stockholm, to brainstorm ways to connect the food trucks to the grid permanently and discuss additional ways to create a more sustainable environment on campus; and
3. To create a permanent group discussion / Placemaking Lab consisting of students, faculty, Akademiska Hus, KTH Sustainability Office, and other stakeholders to create a constant dialogue regarding the future of public space on campus. This includes developing a business model that would facilitate discussions, meetings, experiments, and activities to activate space on campus, as well as establishing a participatory process with new residents on campus to create an environment that feels like their backyard.

As the first edition was a success, the Master of Urbanism Studies program decided to reiterate the Placemaking Week the following year. This second edition continued to strengthen the partnership between Akademiska Hus, KTH Sustainability Office, and the students. Following Placemaking Week 2018, a large board was installed where the event had taken place providing an area to propose ideas. This permanent installation is a huge step towards a more user-driven approach to public space on campus.

Image 12: Sign installed after the Placemaking Week 2018 to collect suggestions
© Michelle Pannone, 2018

Since recurrence is a fundamental element in changing culture (Verplanken, 2018), the recurrence of Placemaking Week should in time add to and become a part of KTH's culture and identity as a school. It is, therefore, essential that KTH continues to make Placemaking Week both an evolving and transformative event. Based on the first two

executions of Placemaking Week, the following general guidelines are necessary to structure this event for long-term success and impact:

1. To reorganize a Placemaking Week every year, to make it larger by inviting the private sector, and to contribute and combine with existing initiatives (i.e. other student manifestations that already occur on campus);
2. To work together with Akademiska Hus and KTH to facilitate and encourage innovation on public spaces and bottom-up initiatives; and
3. To evaluate the user experience and measure successes, both during the event and regarding the long-term impact on the space and community.

The findings and impact of Placemaking Week extend beyond the KTH campus and across disciplinary boundaries. Encouraging members of the community to have an active voice regarding the future of public space and engaging the various stakeholders to come together to enable change is integral to creating more human-centered public spaces. Placemaking Week and the work of the students in the Master of Urbanism Studies program at KTH exemplify that successful interventions are achievable through bottom-up endeavors. It takes dedication from a diverse set of stakeholders coalescing to enact permanent change, but only a few committed community activists to initiate the process.

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