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THE JOURNAL OF PUBLIC SPACE

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EDITORIAL

The Inclusion Imperative. Forging an Inclusive New Urban Agenda[1]

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Overview of the Inclusion Imperative. Inclusion in the Urban Century

Over the next 32 years, cities will shape virtually every aspect of global development, including the manner in which rights to housing, health, and education are won or wasted, implemented or ignored (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2011; Sassen, 2011). The urban century can transform the productive capacity and outcomes of the estimated 400-600 million urban citizens who live with disabilities. This number is set to increase dramatically by 2050 when 66% of the global population will be living in cities (Acuto, 2013; Alger, 2013). Of the projected increase of 2.5 billion urban dwellers,[2] 15-20% are expected to be persons with disabilities.[3] Well-planned cities have dramatically improved the social and economic outcomes for individuals with a range of disabilities, their families, and the larger communities they participate in. Well-planned cities take into consideration the widest range of needs and incorporate design standards that assume that a significant portion of the population may have difficulty seeing, hearing, or moving around without assistance.

A growing body of research now shows that the most pressing issue faced by millions of persons with disabilities worldwide is not their disability but rather social exclusion

[1] Portions of this paper were published by CBM and World Enabled in "The Inclusion Imperative: Towards Disability-inclusive and Accessible Urban Development Key Recommendations for an Inclusive Urban Agenda" at http://www.cbm.org/article/downloads/54741/The_Inclusion_Imperative__Towards_Disability-Inclusive_Development_and_Accessible_Urban_Development.pdf

[2] The proportion of the world's urban population is expected to increase to approximately 57% by 2050. African Development Bank, http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-across-africa/post/urbanization-in-africa-10143/.

[3] Approximately 90% of this increase will be concentrated in African and Asian cities like Shenzhen, Karachi, Lagos, Guangzhou, Dhaka, Jakarta, and many others that have urbanized at a rate of 40-60% between 2000-2010

(Abendroth et al., 2015; Ahmmad et al., 2014; Al Qadi et al., 2012; Amedeo and Speicher, 1995; Anguelovski, 2013; Bezmez, 2013). Poor planning, and unregulated urban development can have devastating consequences for persons with disabilities. According to the United Nations CRPD Committee, "Without access to the physical environment, to transportation… and to other facilities and services open or provided to the public, persons with disabilities would not have equal opportunities for participation in their respective societies."[4] The committee also states that "Accessibility is a precondition for persons with disabilities to live independently and participate fully and equally in society."[5] Gender, ethnicity, and poverty, compound existing exclusions for persons with disabilities, limiting their access to opportunities. According to Nobel prize winning economist Amartya Sen, the lack of access too often deprives persons with disabilities of their right to mobility, education, and healthcare.[6] Cities are under immense pressure to ensure that urban development is inclusive and responds to the needs of marginalized groups (Barber, 2013; Bell and De-Shalit, 2013). These pressures include responding to the needs of older persons and persons with disabilities (Beard and Petitot, 2010; Honglin 2013; Clarke et al., 2008; Dumbaugh, 2008; Plouffe and Kalache, 2010; Murray, 1996). What steps can urban planners, development practitioners, and scholars take to promote a better understanding of access and inclusion for people with disabilities in cities?

The long-standing neglect, and marginalization of urbanites with disabilities will continue unabated unless immediate and bold measures are taken.

The main goal of this chapter is to review the global status of disability rights in urban development and offer a set of recommendations to ensure that local city initiatives respond to the needs of persons with disabilities. The paper starts with a baseline review of the progress made in recent years and highlights good practices alongside the voices of persons with disabilities. The report also offers technical and policy recommendations derived from extensive research on disability inclusive urban policy. The recommendations provide practical steps and guide immediate and bold measures to (1) account for and report progress on the rights of persons with disabilities in urban planning, policy and development, and (2) ensure that key issues in the New Urban Agenda, such as accessibility and equality, truly address the needs of everybody, including persons with disabilities.

Disability in Global Development

Globally, more than half of all people with disabilities now live in towns and cities and by 2030 this number is estimated to swell to between 750,000 - 1 billion.[7] Persons with disabilities face technical and environmental barriers such as steps at the entrances of

[4] CRPD/C/GC/2

[5] The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination guarantees everyone the right of access to any place or service intended for use by the general public, such as transport, hotels, restaurants, cafes, theatres and parks (art. 5 (f)). Thus, a precedent has been established in the international human rights legal framework for viewing the right to access as a right per se.

[6] Sen. Disability and Justice. 2004 retrieved August 5, 2015: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DISABILITY/214576-1092421729901/20291152/Amartya_Sen_Speech.doc

[7] Utilizing 5 billion urban dwellers, we calculated that 15-20% of these would be persons with disabilities. Data sources derived from WHO World Disability Report (2011) and "Urbanization | UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund." Accessed May 3, 2015. http://www.unfpa.org/urbanization.

buildings, the absence of lifts in multi-floor buildings and a lack of information in accessible formats. The built environment always relates to social and cultural development as well as customs; therefore the built environment is under the full control of society (Robin, 2014).[8] The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) includes accessibility as one of its key underlying principles — a vital precondition for the effective and equal enjoyment of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of persons with disabilities. Accessibility should be viewed not only in the context of equality and non-discrimination, but also as an integral part of the sustainable development agenda.[9]
The international community, in the Outcome Document of the UN High Level Meeting on Disability and Development, reaffirmed its commitment to advancing a disability-inclusive development agenda, emphasizing among other issues, the importance of accessibility and inclusion for persons with disabilities in urban development contexts.[10]
As the international community embarks on implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), it is important to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe and sustainable. This means actions and measures must ensure universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible green and public spaces, adequate and affordable housing, urban and peri-urban transport and basic services for all urban dwellers, whether or not they live with a disability.[11] It also means that persons with disabilities are included as full and equal participants in the social, political, and economic life of cities and urban dwellings, including representation in civil society and political decision making and access to employment and income-generating activities on an equal basis with others.

Cities and human settlements should be 'inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable' and targets should explicitly state that universal design principles must be at the center of urban development regulations and building codes.

The processes leading to the formulation of the 2016-2030 Sustainable Development Goals recognize the critical need to include people with disabilities more broadly in development.[12] Forms of inclusion are explicitly mentioned in Sustainable Development Goal No.11, stating that cities should be 'inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable'. This goal should explicitly engage universal design principles and encourage cities to develop regulations and building codes that comply with the principle of universal design.[13] Social inclusion thus is understood to be a central aspect of a global, and increasingly urbanized, form of development.

[8] CRPD/C/GC/2
[9] CRPD/C/GC/2
[10] General Assembly Resolution 68/3.
[11] Report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals , see http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/68/970&Lang= E
[12] Rio+20 promised to strive for a world that is just, equitable and inclusive, and committed to work together to promote sustained and inclusive economic growth, social development and environmental protection and thereby to benefit all, in particular the children of the world, youth and future generations of the world without distinction of any kind such as age, sex, disability, culture, race, ethnicity, origin, migratory status, religion, economic or other status.
[13] See targets 11.2 'By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons' and 11.7, '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'.

Although disability inclusive development has influenced the Sustainable Development process, its coordination and administration on the local level requires additional specifications and guidelines. Like other urban issues, tackling accessibility will require assessing and responding to shortcomings in infrastructure management, municipal codes, land use, transportation planning, housing and community development, mobility, social services, and broader monitoring of human rights on a local level.

Calls for an ambitious New Urban Agenda have gained momentum on a global stage. A disability inclusive New Urban Agenda has the potential to transform geographies of exclusion, dependence, isolation, and despair[14] into thriving active communities that according to Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, afford disabled citizens the "capabilities to live the type of lives they have reason to value."[15] More inclusive communities are forming at global, regional, national and local levels. By creating a barrier-removal plan or a plan for accessibility cities, town, and villages can implement the CRPD and other internationally adopted agreements concerning the human rights of people with disabilities.[16]

Forging an Inclusive New Urban Agenda

> ***VOICES*: Ambrose Murangira Kampala, Uganda**
> "If we measure what we value, then society at large does not value the perspectives or needs of persons with disabilities."

Cities are at the epicenter of the global sustainable development agenda; how that agenda is shaped will determine the character of our future cities and towns (Artuso, 2013). The Third United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development (Habitat III) and the meetings leading up to the conference provide a critical opportunity for the disability community to help shape a more accessible and inclusive urban future. Habitat III aims to help cities fulfill their role as drivers of sustainable development, and hence shape the implementation of new global development and climate change goals. Habitat III will be one of the first United Nations global summits after the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals. It provides an opportunity to include accessibility and universal design as a key principle guiding how cities, towns and villages are planned, built and managed.[17]

The international community has an opportunity to change the current status quo. More than 100 countries are currently drafting their National Reports, the key documents that identify challenges, emerging trends and a prospective vision for urban development. Unfortunately, of the 65 national or regional statements submitted to the second preparatory meeting, none mention disability nor disability related accessibility as a

[14] Likewise, in developed countries, rapid urbanization can result segregation ordinances, privatized spaces, and exclusions of undesirable or destabilizing social groups. Cities will increasingly be looking for ways to turn the tide on increasing concentrations of poverty, inequality, and social marginalization.

[15] Amartya Sen. 1999.

[16] The United Nations, and other organizations such as the World Bank, UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, UNDESA have undertaken important work in the area of disability inclusive development.

[17] The Conference welcomes the participation and contributions of all Member States and relevant stakeholders, including parliamentarians, civil society organizations, regional and local government and municipality representatives, professionals and researchers, academia, foundations, women and youth groups, trade unions, and the private sector, as well as organizations of the United Nations system and intergovernmental organizations.

specific area of concern.[18] These reports and statements have the potential to help cities share ideas on how universal designed accessible cities can be built.[19] States have a key opportunity to include a disability perspective in the planning and preparatory efforts that lead to the New Urban Agenda.

Likewise, National Urban Forums have the potential to enrich national reports and share perspectives on disability inclusive development.[20] These Forums contribute to building a knowledge base and provide a forum for policy debate and advocacy activities that support the National preparations, but as of yet have not explicitly shown how to make the New Urban Agenda more disability inclusive. This is particularly important as the next host of the World Urban Forum (WUF), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, is preparing for WUF9 in close connection with the Habitat III process.

At all levels there continues to be a lack of reliable data on disability. This hinders the ability of development actors to assess progress and take action.[21] For example, urban indicators measuring accessibility of the built environment, mobility barriers, or budget allocations for local community based programs that support the implementation of Article 19 of the CRPD "Community and Independent Living" are rarely measured.[22]

***VOICES*: Mohammed Loutfy**
Beirut, Lebanon
"We should unite with all stakeholders to anchor disability inclusion into the New Urban Sustainable Development Agenda."

Diversity, inclusion, cooperation, and innovations in local practice characterized the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and are also guiding the preparatory process to Habitat III. But many questions remain to be answered: Will these processes be made more inclusive of the broad needs of persons with disabilities? What criteria should be used when assessing the administrative and coordinating capacity of governments, civil society, the private sector and other stakeholders to effectively identify and eliminate physical barriers? What actions can be taken now to ensure a more inclusive urban future? Before we answer these questions, it's important to review the landscape of research on disability and urban studies.

Assessing specific challenges.
Multidimensional and cross sectional analysis is needed.

The World Report on Disability Summary, published in 2011 by the World Health Organization and the World Bank within the framework of the largest consultation on

[18] We reviewed 65 national or regional reports hosted on the website for Habitat III available at http://unhabitat.org/prepcom2/. (accessed on May 5, 2015)

[19] The second session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) was held in Nairobi, Kenya, from Tuesday, 14 April to Thursday, 16 April 2015. Documents we reviewed included governmental, and regional reports submitted/presented during the second preparatory meeting in Nairobi, Kenya April 17, 2015.

[20] At the sixth session of the World Urban Forum (Naples, September 2012), WUC partners endorsed and launched the 'Manifesto for Cities – The Urban Future We Want' a statement about the urgency to address urbanization challenges and calling for an inclusive partners process for the Habitat III Conference. This statement failed to mention disability as a specific area of focus.

[21] The World Development Reports and the World Development Indicators have only begun to consider disability.

[22] Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland support municipal programs that allow people with significant disabilities to have the support needed to live safely in their own homes and communities.

disability to date and with the active involvement of hundreds of professionals in the field of disability, stresses that the built environment, transport systems and information and communication are often inaccessible to persons with disabilities (p. 10). Persons with disabilities are prevented from enjoying some of their basic rights, such as the right to seek employment or the right to health care, owing to a lack of accessible transport and inaccessible buildings and infrastructure. The level of implementation of accessibility laws remains low in many countries and persons with disabilities are often denied their right to freedom of expression and full political participation in their communities owing to the inaccessibility of information and communication.[23]

Poorly planned cities create a series of interconnected barriers that limit mobility options, increase environmental hazards, and ultimately prevent persons with disabilities from enjoying their right to accessible housing. Such barriers put persons with disabilities in a precarious, often challenging position, whereby the rights to education, employment and security of tenure are denied due to a lack of adequate housing. Urban Centers in all developing nations struggle to control the expansion of informal and inaccessible housing. Informal housing and unplanned growth often results in housing that has limited access to latrines, water and sanitation, electricity and other energy sources, and affordable transportation. Many informal developments increase the marginalization of their resident populations by crowding them together and restricting their mobility. These very urban issues are also the main factors that deprive persons with disabilities wellbeing, dignity and the benefits of social and economic development on an equal basis with others.

A limited number of publications have recently focused on disability in urban planning specifically or or the built environment more generally. While these books, chapters, and articles represent a significant contribution towards understanding the social, political, and economic participation of persons with disabilities living in cities around the world, they also demonstrate the challenges that lie ahead for researchers who want to develop comprehensive and comparable research regarding disability inclusion in urban environments globally.

Capability enhancing communities are increasingly offering innovative approaches to long-standing urban challenges.

Growing a base for empirical evidence

There has been relatively little empirical work done on either disability inclusion by urban studies scholars or urban environments by disability studies scholars.[24] For example, in a keyword search of *Disability & Society*, a leading disability studies journal, not a single article was coded for either "city" or "urban" from the last 30 years of publications. The same can be said for an index search of the *Disability Studies Quarterly*, the oldest academic journal dedicated to disability studies. The journal *Urban Studies* contains no articles from the past fifty years of publication indexed under "disability." When journals such as these do publish articles that address disability in urban environments, the research is almost exclusively focused on inclusive design[25]. Mainstream fields of inquiry, such as economics, sociology, anthropology, public health, public policy, architecture, and law have produced

[23] CRPD/C/GC/2

[24] A few notable exceptions include, Imrie, Dear, Gleeson, Chouinard, Prince.

[25] Inclusive design, as a field of research and practice, brings together concepts and methodologies from both disability studies, architecture, design.

even less substantive research on disability inclusion in urban spaces. That being said, in the available literature, the following insights have emerged:

1. Cities can promote innovation and/or fragmentation of disability policy.
2. Urban centers can potentially create opportunities for persons with disabilities or additional barriers for them.
3. The experience of persons with disabilities in urban environments varies widely not only with respect to local conditions, but also in terms of the intersecting identities of people with disabilities within the borders of the same municipality.

Cities promote innovation for, but also the fragmentation of national disability policy

Disability inclusion policies vary greatly across countries, within countries, and between cities. For example, municipal policy innovations have allowed persons with disabilities to enjoy a greater degree of autonomy and individual choice. Such innovations can occur in states undergoing administrative decentralization, where greater responsibility in implementing policies are given to local governments who are, in turn, empowered to test innovative ideas and formulate policies in close collaboration with local groups.[26] In Yerevan, for example, the city architect formed a partnership with disability rights groups, whereby they worked together to identify, prioritize, and monitor the construction of hundreds of sloped curb cuts in the historic city center. This initiative was successful, with the end result that it is now being replicated to address bus stops and the provision of other municipal services. Developing such partnerships can help address human resource constraints and provide added momentum as cities begin to address the needs of persons with disabilities. Such responsive and collaborative approaches to broader social issues are needed.[27] But, decentralized policies can also lead to inequalities and exclusions on the basis of residence, where opportunities available in one city or human settlement are not available in others within the same national context.

China's disability employment policy, for example, provides an example of where decentralization can have varied results where access to rights and benefits are ensured in one municipality, but not in another (Shang 2000). In China, the history of work units, which were organized locally following the Revolution, means that employment and rights and benefits associated with labor for persons with disabilities are overseen by municipalities and administered by the individuals' work unit.[28] In the past, local work units were responsible for ensuring that persons with disabilities who were able to work were assigned jobs. If their work unit was unable to provide job placements, then persons with disabilities received benefits which were nationally determined and far lower than what could be gained through employment. While work units no longer play the same role they played before economic reforms, their legacy has meant that ensuring employment for persons with disabilities has remained a local responsibility. In recent

[26] Although support for decentralization has grown so has the proliferation of short-term policies. As such urban interventions promoting inclusion fall short with technical or financial support to effectively implement comprehensive transformations on the local level.

[27] Pineda, Victor Santiago (2008), "Enabling Justice: Spatializing Disability in the Built Environment." *Critical Planning Journal,* 15: 111–23. and Pineda, Victor Santiago. "The Capability Model of Disability: Assessing the Success of the UAE Federal Law No. 29 of 2006." University of California Los Angeles, 2010.

[28] Shang, Xiaoyuan (2000), "Bridging the Gap between Planned and Market Economies: Employment Policies for People with Disabilities in Two Chinese Cities." *Disability & Society,* 15, no. 1: 135–56.

years, national and local policies have encouraged the development of competitive markets. As such, municipal governments have incentivized and supported businesses to include persons with disabilities through "welfare production" policies that provide tax breaks to businesses that employ significant numbers of persons with disabilities. Over the course of ten years, this policy quadrupled the number of persons with disabilities employed. However, local markets' integration into the global economy determined the availability of jobs and their distribution. For example, in one of China's fastest growing cities, 90% of persons with disabilities eligible for jobs were employed, but in an equally sized city that had been much less successful in supporting competitive enterprises, fewer than 50% of those eligible have been integrated into the workplace.[29] Thus, the decentralization of disability employment policies has meant that opportunities vary widely for persons with disabilities in China on the basis of municipal residence, despite persons with disabilities in China living under the same national government.

Similar to China, Australia divides responsibilities between national, state (regional), and municipal governments. Medical care is national, education is state, and respite care is local.[30] Likewise, in India the provision of disability services is supposed to be coordinated between agencies at different scales, oftentimes this coordination fails, duplicating efforts in certain sectors such as medical care, and neglecting efforts to promote independent living. The fragmentation of disability policy between administrative units creates both challenges and opportunities in policy design, implementation and monitoring efforts. In some cases, it provides the opportunity for innovation at the local level and allows local governments to tailor policies to their distinct local populations. But, it can also create large inconsistencies in the protection and provision of rights and benefits on the basis of residence.

Cities can create opportunities, but also barriers

Cities are forums for citizen engagement with political, economic, and social development; they can also force modernization efforts to be more inclusive. In Egypt, disability protests broke out in Cairo and Alexandria, inspired by the larger Arab Spring movement. In 2010, persons with disabilities demanded more equitable distribution of jobs, housing, and income support from the Egyptian government, blocking one of Cairo's main roads. By 2011, the disability protests expanded their demands by using a modernization and democratization frame, ensuring the right to participate in elections by demanding that voting places be made accessible, and by asserting their right to independence through demands for modernizing transportation systems to be made accessible.[31] In smaller Egyptian cities, however, persons with disabilities have not been able to organize larger coalitions that can modernize disability inclusive transportation with a more democratic 'urban citizenship' approach.

Cities are often at the forefront of modernization in comparison to their surrounding areas. This development, however, can have negative consequences for persons with disabilities.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Stevens, Carolyn S. (2010). "Disability, Caregiving and Interpellation: Migrant and Non-Migrant Families of Children with Disabilities in Urban Australia." *Disability & Society* 25, no. 7: 783–96.

[31] Barnartt, Sharon N. (2014). "The Arab Spring Protests and Concurrent Disability Protests: Social Movement Spillover or Spurious Relationship?" *Studies in Social Justice* 8, no. 1: 67–78.

Cities are often at the forefront of modernization in comparison to their surrounding areas. This development, however, can also have negative consequences for persons with disabilities (Gleeson, 2001). In Cuenca, Ecuador, the modernization of the bus system created barriers to access rather than remove them. New buses intended to be more efficient though the installation of turnstiles made it difficult for many persons with disabilities to board (Rattray, 2013).[32] This example for Ecuador supports the findings of a comparative study between rural and urban persons with disabilities in South Africa. While persons with disabilities living in South African cities were less likely to experience barriers rooted in negative social attitudes towards persons with disabilities, they were much more likely to experiences barriers resultant of inaccessible products and technology that they used on a daily basis.[33] For this reason, it is vital that cities and states develop technical standards, inspection regimes, and penalties that ensure barrier-free development, such as in the expansion and modernization urban transit, as China has recently done (Pan, 2011).[34] In Turkey the local government Istanbul, has moved swiftly in recent years to establish new institutions and implement new social policies for persons with disabilities, these changes have been top-down and framed by traditional notions of charity and benevolence, rather than resulting from local residents with disabilities joining together in a social movement and asserting their "right to the city".[35] As such, Turkey's efforts to modernize have further marginalized people with disabilities into a dependent status.

Cross-cutting identities imply varied experiences in urban environment

The enjoyment of rights and full participation of persons with disabilities are often differentiated on the basis of other identities they share. For example, some women with disabilities in Bandung, Indonesia, have adopted the concept of self-determination and independent living in the face of a patriarchal culture and inaccessible environment. This group, however, is made up of women of middle- and upper-class backgrounds who can afford chauffeurs, personal assistants, and so forth.[36] Other factors also determine the utilization of rights and services. A study of families that include persons with disabilities in urban Australia found that in Melbourne, where 25% of the population is foreign-born, migrant parents of children with disabilities were far less likely to access respite care and other forms of support offered by the municipality than

These examples reinforce the need to think more holistically. Current approaches fail to highlight the powerful ways social identities influence public opinions, and how cross-cutting social identities can mobilize public actions to address social isolation and exclusion.

[32] Rattray, Nicholas A. (2013). "Contesting Urban Space and Disability in Highland Ecuador." *City & Society* 25, no. 1: 25–46.
[33] Maart, S., A. H. Eide, J. Jelsma, M. E. Loeb, and M. Ka Toni (2007). "Environmental Barriers Experienced by Urban and Rural Disabled People in South Africa." *Disability & Society* 22, no. 4: 357–69.
[34] Pan, Haixiao. "Implementing Sustainable Urban Travel Policies in China," 2011. http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/transport/implementing-sustainable-urban-travel-policies-in-china_5kg9mq40ldvg-en.
[35] Bezmez, Dikmen (2013). "Urban Citizenship, the Right to the City and Politics of Disability in Istanbul." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 1: 93–114. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01190.x.
[36] Komardjaja, Inge (2004). "Independent Living and Self-Determination of Women with Physical Disabilities in Bandung, Indonesia." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 3. http://www.dsq-sds.org/article/view/509/686.

native-born Australians (Durst et al., 2001).[37]
Cross-cutting identities, however, also offer opportunities for promoting disability inclusion. For example, a project in Israel was successful in using mosques in Jerusalem and other urban centers as venues for inclusion. Imams, who were introduced to disability rights, emphasized Islam's commitment to equality and disability inclusion, raising disability inclusion throughout the community and drawing significant numbers of new congregants with disabilities into their communities.[38] These examples reinforce the need to think more holistically. Current approaches fail to highlight the powerful ways that cross-cutting social identities can both be harnessed for inclusion or contribute towards social isolation and exclusion (Durst, 2006; Edwards, 2001; Fincher, 2003; Friedner and Osborne, 2013).

Transforming good intentions to measurable actions

Effective solutions are often inhibited by policy fragmentation, poor accountability, and lack of political will. Legal reforms can create new incentives elevating accessibility and stimulating new investments in infrastructure, and innovations in design (Hall and Imrie 2004). New ways of engaging the private sector will be needed to address supply and demand for accessibility.

> ***VOICES: Della Leonor***
> ***Roxas City, Philippines***
> "We don't need more laws. We need to implement the laws we have. In my city we have 99% policy and just 1% implementation. My desire for the cities of the future is that we Persons with Disability will no longer demand accessibility but rather that it is readily available".

In addition, the lack of a cohesive disability policy at both the local and national level limits the impact of existing efforts to include accessibility requirements in planning, policy, and design (Langdon and Lazar, 2014). This is compounded by gaps in local leadership, budget allocation, local capacity, lack of engagement with targeted groups, and by limiting beliefs about persons with disabilities. For example in many countries such as Ethiopia, China, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, local governments are utilizing language of equal opportunities and rights-based development, yet still limit the ability of persons with disabilities to form their own associations, organize awareness raising campaigns, and fundraise to strengthen their organizational capacity at both the national and local levels.
Accessibility of the built environment is not seen as a priority by local and municipal governments in many parts of the world. In Cape Town[39], Kampala[40], and Nairobi,[41] efforts to promote accessibility often get pushed aside by other important priorities such as poverty alleviation, provision of affordable housing, and upgrading decaying infrastructure. Efforts should focus on engaging the local authorities that set zoning, land

[37] Stevens, Carolyn S. (2010). "Disability, Caregiving and Interpellation: Migrant and Non-Migrant Families of Children with Disabilities in Urban Australia." *Disability & Society* 25, no. 7: 783–96.
[38] Mizrachi, Nissim (2014). "Translating Disability in a Muslim Community: A Case of Modular Translation." *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 38, no. 1: 133–59.
[39] Maart, S., A. H. Eide, J. Jelsma, M. E. Loeb, and M. Ka Toni (2007). "Environmental Barriers Experienced by Urban and Rural Disabled People in South Africa." *Disability & Society* 22, no. 4: 357–69.
[40] "AYWDN: Med Ssengoba, Uganda - YouTube." Accessed May 7, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=if0rmVwyyJ0&list=PL407C8373BB7BE5C3&index=12 .
[41] "AYWDN: Rose Kwamboka, Kenya - YouTube." Accessed May 7, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BZm8emJaLDU&list=PL407C8373BB7BE5C3&index= 5.

use, transportation, and building regulations in these cities to ensure that persons with disabilities, as members of a marginalized community, are prioritized and within these larger initiatives.

Voluntary measures towards accessibility, however, will not bring about needed changes. Mandatory regulation is necessary for lasting urban transformation to occur. For example, Australia set a goal that all new housing stock will meet a basic level of visitability by 2020. Visitability is defined as the capacity for a dwelling to facilitate inclusion and participation of all people in family and community activities. A study of Australia's voluntary national guidelines on visitability showed that voluntary practices failed to ensure the right of adequate housing (Ward and Franz 2015). As such, new construction of accessible housing has not been realized because there is no legal mandate and Australia will fail to reach its accessible housing targets.[42]

> ***VOICES*: Juan Angel De Gouveia Caracas, Venezuela**
> "Our needs and aspirations as urban or rural citizens are often overlooked by our national or local governments. We are invisible and our economic, social, or cultural contributions too often unrealized due to unnecessary physical or social barriers. Rights-based development needs substantial coordination, financing, and leadership. Mayors, State Governors, Parliamentarians, need to understand the challenges in our cities, and the ways they have failed us."

However, in some cases where legal and regulatory standards exist, they are not enforced. For example, in Venezuela, Article 81 of the national constitution enshrines the rights of persons with disabilities to equal treatment in all aspects of life, including making public spaces accessible. However, governance and existing funding mechanisms have thus far failed to address accessibility. According to local disability advocates, funding for disability programs is primarily channeled through the "Mission Jose Gregorio Hernandez", a public sector charitable initiative providing rehabilitation, not barrier-free urban development. According to Angel Gouveia, a deaf activist who helped draft Article 81 of the constitution stated, "In Caracas, Valencia, and Maracaibo, prosthetics are well funded, but accessibility of buildings or streets is not." This echoes other findings from Accra, Ghana where monumental public buildings demonstrate authority of the state, but lack consideration towards accessibility.[43] Gaps exist across sectors, and scales. To fill these gaps, governments are beginning to incentivize innovation across the board. Innovations in urban development allow for new broad-based local coalitions to form around equity, access, walkability, bikeability, and broader ecological sustainability. Such coalitions can further a disability inclusive message and spark new dialogues between urban planners, architects, policy makers, and other groups to jointly develop detailed technical guidance for inclusive urban

Governments must revolutionize their approach to urban development and unite broad-based local coalitions for inclusion that mandate local disability rights groups, urban planners, architects, policy makers, and other groups to jointly develop detailed technical guidance for inclusive urban development efforts, and develop a coalition to overhaul existing approaches.

[42] Ward, Margaret, and Jill Franz (2015). "The Provision of Visitable Housing in Australia: Down to the Detail." *Social Inclusion* 3, no. 2: 31–43.
[43] Danso, A. K., J. Ayarkwa, and Ayirebi Dansoh (2011). "State of Accessibility for the Disabled in Selected Monumental Public Buildings in Accra, Ghana". http://ir.knust.edu.gh/handle/123456789/3406.

development efforts and develop a coalition to overhaul existing approaches. This is especially important for overlooked populations including persons with mental illness (Whitehead and Barnard, 2013).

Cities that are successfully implementing programs are still few and far between. For example, in Kampala, disability inclusive laws protect the rights of persons with disabilities and people with disabilities participate in the public policy process, but too often local administrative agencies lack the capacity to deliver services and implement laws. Likewise in Lima, Peru laws and public attitudes match international norms, but low political will and administrative and coordinating failures limit progress. In other cases, a city may need to develop policies programs to bolster efforts in all five sectors. Very few governments can do this successfully without the active engagement of civil society or the private sector.

Recommendations for Global Reporting

This section provides guidance on the types of specific data and information that member states will need to compile for status reports on the rights of persons with disabilities in urban contexts. The Rio+20 outcome document and subsequent meetings member states were encouraged to take urgent steps to improve the quality, coverage and availability of disaggregated data to ensure that persons with disabilities were not left behind. In addition, to comply with national implementation and monitoring of the SDGs and the CRPD, States must maintain, strengthen, designate or establish a framework, with one or more independent mechanisms to monitor efforts at all levels of government.

Statistics and data collection should be disaggregated, as appropriate, and used to help assess the implementation of obligations under the SDGs and the CRPD. In order to monitor the implementation of the SDGs, it will be important to improve the availability of and access to data and statistics disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, and disability to support the monitoring of the implementation of the SDGs. States parties must actively work to identify and address the barriers faced by persons with disabilities in exercising their rights.[44] States parties can support capacity-building efforts, including through the exchange and sharing of information, experiences, training programs and best practices. Member states should facilitate cooperation in research and access to scientific and technical knowledge and, as appropriate, provide technical assistance.[45]

To support global reporting efforts, we offer herein five interrelated criteria or pillars for evaluation and assessment of inclusive urban development. With the following evaluative criteria, member states can easily conduct rapid assessments at the level of a neighborhood, city, or state or nation. The five pillars of the DisCo Policy Framework developed by Victor Pineda (2010) help structure data collection efforts and help city managers to determine the concrete steps needed to ensure that local efforts are aligned to international normative framework. These include:

1. Legislative Measures
2. Executive and Budgetary Support
3. Administrative and Coordinating Capacity
4. Attitudes towards PWDs in urban life
5. Participation of PWDs in urban development

[44] CRPD Article 31
[45] CRPD Article 32

Figure 1: Urban Policy Framework based on the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities can be used to conduct rapid assessments of inclusive urban development.

1) *Legislative Measures:* States parties must monitor legal or regulatory changes, policies or reforms at various levels of government, from local ordinances to national laws. Furthermore states and local municipalities must document the local level laws exist to guide implementation of accessibility and disability related policies at the local level. By looking at legislative measures, local governments can work to address non-compliance.
2) *Executive and budgetary support*: States parties develop and implement urban policy under varying types of political and financial structures. Public commitments, financial or budgetary appropriations should be continuously assessed. This can be done by reviewing government reports, official press releases or from expert interviews with key stakeholders. Strategies should be developed to remove institutional barriers and secure political and financial commitments.
3) *Administrative and coordinating capacity:* Local agencies often lack institutional capacity and may have a deficit of capable human resources to implement substantive changes. States parties should report on the governance mechanisms. Governments must conduct stakeholder mapping to better understand possible deficits in administrative and coordinating capacity. Are the responsible parties effectively working across sectors and scales? By looking closely at this pillar, program fragmentation and overlap can be avoided.
4) *Participation of targeted group:* States parties must report on the level of participation of targeted beneficiaries in urban development. States parties should also report on the number of persons with disabilities in leadership positions, as well as the quality and types of engagements between local governments and disabled persons organization.

5) *Awareness of needs and attitudes towards targeted group:* States parties must report on their efforts to promote and monitor awareness raising efforts. States can report on the metrics they use to assess communication and outreach initiatives (social media and traditional media). In addition, states parties should continuously study the prevalence of biases and negative attitudes towards people with disabilities. Negative attitudes towards people with disabilities can inhibit progress from being made.

For all the data collection efforts listed above, states must ensure strong, multi-stakeholder efforts that promote sustained collaboration, information sharing and knowledge exchange between all disability and development actors. Strong coordination of data collection efforts can help ensure that public sector efforts generate the desired changes.

Recommendations for an Inclusive Urban Agenda

A New Urban Agenda must ensure that all elements of the built environment, including land use, transportation, housing, energy, and infrastructure, work together to provide accessible, and affordable places for living, working, and recreation, with a high quality of life that meets the livelihood needs of all citizens and groups. In addition, the agenda must ensure that the planning process actively involves all segments of the community and includes persons with various types of disabilities in analyzing issues, generating visions, developing plans, and monitoring outcomes.

The following recommendations can help realize this goal:

I. Recommendations to ensure access in the built environment

1.1 Plan for Multimodal Transportation

A multimodal transportation system allows people to use a variety of transportation modes, including walking, biking, and other mobility devices (e.g., wheelchairs), as well as transit where possible. According to Arnot and Swartz (2012) such a system reduces dependence on automobiles and encourages more active forms of personal transportation, improving health outcomes and increasing the mobility of those who are unable or unwilling to drive (e.g., youth, persons with disabilities, the elderly). Fewer cars on the road also translate to reduced air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions with associated health and environmental benefits (Audirac, 2008).

1.2 Plan for Transit Oriented Development

Transit-oriented development (TOD) is characterized by a concentration of higher density mixed use development around transit stations and along transit lines, such that the location and the design of the development encourage transit use and pedestrian activity. TOD allows communities to focus new residential and commercial development in areas that are well connected to public transit. This enables residents to more easily use transit service, which can reduce vehicle-miles traveled and fossil fuels consumed and associated pollution and greenhouse gas emissions. It can also reduce the need for personal automobile ownership, resulting in a decreased need for parking spaces and other automobile-oriented infrastructure.

1.3 Provide complete streets serving multiple functions

Complete streets are streets that are designed and operated with all users in mind—including motorists, pedestrians, bicyclists, and public transit riders (where applicable) of all ages and abilities—to support an accessible and affordable multi-modal transportation system. A complete street network is one that safely and conveniently accommodates all users and desired functions, though this does not mean that all

modes or functions will be equally prioritized on any given street segment. Streets that serve multiple functions can accommodate travel, social interaction, and commerce, to provide for more vibrant neighborhoods and more livable communities.

1.4 Plan for mixed land-use patterns that are walkable and bikeable

Mixed land-use patterns are characterized by residential and nonresidential land uses located in close proximity to one another. Mixing land uses and providing housing in close proximity to everyday destinations (e.g., shops, civic places, workplaces) can increase walking and biking and increase personal mobility. Mixed land-use patterns should incorporate safe, convenient, accessible, and attractive design features (e.g., sidewalks, bike street furniture, bicycle facilities, street trees) to promote walking and biking.

1.5 Prioritize access with infill development

Infill development is characterized by development or redevelopment of undeveloped or underutilized parcels of land in otherwise built-up areas, which are usually served by or have ready access to existing infrastructure and services.

1.6 Encourage design standards appropriate to the community context

Design standards are specific criteria and requirements for the form and appearance of development within a neighborhood, corridor, special district, or jurisdiction as a whole. These standards serve to improve accessibility or protect the function and aesthetic appeal of a community or neighborhood. Design standards typically address building placement, building massing and materials, and the location and appearance of elements (such as landscaping, signage, and street furniture.) All these features have accessibility and design considerations for people with disabilities. Access considerations can encourage development that is compatible with the community context and that enhances sense of place. While accessible design standards will not be specified in a comprehensive city-wide master plan, the plan can establish the direction and objectives that detailed accessibility standards should achieve.

1.7 Provide accessible public facilities and spaces

Public facilities play an important role in every city, and they should be able to accommodate persons of all ages and abilities. Public facilities and spaces such as schools, parks, civic or community centers, public safety facilities, arts and cultural facilities, recreational facilities, plazas, should be equitably distributed throughout the city. They should be located and designed to be safe, served by different transportation modes, and accessible to visitors with mobility impairments.

1.8 Conserve and enhance historic resources

Historic resources are buildings, sites, landmarks, or districts with exceptional value or quality for illustrating or interpreting the cultural heritage of a city. It is important to address accessibility in the conservation and enhancement of historic resources. Examples of how to do this effectively exist.

1.9 Implement accessibility standards into green building design and energy conservation

A green building is characterized by design features that, if used as intended, will minimize the environmental impacts of the building over the course of its lifespan. In addition, social sustainability including principles of Universal Design should be considered in parallel to environmental impact assessment. This reduces the need to retrofit in the future and supports change of behavior that is more accepting of accessibility.

II. Recommendations to Ensure Equity

2.1 Plan for improved health and safety for at-risk populations

An at-risk population is characterized by vulnerability to health or safety impacts through factors such as race or ethnicity, socioeconomic status, geography, gender, age, behavior, or disability status. These populations may have additional needs before, during, and after a destabilizing event such as a natural or human-made disaster or period of extreme weather, or throughout an indefinite period of localized instability related to an economic downturn or a period of social turmoil. At-risk populations include children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities, those living in institutionalized settings, those with limited language proficiency, and those who are transportation disadvantaged.

2.2 Provide a range of housing types

A range of housing types is characterized by the presence of residential units of different sizes, configurations, tenures, and price points located in buildings of different sizes.

2.3 Provide accessible and quality public services, facilities, and health care to minority and low-income neighborhoods

A public service is a service performed for the benefit of the people who live in (and sometimes those who visit) the jurisdiction. A public facility is any building or property—such as a library, park, or community center—owned, leased, or funded by a public entity. Public services, facilities, and health care should be located so that all members of the public have safe and convenient transportation options to reach quality services and facilities that meet or exceed industry standards for service provision. Public services and facilities and healthcare providers often underserve minority and low-income neighborhoods.

2.4 Protect vulnerable populations from natural hazards

A natural hazard is a natural event that threatens lives, property, and other assets. Natural hazards include floods, high wind events, landslides, earthquakes, and wildfires. Vulnerable neighborhoods face higher risks than others when disaster events occur. A population may be vulnerable for a variety of reasons, including location, socioeconomic status or access to resources, lack of leadership and organization, and lack of planning.

III. Recommendations for Authentic Participation

3.1 Engage stakeholders at all stages of the planning process

Engaging stakeholders throughout the planning process—from creating a community vision to defining goals, principles, objectives, and action steps, as well as in implementation and evaluation—is important to ensure that the plan accurately reflects community values and addresses community priority and needs. In addition, engagement builds public understanding and ownership of the adopted plan, leading to more effective implementation.

3.2 Seek diverse participation in the plan development process

A robust comprehensive planning process engages a wide range of participants across generations, ethnic groups, and income ranges. Especially important is reaching out to groups that might not always have a voice in community governance, including representatives of disadvantaged and minority communities.

3.3 Promote leadership development in disadvantaged communities during the planning process

Leaders and respected members of disadvantaged communities can act as important contacts and liaisons for planners in order to engage and empower community members throughout the planning process. Participation in the process can encourage development of emerging leaders, especially from within communities that may not have participated in planning previously.

3.4 Provide ongoing and understandable information for all participants

Information available in multiple, easily accessible formats and languages are key to communicating with all constituents, including non-English speakers. Such communication may involve translating professional terms into more common lay vocabulary.

3.5 Continue to engage the public after the comprehensive plan is adopted

Stakeholder engagement should not end with the adoption of the comprehensive plan. An effective planning process continues to engage stakeholders during the implementing, updating, and amending of the plan, so that the public remains involved with ongoing proposals and decisions.

IV. Recommendations for implementation and coordination

4.1 Be Persuasive in communicating a plan for accessibility

A persuasive plan communicates key principles and ideas in a readable and attractive manner in order to inspire, inform, and engage readers. It uses up-to-date visual imagery to highlight and support its recommendations.

4.2 Be Consistent across plan components and modalities

A consistent plan frames proposals barrier removal as sets of mutually reinforcing actions in a systems approach aligning the plan with broader public programs and regulations.

4.3 Coordinate with the plans of other jurisdictions and levels of government

A coordinated plan for disability inclusive development is aligned horizontally with plans, priorities and forecasts of adjacent jurisdictions and vertically with federal, state, and regional plans.

4.4 Comply with applicable anti-discrimination laws and mandates

A compliant plan meets requirements of mandates and laws concerning preparing, adopting, and implementing integrated plans, programs, and policies.

4.5 Be transparent in the plan's substance

A transparent plan clearly articulates the rationale for all goals, objectives, policies, actions, and key plan maps. It explains the "what, how, and why" of each recommendation.

4.6 Use formats that go beyond paper

A plan that goes beyond paper is produced in a web-based format and/or other accessible, user-friendly formats in addition to a standard printed document. Planning websites can be used both to engage and to inform citizens and different constituencies about the plan.

Conclusion

Cities' efforts to promote disability inclusion are often fragmented and insufficient to address the magnitude of the problem. This chapter reviewed the key urban challenges to implementing the newly launched Sustainable Development Goals in urban environments. Furthermore this chapter offered recommendations for making global reporting on the

SDG's and the New Urban Agenda more disability inclusive. The multi-dimensional and interdependent nature of social exclusion demands a comprehensive and integrated set of solutions. This baseline report also noted that the scholarly research community has not sufficiently engaged issues of disability inclusion in cities and human settlements, resulting in a dearth of qualitative and quantitative studies that could contribute theory, methods, and knowledge towards the development of public policy.

This paper demonstrates that human rights and equity-based approaches to inclusive urban development are underway. In the near future, additional energy needs to be put towards not only activating evidence-to-action pathways identified herein, but also addressing more fundamental questions such as improving transparency, accountability and accessibility of services for persons with disabilities; legal reforms necessary to make the SDG's and CRPD a reality at national, regional, and municipal levels; the type, location and extent of data needed to improve policy deliberations and measure human rights of persons with disabilities; and, indeed, context-specific methods of assessing negative social attitudes, as well as mobilizing civil society to address complex factors and persistent challenges.

The recommendations presented herein can make a meaningful contribution to the effective implementation of SDG's in urban development. Coordinating efforts to improve and scale up disability inclusive urban development can spur innovations in other areas of urban policy, such as poverty alleviation, environmental sustainability, access to quality education, and increasing participation, and in doing so help eliminate the root causes of persistent inequality, marginality, and dependence not only for persons with disabilities but for other marginalized groups.

It is our belief that a comprehensive, scalable, universal and inclusive approach to urban development can address the ills that confront cities, ills that continue to marginalize, stigmatize, and disenfranchise millions of urban citizens that live with disabilities. Unnecessary barriers can be identified and eliminated through innovative and cooperative approaches with civil society. The voices of persons with disabilities attest to the urgency and need for global leadership on this vital global development issue.

The disability perspective is opening new efforts towards equity and inclusion and bringing to life key targets of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and the New Urban Agenda. Disability responsive urban development helps steer the New Urban Century away from repeating costly mistakes and towards an inclusive, barrier-free, rights based urban future for all.

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Participation, Co-Creation, and Public Space

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Abstract

A central notion in urban design, urban interaction design, and placemaking is the user of public space, the occupant, resident, citizen, bystander, passer-by, explorer, or flâneur. When the field of human-computer interaction (HCI) first emerged, the disciplines that represented the "human" aspects of HCI included behavioural psychology, cognitive science and human factors engineering. This situatedness begs the question whether the "user" requires different contextualisations beyond the immediate and traditional HCI concerns of the technical interface, that is, beyond usability.

This article aims to illustrate the need for placemakers and urban interaction designers to be transdisciplinary and agile in order to navigate different levels of granularity. This article seeks to practice granular agile thinking by introducing five possible ways to think about the "urban user" and the implications that follow: the user as city resident; the user as consumer of city services; the user as participant in the city's community consultations; the user as co-creator in a collaborative approach to citymaking, and finally; the user re-thought as part of a much larger and more complex ecosystem of more-than-human worlds and of cohabitation – a process that decentres the human in the design of collaborative cities.

Keywords: participation, urban interaction design, human-computer interaction, public space, placemaking

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A central notion in urban design, urban interaction design, and placemaking is the user of public space, the occupant, resident, citizen, bystander, passer-by, explorer, or flâneur. When the field of human-computer interaction (HCI) first emerged, the disciplines that represented the "human" aspects of HCI included behavioural psychology, cognitive science and human factors engineering. Over time, the field has evolved to take into account both new technological developments and new usage practices (Bannon, 1992). Harrison, Tatar, and Sengers (2007) trace the development of HCI and distinguish three distinct paradigms: human factors; classical cognitivism / information processing, and; phenomenologically situated studies. With the scope of HCI widening in the wake of the introduction of ubiquitous computing (Foth, Forlano, Satchell, & Gibbs, 2011), urban interaction design emerged as a subfield of HCI situated in cities and associated urban, suburban, peri-urban environments. This situatedness begs the question whether the "user" requires different contextualisations beyond the immediate and traditional HCI concerns of the technical interface, that is, beyond usability (Huh, Ackerman, Erickson, Harrison, & Sengers, 2007).

This article aims to illustrate the need for placemakers and urban interaction designers to be transdisciplinary and agile in order to navigate different levels of granularity. This article seeks to practice granular agile thinking by introducing five possible ways to think about the "urban user" and the implications that follow: the user as city resident; the user as consumer of city services; the user as participant in the city's community consultations; the user as co-creator in a collaborative approach to citymaking, and finally; the user re-thought as part of a much larger and more complex ecosystem of more-than-human worlds and of cohabitation – a process that decentres the human in the design of collaborative cities (Forlano, 2016). Table xx shows the first four development stages of this relationship between cities and people living in cities.

	City Government	**Citizens**
Cities 4.0	Collaborator	Co-Creator
Cities 3.0	Facilitator	Participants
Cities 2.0	Service Provider	Consumers
Cities 1.0	Administrator	Residents

Table 1: The evolution of the relationship between city governments and citizens

In the following we will look at each stage one by one, however, we also want to use this journey to practice how to keep the bigger picture in mind. We will do so by explicating the increasing scale, scope, and granularity at play on each level. The main point to take away is that not any one level is right or more important than the other; rather, the ability to move attention in an agile manner across a three dimensional "T model." The original metaphor of a "T-shaped" skills profile (Guest, 1991) aligns the X axis with transdisciplinary breadth of knowledge. We stressed the significance of transdisciplinarity

in the book's first section on *Foundations*. The Y axis stands for depth of expertise, which we are developing further as the book unfolds. However, this section then introduces a Z axis, which symbolises the level of conceptual granularity starting from the lower layers of people, streets, and public space; middle layers of urban commons, community groups, and neighbourhoods; to higher layers of abstraction, influence and reach, such as questions of space ownership, city governance, agency, and representation. Let us begin by looking at the first layer: the user conceived as urban dweller and city resident.

City Residents

The basic understanding in urban interaction design conceives of users as city residents. With the advent of ubiquitous computing (Rogers, 2009), early contributions influenced how the emerging fields of urban computing and urban interaction design approached the "user in the city." Examples include the *Digital Cities* workshop series that started in 1999 in Kyoto, Japan (Ishida & Isbister, 2000), the 2006 special issue of *Computer*, "Urban Computing: Navigating Space and Context" guest edited by Shklovski and Chang (2006), and the 2007 special issue of *Pervasive Computing*, "Urban Computing" guest edited by Kindberg, Chalmers, & Paulos (2007).

The "Familiar Stranger" project by Paulos and Goodman (2004) provides a great example of an early urban computing / urban interaction design study, which sought to re-think the notion of "user" in a city. Rather than being concerned with any immediate form of technology usage, the point of departure for this inquiry may have been to think about people "using" the city: What do they do? City residents move about from A to B. They navigate, negotiate, and traverse urban environments. They pause at traffic lights, wait at bus stops, rest at cafés, perhaps meet someone familiar on the street and stop for a chat. However, the number of people inhabiting cities makes it impractical to formally greet and introduce yourself to each and every one. Although people living in cities may take this normative behaviour for granted, it becomes more apparent when we leave the buzz of the city behind and for instance, embark on a hiking trip through the woods or mountains in a more deserted part of the world. When we then encounter another human being, even if we do not know them personally, we usually greet them, and we may even stop for a quick chat. The population density of cities prevents such behaviour from being practical.

Paulos and Goodman revisited the social phenomenon dubbed "Familiar Stranger" by Stanley Milgram (1992 [1972]). Milgram described familiar strangers to be people we see in the city and recognise, for example, on public transport every morning on the way to work. However, we choose to not interact with this person. This is due to the urban cultural norm of maintaining "civil inattention" – another social phenomenon characteristic for city living described by sociologist Erving Goffman (2009 [1972]). It is these cross-disciplinary links to social science studies and insights – such as human geography, cultural studies, urban sociology – that are vital for urban interaction design in a similar way to how cognitive science, behavioural psychology and human factors were quintessential to the emergence of the field of HCI.

Designers are not just interested in producing new knowledge and understandings, but also in translating this new understanding into actionable knowledge to inform and trial

new designs. In their study, Paulos and Goodman came up with several designs "for both a personal, body-worn, wireless device and a mobile phone based application that extend the Familiar Stranger relationship while respecting the delicate, yet important, constraints of our feelings and affinities with strangers in public places" (2004, p. 223).

The widespread adoption of mobile phones and the ability to develop and deploy location-based applications triggered a twofold interest in urban interaction design studies such as the "Familiar Stranger." First, it gave the field of interaction design an ability to create interventions that explored new terrain at the intersection of the physical and digital city – what some referred to as *hybrid space* or *net localities* (Bilandzic & Foth, 2012; Gordon & de Souza e Silva, 2011; Seeburger, Foth, & Tjondronegoro, 2015). Second, it also marked the renunciation of *cyberspace* as distinct and removed from the real world due to the growing interest by geographers and sociologists in digital and locative media applications and by media and communication studies scholars in place and locality – what has been termed "the spatial turn" (Beer & Burrows, 2007; Graham, 2004; Hardey, 2007; Scharl & Tochtermann, 2007).

Despite being literally situated outside what used to be the conventional spatial areas of interest in HCI – the professional environment of the office and the domestic environment of the home – cities do offer plenty of use cases for urban interaction design. So in addition to the exploration of sociological concepts such as familiar strangers and civil inattention, the traditional focus on use and usability continued to be adopted. An example of this is the use of wifi and other mobile and wireless networks in the city, which has been explored in various studies at the intersection of interaction design, urban sociology, and media and communication studies. For example, Forlano (2009) conducted an extensive network ethnography of community wireless networks in order to better understand their role in reconfiguring cities. Inspired by the observations (including video recordings) made by William H. Whyte for his book *The Social Life of Small Urban* Spaces (1980), Hampton, Livio, and Sessions (2010) studied wifi use in urban public spaces. The provision of a city-wide public wifi network has been pioneered in Oulu, Finland. The rollout was part of one of the first ubiquitous computing test beds and also included a set of public interactive displays both indoors and outdoors across the city (Ylipulli, Suopajärvi, Ojala, Kostakos, & Kukka, 2014).

Consumers

Interaction designers do not always have the luxury and privilege to conduct independent design research that provides the flexibility to conduct an inquiry led by social and cultural issues and questions. We are often asked to provide our expertise and skills as a service to clients with specific needs and requirements. In the context of cities, the client may be a city administration or local government, and it is useful to create an awareness of the relationships, status of power and agency, and circles of influence at stake in any one project. As a way to make sense of the communicative ecology (Hearn & Foth, 2007) or ecosystem of partners, stakeholder groups, the rich picture can be an effective tool to map and make sense of this often dense space (Monk & Howard, 1998). When considering the triad of designer, client and user, it is essential to be sensitive to differences between the way a client conceives of their user base and the picture

emerging from user research the designer conducts (Hearn & Foth, 2005). Let us assume in the context of cities that the client is a local government administration, more specifically, the public transport department responsible for ensuring mobility across the city's network of buses, trains, trams and ferries. They may be interested in exploring how GPS enabled mobile phones and journey planner apps can improve the service experience of their user, that is, customer base: public transport passengers as consumers of transport services. For example, a reasonable view may be that passengers want to reach their destination quicker using fewer interchanges and shorter routes.

An urban interaction designer having previously studied the fine granularity at the level of users as city residents would bring to the task a rich understanding of the socio-cultural nuances at play in urban interactions. The challenge is to master a balancing act that requires the artful integration of knowledge and insights about people at different levels of granularity. In the context of public transport passengers, users can be conceived at the street level: a person riding a bus or train, or in fact, user personas characteristic of diverse patterns of behaviour displayed by different people using public transport (Blomkvist, 2002). They can also be conceived at the bird's eye view level as a ratio of public transport passengers across different modes of transport available in the city. Although the client may initially not require or be interested in the level of rich detail, nuance and fine granularity for their immediate requirements – to manage and administer the transport network – the designer will be at an advantage in their task when they are able to navigate and reconcile both the street and the bird's eye view perspectives. This becomes particularly apparent in the outcomes of technology uptake strategies and user acceptance tests.

Camacho and colleagues led a three year investigation into just this challenge (Camacho, Foth, & Rakotonirainy, 2013). The immediate operational concerns that public transport service providers raise as crucial may include the efficiency and speed of services, different means to make timetable information available to passengers, reducing the waiting time, ensuring the service is safe to use by identifying hazards and reducing the risks of accidents, using CCTV systems and patrols to make carriages and stations safe for passengers, and providing value for money. However, when every one of these aspects runs smoothly, it may not make a notable difference to the service quality perceived by passengers, because that is often taken for granted. Negative or bad experiences register more prominently than normal or good performance, and bad experiences get reported in feedback channels more often than good ones (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001). Therefore, there is a twofold argument here why granular and agile thinking matters.

First, a deep and rich understanding of public transport passengers and the types of activities and interactions they engage can make a difference to the range and quality of design solutions being considered. It also contributes to a better way of empathising with and responding to the diversity of passengers using the network and their specific circumstances, needs and requirements. In addition to needs and issues requiring attention, the designer can also use this street level understanding to perceive of the bus or train carriage as an "opportunity space" (Hornecker et al., 2006). This allows for the identification of design interventions and responses that the client may not have anticipated from their bird's eye view perspective but that may prove useful and appealing

to increase the quality of a passenger's service experience (Camacho, Foth, Rakotonirainy, & Rittenbruch, 2017/4).

Second, an urban interaction design approach that maintains a hybrid perspective of bird's eye and street view can be human- / user- / passenger-centric and still deliver and maintain the operational outcomes of the service provider. As this is not a question of 'either/or,' a hybrid approach may uncover new ideas and solutions that start as passenger-centric innovation, yet they may scale to give rise to new approaches and strategies for the future of public transport (Camacho, Foth, Rakotonirainy, Rittenbruch, & Bunker, 2016). For example, public transport as an opportunity space has been explored to trial chat applications (Camacho, Foth, Rittenbruch, & Rakotonirainy, 2015; Ti, 2014), gamification (Toprak, Platt, Ho, & Mueller, 2013), music sharing (Bassoli, Brewer, Martin, Dourish, & Mainwaring, 2007; Seeburger, Foth, & Tjondronegoro, 2010), and other applications (Foth, Schroeter, & Ti, 2013).

Something we will explore in more detail later in this article, but worthwhile flagging now, is the consideration of decentering the human in the design, or here, decentering the passenger and their immediate perceived or reported needs of getting from A to B quickly. Such considerations may entail introducing design friction into the interaction or user experience (Cox, Gould, Cecchinato, Iacovides, & Renfree, 2016). It may produce novel, unusual and innovative results to experiment by diverting from the proven and often mission-critical pathway of a passenger-centric design approach, and then juxtapose and contrast these diverging designs. For example, there may be merit in journey planners "for getting lost" (Foth, 2016).

Serendipitor is part of the Sentient City Survival Kit (survival.sentientcity.net) (Shepard, 2011). It is "an alternative navigation app for the iPhone that helps you find something by looking for something else" (serendipitor.net). Traunmueller's Likeways app provides alternative routing allowing users to lose themselves in their city and discover new parts of it by choosing routes that wander past restaurants, pubs, shops, museums, and art galleries (Traunmueller, Fatah gen. Schieck, Schöning, & Brumby, 2013).

Stepping up from these first two levels of granularity that regard the user as city resident and consumer of city services, we will now look at users as participants in the city's community consultations and in that way explore how to increase agency over the planning, design and making of their urban environments.

Participants

There are many reasons that support the merits and benefits of getting users to participate in the design process, or more generally, for people to have a say in decisions that will affect them. In academia, action research has a long history advocating for not treating people as mere research subjects, but elevating their status to that of co-investigator with a view to produce actionable knowledge and to bring about change for the better (Bradbury, 2015). Reason (1998) provides a succinct account arguing corroborating the political, epistemological, ecological and spiritual dimensions of participation. In design, it is often not enough to subscribe to a human-centred or user-centred design approach, user participation is required at all stages of the design process. As a result, the field of Participatory Design (PD) has emerged focussing on questions,

issues and challenges of how to go about user participation, considering different abilities and capacities to communicate and contribute, negotiating varying roles and agencies at play across different groups of stakeholders, and looking at different ways the domain expertise of the users can inform and become part of the design process in collaboration with users as co-designers (Foth & Axup, 2006; Greenbaum & Kyng, 1991; Schuler & Namioka, 1993).

The shift in HCI from human factors to human actors to participatory design (Bannon, 1992; Greenbaum & Kyng, 1991) resembles a similar development in urban planning in the 1980s, which largely abandoned the representative practice of planning and embraced more participatory approaches that made community consultations a requirement (Laurian & Shaw, 2009). It can be argued though that this shift was prepared by events and developments much earlier, one the most prominent of which was certainly the case of the Lower Manhattan Expressway in New York City in the 1960s. One of the main proponents of this ten lane highway was Robert Moses; one of the main opponents was Jane Jacobs, at the time chair of the "Joint Committee to Stop the Lower Manhattan Expressway." Zuckerman (2011) reports that the "plans for the highway required the demolition of 14 blocks along Broome Street in Little Italy and Soho, and would have displaced roughly two thousand families and eight hundred businesses." Jacobs and her supporters not only defeated Moses and toppled the plans, she also wrote "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" (Jacobs, 1961), which Zuckerman (2011) calls "both a critique of 'rationalist' urban planning and a manifesto for preserving and designing vibrant urban communities."

An actual departure from the values and approaches taken by industrial city planners did not occur until the "communicative turn" in planning (P. Healey, 1996; Patsy Healey, 1992). Yet, to this date, planners often find themselves in a conflicted zone between – on the one side – the ideals of a participatory and communicative approach, which subscribes to values of dialogue, inclusion, tolerance and autonomy and listens to the community's voices. On the other side, there are the stark realities of the neoliberal, growth-oriented capitalist society that cities are situated within and that urban planners have to practice in (Sager, 2009). There are several advantages of a participatory practice of urban planning, including a broader range and more inclusive gathering of information to inform planning and the better chances of community acceptance when the plans reflect their needs and desires (Brody, Godschalk, & Burby, 2003; Burby, 2003).

With participation becoming an imperative in both planning and design fields, it is not surprising that technology solutions quickly started to be developed in order to assist in community participation – from recruitment, consultation, feedback gathering, deliberation to codesign processes, and planning outcomes (Fredericks & Foth, 2013; Houghton, Miller, & Foth, 2014; Wallin, Horelli, & Saad-Sulonen, 2010). For example, *Discussions in Space* is a hybrid mobile phone and public screen application that allows passersby to contribute content via SMS or tweets (Schroeter & Foth, 2009; Schroeter, Foth, & Satchell, 2012). It was originally conceived as a community engagement tool to help urban planners reach new participants, particularly those that were difficult to recruit using conventional community consultation methods. An extension of Discussions in Space that follows a hybrid (digital and physical) approach to situated community engagement is the *InstaBooth* (Caldwell & Foth, 2017). Inspired by telephone booths in

public urban space, the InstaBooth provides a portable structure that captures citizens' past stories and present opinions, particularly opinions regarding the future use and design of public space. The aim of the InstaBooth is to employ design approaches to engage local communities in a situated debate on the future of their urban environment. The Instabooth uses tangible and hybrid interaction such as multi-touch screens and media façades to facilitate face-to-face and digitally mediated discussions.
Houghton et al. (2014) distinguish between three categories of place-based technology in the context of urban planning, participatory urbanism, and urban interaction design:

1. Technology for analysis *of place*;
2. Technology to enhance people's experience *in place*;
3. Technology for community engagement *about place*.

In addition to the aforementioned examples that illustrate the third category, technology for community engagement about place, this section's focus on participation can relate to the other two categories as well. However, these first two categories often go beyond mere participation in that they allow an even higher level of agency, influence and involvement: users as co-creators.

Co-Creators

Examples of the first category defined by Houghton et al. (2014), technology for analysis of place, have been studied and described by Paulos, Honicky, and Hooker (2009) as "Participatory Urbanism." Yet, here we are not talking about a city resident being given the chance to participate in a community consultation session and asked to provide feedback – usually at a time and place that suits the initiators of the consultation, the planner or the city. Here, we are referring to participation in the 'making of city' itself that re-conceptualises users as citizens (Foth, Tomitsch, Satchell, & Haeusler, 2015) and residents as co-creators in a collaborative approach to citymaking. In a *citizen science* effort, Paulos and his team attached environmental sensors to cabs and street sweepers in order to gather a more dynamic picture of air pollution in the city (Aoki et al., 2009). Data gathered from this project can give citizens (a) a better ability to argue the case for stronger urban policy responses to reduce traffic congestion and air pollution, and; (b) the chance to avoid polluted areas.
The field of media architecture has produced manifold cases of the second category defined by Houghton et al. (2014), technology to enhance people's experience in place. What is specifically of interest to this section's focus on co-creation are those examples that are citizen-led, sometimes referred to as DIY urbanism (Finn, 2014) or urban guerrilla movements (Caldwell & Foth, 2014; Caldwell, Osborne, Mewburn, & Crowther, 2015; Foth, Parra Agudelo, & Palleis, 2013). Examples include graffiti (Iveson, 2010; Sliwa & Cairns, 2007), parkour (Kidder, 2012), yarn bombing and guerrilla knitting (Wallace, 2013), seed bombing and guerrilla gardening (Reynolds, 2014), dîner en blanc (dinerenblanc.com), and Park(ing) Day (parkingday.org).
What these examples have in common is an emerging pattern of people actively involved in and often leading processes of change making. We can trace this changing role of people from consumers to producers, from stationary office workers to mobile urban nomads, from passive members of society to active instigators of change. It is therefore

critical for urban interaction designers thinking and working at this level of conceptual granularity to reconsider whether the notion of 'user' requires not only an agile and temporary but perhaps a more lasting re-conceptualisation to that of 'citizen' (Foth, Tomitsch, et al., 2015). In turn, this begs the question how to translate (or add to) the well established set of design goals around usability. Could we conceive of 'citizen-ability' as an complementary goal for urban interaction designers to aspire to in order to create new civics for a better quality of life?

This discussion has a number of pertinent threads, many of which coalesce in Henri Lefebvre's concept of "le droit à la ville" (Lefebvre, 1996 [1968]), which has recently seen renewed interest with a view to adopt the original notion to contemporary questions of digital rights (Shaw & Graham, 2016) and the digital (or smart) city (Foth, Brynskov, & Ojala, 2015). Harvey (2012, p. 4) argues that:

> *"The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of people we want to be, what kinds of social relations we seek, what relations to nature we cherish, what style of life we desire, what aesthetic values we hold. The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights. How best then to exercise that right"*

While urban interaction design in pursuit of fostering participatory and do-it-yourself forms of urbanism is certainly valuable and commendable in its own right, it begs the question of scale and impact. Harvey's interpretation of Lefebvre's "right to the city" calls for new ways to change and reinvent the city. One possible argument interprets these micro-spatial and hyper-local urban practices as "urban acupuncture," that is, strategic local interventions that may trigger a wider and systemic effect on and across the city (Houghton, Foth, & Miller, 2015). However, another argument posits that for such DIY practices to generate implications for the city more broadly and into the future, there is a need to "assert new forms of authority in the city based on the equality of urban inhabitants" (Iveson, 2013, p. 941).

What this new form of urban polity may look like is still open for discussion, debate, experimentation, and further research across different disciplines (Foth, Tomitsch, et al., 2015). Schuler (2013) employs civic intelligence in his vision for a "world citizen parliament." Current proponents of blockchain technology and distributed ledger systems propose new forms of distributed direct democracy comprising algorithmic and 'representativeless' government (Cicada, 2016). Initial steps in embracing more co-creative and collaborative efforts of citymaking certainly entail not only supporting the changing role of citizens, but also reconsidering the role of city administrations and local governments. As we stepped through the different levels of user granularity, we can in parallel trace a corresponding change in the identity and raison d'être of city governments from administrators, service providers, facilitator, to collaborators. At each step is it worthwhile to acknowledge that although this process is aggregative in that duties and obligations from the previous level continue, the quality of the relationship with the

citizenry changes. There are similarities to the separation between researchers (city administration) and study subjects (residents) in positivist research approaches, which action research and other paradigms subscribed to an epistemological stance of social constructivism regard as counterproductive and replace with the notion of co-investigators (co-creators).

There are established models such as private / public partnerships and triple helix innovation systems comprising government, business and academia (Foth & Adkins, 2006) in order to forge the co-creative collaborations required to produce actionable knowledge and bring about change. However, there are still several challenges. First, there is a need to replace old ways of thinking in categories such as "top-down" and "bottom-up" – perhaps with "middle-out" (Fredericks, Caldwell, & Tomitsch, 2016)? Second, new methodologies are required that are more inclusive with regards to the range of stakeholders able to be engaged, such as quadruple helix innovation systems that include government, industry, academia, and civil society (Leydesdorff, 2012). And third, the increase in the number and diversity of stakeholders and partners presents new communication challenges. How do we ensure communication, interaction and deliberation occur in an inclusive, rational, effective, and productive manner? Even when well known challenges such as noise and equivocation are being addressed, do communicative processes often fall into either adversarial or consensual modes of deliberation. Dick argues to pay more attention to a third, that is, dialectic option, which he describes as "building agreement from disagreement" (Dick, 2002). It is useful to compare this approach with related approaches in interaction design, such as adversarial design (DiSalvo, 2012) and agonistic design (Björgvinsson, Ehn, & Hillgren, 2010, 2012). What appears to be missing as yet is an explicit entity in the quadruple helix comprising government, industry, academia, and civil society, that represents nature: Can we design for the cohabitation of cities and harmoniously live together with other living creatures?

Conclusion: Towards Cohabitation

The final frontier (at least for this article) is to consider – alas briefly – ways society can engage in a socio-ecological transitioning towards a just and sustainable future (Fry, 2009). The aforementioned elaborations brought to the fore many challenges, two of which highlighted here by way of concluding: First, in the granular lineage of user from resident, consumer, participant to co-creator, there is a further step and an additional hurdle to take, which Forlano (2016) describes as "decentering the human in the design of collaborative cities." Removing humans as the exclusive inhabitants of the epicentre of design attention allows us to consider a more inclusive and encompassing worldview. This non- or post-anthropocentric perspective in design challenges us to re-think how user-centric design methods can become world-centric design methods (DiSalvo & Lukens, 2011; Giaccardi, Cila, Speed, & Caldwell, 2016; Giaccardi, Speed, Cila, & Caldwell, 2016). It is a useful first step to expand the aforementioned quadruple helix to a quintuple or penta helix innovation model, which includes the natural environment (Calzada, 2013; Carayannis, Barth, & Campbell, 2012), yet this is just the start of the socio-ecological transition humanity requires (Aiginger et al., 2016).

Second, the emerging practice of *transition design* (Irwin, 2015; Irwin, Kossoff, & Tonkinwise, 2015) is particularly relevant in the context of cities and urban interaction design. In search of answers for how to transition humanity towards sustainable futures, it

suffice to say that progressive, disruptive and radical change is required. The visions for this sustainable future vary: cosmopolitan localism (Manzini, 2009), beyond capital (Hakken, Teli, & Andrews, 2015), voluntary simplicity and prosperous descent (Alexander, 2016), sustainment (Fry, 2003, 2011), mutualism (Jeremijenko, 2016), and cohabitation (N. Smith, Bardzell, & Bardzell, 2017).

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The Nineteenth Century American Promenade. Precedent and Form

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Abstract

The promenade became firmly established in Europe as a public space type in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, appearing on the North American continent in the late eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century a number of American cities offered designated outdoor settings for citizens to engage the social practice of "seeing and being seen", in locations as diverse as cemeteries, fashionable streets, waterfront embankments, resort beachfronts, and later, in urban parks and along parkways. These public spaces attracted diverse populations, from working and middle classes to social elites, fulfilling a range of social and recreational goals in a variety of contexts. The promenade has endured as a highly popular public space type over many generations and across diverse cultural and geographic contexts, prompting the question whether there are certain formal qualities that have enhanced the success of the promenade as a public space? Are there are particular physical and spatial conditions that have persisted, contributing to its capacity to endure?

This paper describes the evolution of urban promenades in Western Europe and in the United States from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, before applying typological analysis to a set of promenade precedents drawn from several countries and across a span of several hundred years. The analysis reveals that factors such as location, connectivity, adjacency, alignment, dimensions, scale, and amenity features have contributed to the qualities of accessibility, activity, and comfort that have attracted people to promenades and supported their popularity over time. The paper concludes that nineteenth century American promenades were legitimate successors to earlier European precedents, exhibiting similarities in physical and spatial attributes that place them squarely within a typological tradition.

Keywords: urban promenade; public space type; nineteenth century America

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Introduction

Used as a verb, the word "promenade" connotes the act of walking leisurely in a social setting; employed as a noun, the word refers to the setting for that activity. The practice of promenading and the provision of designated settings to accommodate this activity has a lengthy history, becoming firmly established in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and appearing on the North American continent in the late eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century a number of American cities boasted outdoor settings for citizens to engage the social practice of "seeing and being seen", while enjoying a casual stroll along comfortably scaled, shaded pathways. Promenades were found in cemeteries, along popular streets, beside water reservoirs and embankments, along resort beachfronts, and eventually, in urban parks as well (Bluestone, 1987). They fulfilled a range of social and recreational goals, in a variety of social contexts. For affluent upper class residents, the promenade offered an alternative social setting to the formal parlor or the structured social event. While still constrained by a highly disciplined code of conduct, the promenade could yet function as a venue for sedate recreation and entertainment, for social encounter, and not least, for validation of social status. For the middle and lower classes, the expectation was that the opportunity of strolling among their "betters" would educate them in the manners and cultural mores that exemplified the highest ideals of an increasingly heterogeneous society, inspiring social cohesion and civic pride (Bluestone, 1987). And as early as the nineteenth century, some social reformers saw another desirable outcome of public promenading, urging working class Americans to take up the practice of walking as a healthful activity (Malone and Parrott, 1998).

Promenades remained popular public spaces in many American cities until the twentieth century, when changes in social mores and the withdrawal of middle classes to domestic suburban realms diminished the popularity of public promenading as a social pursuit. At the same time many street-related promenade spaces fell victim to functionalist planning doctrine that privileged the role of city streets as traffic corridors over their traditional function as places of social encounter. However urban revitalization efforts that occurred in the latter part of the twentieth century brought renewed recognition of the value of public space in general and linear promenades in particular, as important social and recreational resources. Especially noteworthy was the rebirth of the promenade on waterfronts throughout the United States, as cities reclaimed formerly inaccessible and uninviting post-industrial landscapes and transformed them into prized public space assets. The promenade has endured as a highly popular public space type over many generations and across diverse cultural and geographic contexts, prompting the question whether there are certain formal qualities that enhance accessibility, activity, and amenity, and therefore contribute to the success of the promenade as a public space? Are there are particular physical and spatial conditions that have persisted, contributing to the capacity of the promenade to endure over centuries? And ultimately, could the success of contemporary American promenades be attributed in part to typological factors that are shared with eighteenth century and nineteenth century antecedents? This paper explores the first two questions, with a view to establishing the basis for future study comparing nineteenth century American precedents to the twentieth century waterfront promenades that succeeded them.

Promenades in nineteenth century American cities and the social practices that characterized them have been the subject of considerable historical research (Bluestone, 1987; Monosh, 1998; Scobey, 1992). The physical and spatial characteristics of early European and American promenades have also been described in urban design histories

(Girouard, 1985; Kostof, 1991) and in studies of particular historic precedents (Cleary, 2002; Darin, 2000; Larkham, 2000; Macdonald, 2012; Malone and Parrott, 1998; Rabreau, 1991; Reps, 1991). However few studies have compared spatial attributes of promenades from different eras. This paper examines typological characteristics of nineteenth century American urban promenades, comparing them to earlier European precedents, with a view to identifying features that contributed to their success as lively public spaces, features that may well have established a legacy for twentieth century promenades.
Since designers of early American promenades were themselves indebted to centuries of European precedents for formal inspiration, the paper begins with an overview of the historical evolution of promenades in Europe and England, before shifting focus to examine the development of the promenade in the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Similarly, analysis of typological features originates with selected European precedents as a means of assessing the provenance of formal characteristics of the promenades that appeared subsequently in American cities. Since the study aims to relate physical and spatial conditions that characterized promenades to their success in supporting public life, precedents were selected based on contemporary accounts of levels of use. Thus promenades that were highly popular and regularly attracted large numbers of people were deemed representative of successful public spaces in their respective eras.
The research employs typological analysis, meaning the study of physical and spatial qualities of a particular type (in this case a public space type, the promenade) with the aim of identifying features that are held in common and define the type as a set of elements with shared traits. Typological analysis may be focused on study of characteristics shared by urban elements within a particular time period (synchronic) or across different periods (diachronic) (Moudon, 1987). This study adopts a diachronic approach, in response to the question of whether there are particular physical and spatial conditions that have typified the promenade over centuries, and thus may have contributed to its success as an enduring public space type.

Evolution of the Promenade: European precedents

Mediterranean populations in Southern Europe have long been known for their formal evening ritual of walking along the *paseo*, the *esplanada*, or the *corso*. The Northern European equivalent, the promenade, first appeared in France in the late 15C, apparently borrowed from earlier Italian precedents. A planted walk was created outside the boundary wall of the French city of Tours to afford a playing ground for the Italian game of *pollo a maglio,* which was translated into French as "pail-mail" and eventually into English as "pall mall" (Darin, 2000; Girouard, 1985). A predecessor of the contemporary game of croquet, pall mall required a long corridor through which to propel a ball, and for the comfort of the players it was lined with shade trees. In the early seventeenth century a similar mall was created near the Arsenal in Paris, in this case bordered by a parallel tree-lined avenue for spectators to perambulate and to observe the game (Poete, cited in Girouard, 1985).

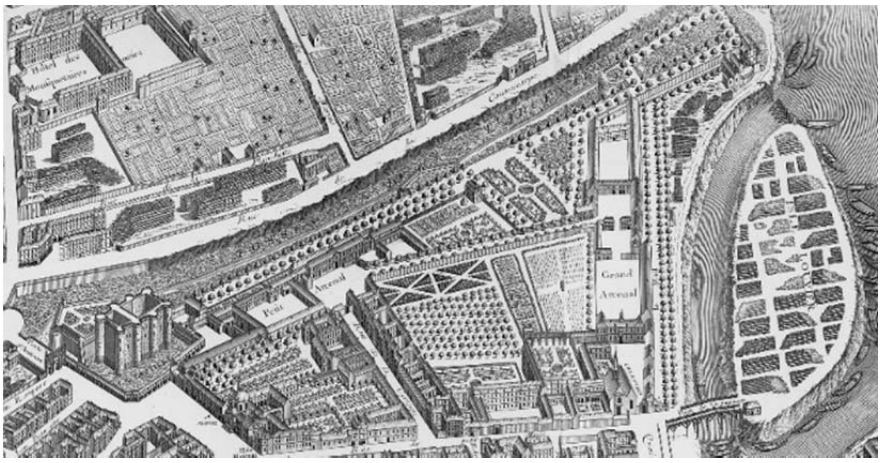


Fig. 1. View of the Arsenal Mall, Turgot map of Paris, 1739.

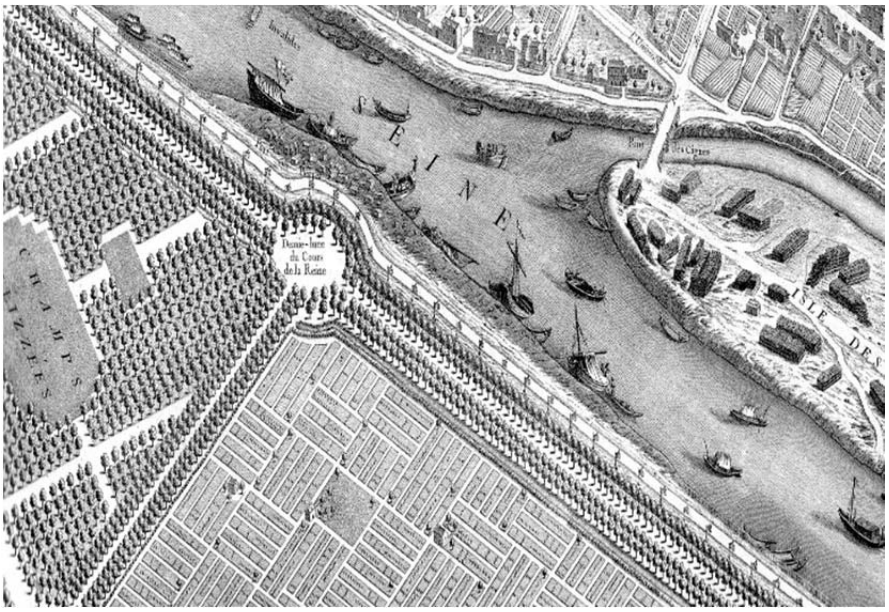


Fig. 2. Aerial view of Cours la Reine, bordering the Seine River, Paris. Turgot map of Paris, 1739.

The Arsenal mall became a desirable venue for social display by Parisian aristocrats, a corollary to the hugely popular Cours la Reine, a tree-lined triple avenue located adjacent to the Seine River where thousands of carriages paraded in the summer evenings. Similar street promenades were laid out in other parts of Paris to accommodate the daily social ritual of seeing and being seen on the part of upper class patrons in their carriages, as well as by the middle and lower classes, who attended on foot.

As an alternative to the street promenade the garden *allee*, consisting of a heavily shaded linear pathway within a private, park-like setting, was also favored by the upper classes (Lawrence, 1988). The exemplary redesign of the Tuileries gardens by Andre le Notre in the mid seventeenth century afforded fashionable aristocrats a wide central walkway, shaded by trees and flanked on either side by lesser paths. Evidently it was not uncommon for the occupants of carriages to first circulate on the adjacent Cours la Reine before alighting to stroll along the pedestrian promenade within the Tuileries garden in the evening hours (Girouard, 1985). This concourse was later extended outside the

garden to form the Avenue des Tuileries, a precursor to the nineteenth century Avenue des Champs Elysee (Kostof, 1991).

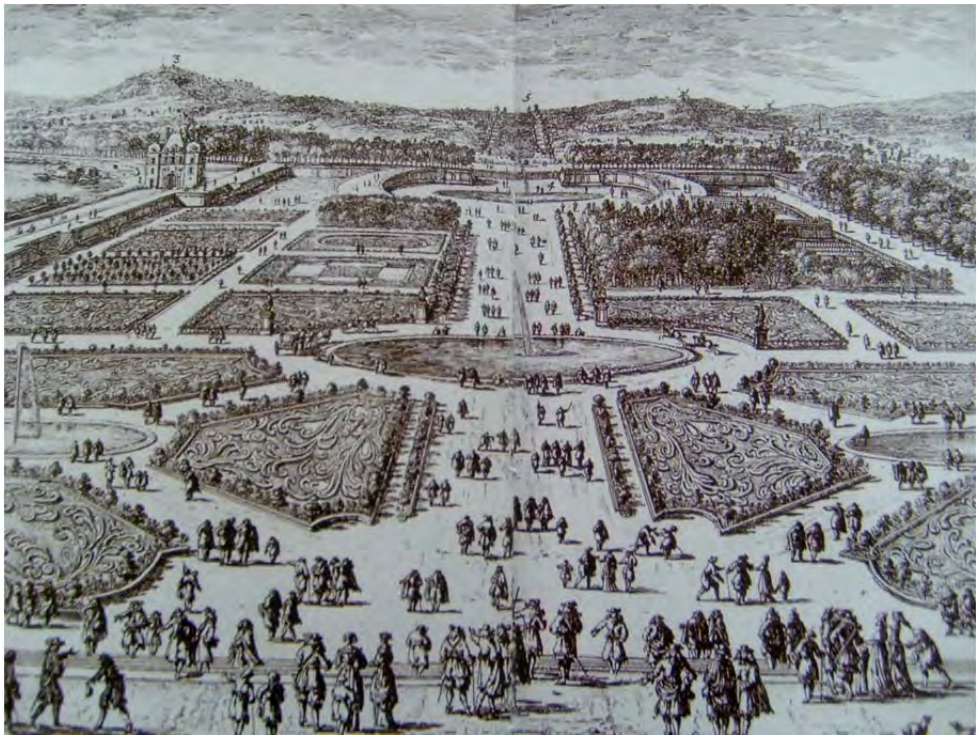


Fig. 3. View of central promenade in Tuileries Garden, Paris 18C. Engraving by Perelle.

Meantime in provincial French cities such as Orleans and Avignon, promenades had been created along the outsides of perimeter city walls or atop the sites of former fortifications (Darin, 2000). In Paris the popularity of the Arsenal mall and the Cours la Reine prompted establishment of tree-lined promenades on the city's elevated ramparts that had been made obsolete in the late 1600s as military defense tactics changed (Kostof, 1991). A typical rampart, or "belt", boulevard consisted of a wide tree-lined central drive for carriages, with generous shaded walkways on either side for pedestrian promenading (Girouard, 1985), although in some cases the promenade occupied a central median. As French cities developed further in the nineteenth century, the belt boulevards became major thoroughfares, and in some cases, prestigious addresses for the wealthy. In Paris in particular, the early ring promenades furnished precedents for the Grands Boulevards of the seventeenth century, and later the famous nineteenth century boulevards that became the most identifiable formal elements of the Parisian street pattern following the restructuring of the city by Baron Haussmann. However as Darin (2000) points out, the generous dimensions of these boulevards, their connectivity, and their effectiveness in accommodating traffic flows ultimately led to their demise as convivial pedestrian realms - by the twentieth century, many sidewalks had been narrowed and central tree-lined medians removed to allow for expanded traffic lanes and parking areas.

By the late seventeenth century the popularity of the French promenade as a social venue had also spread to Britain, where the term "parade" was coined to differentiate a carriageway used for social activity from a promenade, which referred to a path frequented by pedestrians. Both the parade and the promenade were settings where

people met at a particular time of day solely for the purpose of social engagement, whether for display, orchestrated meeting, or casual encounter. London had its Mall in St. James Park, which like the Arsenal in Paris, was originally established to accommodate the game of pall mall, but later became a promenade frequented by fashionable society at specific times of day. Many provincial English towns provided similar, if less grand settings for the parade or promenade to take place (Girouard, 1985).

London also became known for promenading opportunities in its pleasure gardens in the eighteenth century. These were park-like settings with pleasant walks, interspersed with bandstands, refreshment booths, and other structures where entertainments were staged (Girouard, 1985). The pleasure garden could be considered a precursor to the eighteenth century health resort, where wealthy patrons gathered to take mineral waters for health, to enjoy a full program of scheduled entertainment, and to participate in necessary rituals of social display and engagement. The promenade was an all-important spatial setting in the health resort, and all major spas boasted scenic walks where one could perambulate, linger, and observe others in similar pursuits. Seaside resorts too, developed not long after the advent of the English spa towns. By the mid 1800's the marine promenade had become a fixture of the seaside resort, the city of Brighton boasting a four-mile long pedestrian walkway bordering the shoreline, with a parallel carriageway (Girouard, 1985).

Fig. 4. 18C view of the Mall in St. James Park, which succeeded the original pall mall ground and promenade in St. James field.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century American Promenades

In the United States Pierre L'Enfant, undoubtedly familiar with pedestrian mall precedents in contemporary Paris and London, proposed a grand tree-lined central public walkway that came to be known as "The Mall", as a key feature of his 1791 plan for the city of Washington DC. L'Enfant intended the Mall, which linked the President's House and the Capitol Building, to be an active public space, accommodating grand public buildings, educational and amenity functions - a national promenade to promote democratic engagement among citizens of the new republic. In Boston as well, by the late 1700's a

half-mile long tree-lined promenade known as the "Mall" had been created along the eastern frontage of the Boston Common, while a smaller walkway, also lined with shade trees, was located along the Park Street boundary. Within a couple of decades these promenades were extended to encompass the entire perimeter of the Common. According to contemporary observers, these walks offered fine views of the bay and the adjacent Common, and they were also favored with refreshing breezes from the nearby waterfront (Domosh, 1996).

Fig. 5. Detail of 1814 map of Boston by John Groves Hale, showing the Mall along the eastern boundary of Boston Common and adjoining promenades along Park and Beacon Streets.

Only a few decades later influential public figures like William Cullen Bryant and Frederick Law Olmsted would write eloquently of the virtues of European promenades that they had visited, urging the creation of more public pedestrian concourses in American cities. Soon pedestrian promenades and "parkways" accommodating both carriages and pedestrians appeared (Bluestone, 1987). Some, like the tree-lined promenades that were developed in the mid-1800's along the canals in the textile manufacturing town of Lowell, Massachusetts, were populated by all levels of society. The Lowell canalside walks were created by local industrialists in part, to recruit and retain workers with the offer of pleasant and healthful settings to enjoy on Sundays, their sole day of leisure (Malone and Parrott, 1998). In larger cities as well, working class people were welcome to participate in the social engagement of certain promenades, however at other, more elite venues they were expected to be passive spectators. Scobey (1992) contrasts the often raucous plebeian culture of New York's Bowery promenade with the highly disciplined rituals of social engagement enacted by upper class New Yorkers as they paraded along Broadway and Fifth Avenues at specific times of the day. While socializing between upper and lower classes was discouraged in these elite venues, the presence of an audience of lesser status individuals was actually desirable, to witness and thereby legitimize the gentry's display of "ascendance over the whole social order" (Scobey, 1992: 221).

Fig. 6. Early view of the Battery Promenade, New York City, late 18C.

In Brooklyn an informal promenade developed through the 1820's-1840's along Brooklyn Heights, overlooking the East River and the bustling port of New York. Another was established in 1847 at Fort Greene, a Revolutionary War site, where a hilltop plaza provided excellent views and a fitting terminus for the walk. Waterfront views were also a key attraction of the popular Battery promenade, which had been established in the late 1700s at the southern tip of Manhattan on the site of another colonial fortification that was rendered obsolete after the Revolutionary War. Other public walks emerged informally in cemeteries, and along the flat terraces that bordered reservoirs and waterfront embankments. These spacious settings, with their shade trees and pleasing landscape views, offered welcome relief from dirty, crowded city streets. The late nineteenth century also saw the development of recreational venues such as Coney Island, where a boardwalk promenade lined with hotels, music stands and other amusements lured visitors to a setting more commercial than pastoral, an early precedent for other beachfront boardwalks in nearby resort towns (Bluestone, 1987).
By the latter part of the nineteenth century, a promenade also appeared as a key design feature of Central Park, Frederick Law Olmsted's great contribution to the legacy of public space in the city of New York. While the park on the whole was intended to be a setting where the experience of nature should rejuvenate city dwellers physically, mentally and spiritually, the grand Mall in Central Park in contrast was envisioned by Olmsted as a "gregarious" space. As such, it should attract large numbers of people of all classes to observe and engage the public life of the city (Bluestone, 1987). He similarly proposed for Prospect Park a space where:

> *Men must come together, and must be seen coming together, in carriages, on horseback and on foot, and the concourse of animated life which will thus be formed, must in itself be made, if possible, an attractive and diverting spectacle*
> (Olmsted, quoted in Bluestone, 1987: 531).

Fig. 7. View of the Mall, Central Park. John Bachman, 1858.

Olmsted was also responsible for introducing to the United States street-related promenades modelled after Parisian boulevards. By the 1870s his Eastern Parkway, with its central carriageway and parallel pedestrian concourses, stretched from Brooklyn's Prospect Park to Ralph Avenue, and its corollary, Oceanview Boulevard, had become an established amenity feature linking Prospect Park with Coney Island. Olmsted intended that these scenic routes would connect various local parks to form a larger network spanning Brooklyn and Manhattan, although the system was far less extensive in scope as ultimately constructed. Parkways designed by Olmsted also appeared in cities such as Buffalo, Boston, and Louisville in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Macdonald, 2012).

Nineteenth century American promenades performed important functions. With their shaded concourses, landscaped environs, fresh air, and pleasant views, they offered respite from the crowded, unhealthy conditions that characterized rapidly industrializing cities. However, as important were the social functions that they supported. In addition to its role as a fashionable entertainment, for the elite classes promenading according to highly orchestrated rituals of display and interaction contributed to a shared sense of class identity (Scobey, 1992). But the promenade was viewed equally by civic leaders as an educational venue where those of lower social status could observe and emulate the manners and cultural mores of their "betters". In an increasingly heterogeneous American society, there was a strong impetus to foster unity and shared cultural values as a strategy for achieving greater social cohesion, and with it, social stability (Bluestone, 1987). Somewhat perversely, the achievement of social cohesion was predicated on clear demarcation of class boundaries in many promenades, and thus while the goal was nominally egalitarian in purpose, the apparent outcome was to visibly reinforce elitist social stratification.

Ultimately the popularity of formal promenades on fashionable streets was overtaken by promenading activities in the newly created public parks and boulevards of mid to late nineteenth century America, venues that were open to, and frequented by all classes of

people. By the turn of the twentieth century the act of formal promenading according to rigidly prescribed rules of decorum had declined, as its genteel actors turned to other, more private institutional settings such as clubs, fraternities, and learned societies to socialize. At the same time, working class people began to appropriate streets and other promenade spaces for their own recreational pursuits as well as for workers' parades, labor demonstrations, and other expressions of political sentiment (Scobey, 1992). However the promenades in New York's public parks and the boardwalks at Coney Island and other beachfront resort venues continued to attract throngs of recreational pleasure-seekers, and the Brooklyn parkways remained popular social spaces for the diverse neighborhoods that bordered them.

The introduction of a functionalist approach to urban design in the mid twentieth century challenged the role of the street as a social space. The architect Le Corbusier, a key proponent of the Modernist city, promoted a vision of the street as a "machine for traffic" (le Corbusier, 1929) dedicated to efficient movement of vehicles, with pedestrians ideally grade-separated from this activity. Public spaces were also envisioned in functionalist terms; their role was to provide greenery, fresh air and sunlight, with little acknowledgement of the need for outdoor spaces to support social encounters among the people who frequented them. This vision was realized most dramatically in the reconfiguring of many American city streets and urban parkways, to facilitate efficient channeling of automobile traffic. Public parks as well were subject to functionalist revision at this time. The social experiment symbolized by the mingling of young and old, rich and poor, immigrant and established elite on park promenades and in informal landscaped settings, was relinquished in favor of a new vision of active recreation and programmed activity targeting the physical health and fitness of city dwellers. Thus not only did the impetus for the practice of promenading dissipate with the changed socio-political context of the late nineteenth century, many of the physical settings for this act of public engagement were also systematically eliminated by the mid twentieth century, as a result of the zealous transformation of the pre-industrial city to its modernist incarnation.

While conventions for the use of urban promenades varied greatly across generations and continents, the popularity of this public space type as a venue for social representation and engagement persisted until the twentieth century brought a general devaluing of the social dimension of the public realm as an outcome of functionalist/modernist planning doctrine. Nonetheless the endurance of the promenade over time suggests that certain physical and spatial characteristics common across the type may be in part responsible for its success in supporting social interactions among disparate populations in very different social contexts. Study of promenade precedents that are acknowledged to have been popular sites for social engagement in different eras and different cultures, shows some similarities with regard to location, connectivity, adjacency, alignment, spatial characteristics, scale, and amenity features. For example, a promenade that was well connected to local streets would benefit by enhanced accessibility to neighboring populations, while connections to through routes could negatively impact the tranquility of the setting. The nature of adjacent land uses could influence the number and type of residents or visitors who were likely to populate the promenade, while alignment, dimensions, scale and amenity features could affect the continuity, comfort, and pleasure of the promenade experience. The following section explores these conditions in selected European and American precedents, with a particular focus on nineteenth century American promenades.

Spatial Characteristics of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Urban Promenades

As the practice of promenading became more popular as a social pastime, locations shifted from countryside settings to urban venues that were much more accessible to people who could not afford carriage travel. Early French promenades associated with the game of pall-mall were situated in locations where long, straight stretches of open ground were available to accommodate play, generally just outside the city walls. Other promenades soon appeared alongside city walls or on top of ramparts, which offered wide, flat, elevated, unbuilt ground with good views and ideal conditions for leisurely walking or slow circulation on horseback or by carriage. As former defensive fortifications, the ramparts encircled the city and the combined carriageways and tree-lined pedestrian promenades that were established in these locations formed circuits, hence the "belt", or "ring" boulevard designation. The circular alignment afforded an ideal configuration for strolling, since it was continuous and given sufficient time, promenaders could return to their departure points without reversing direction, while enjoying ever-changing views. Benefiting from restricted through traffic but easy connections to nearby affluent neighborhoods, belt boulevards were popular venues for promenading. Over time however, first the city sides of many rampart boulevards and then the outward sides were developed, so that residential and commercial buildings came to line both sides of the corridors. The resultant increase in local traffic and obstruction of views diminished the amenity value of the belt boulevard promenades and Cleary (2002) notes that eventually they transformed to function as city streets rather than linear public spaces. In Paris, boulevard promenades were later created on streets that were situated within easy access of fashionable neighborhoods, and the amenity value associated with their presence often stimulated land development on bordering lots. All were designed as self-contained, linear public spaces that, while connected to and accessible from the surrounding street system, were not intended as through routes to link external destinations.

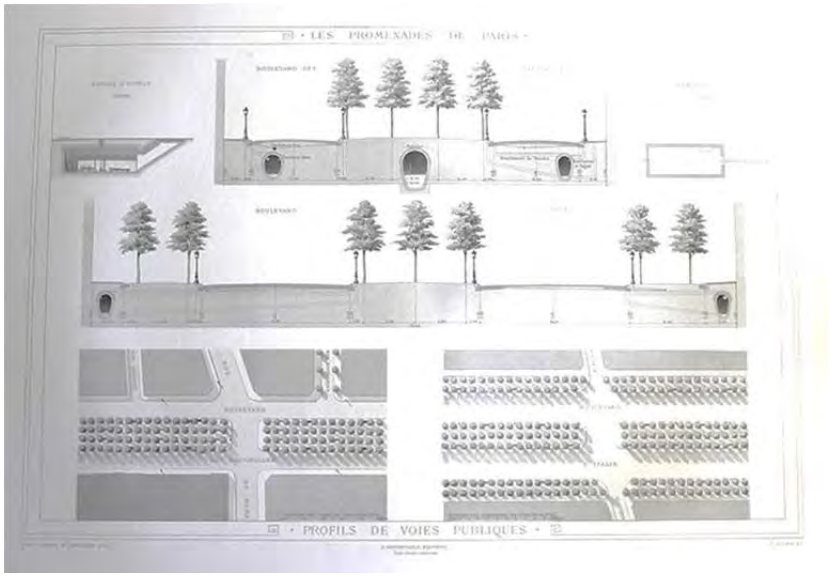


Fig. 8. Plan and section drawings of Boulevards des Batignolles and Italies. Les Promenades de Paris. Jean-Charles-Aldolphe Alphand, 1867-73.

This ensured that the amenity of both adjacent residents and recreational users of the promenades would be maintained. This condition changed with the establishment of a citywide network of boulevards by Baron Haussmann in the nineteenth century. Although these streets were designed with grand dimensions and ample amenity to serve fashionable carriage and pedestrian promenaders, they were intended equally to function as critical connectors in a modernized street system, cutting through dense urban fabric to enable goods to be transported efficiently from points of manufacture to train terminals, and to facilitate the rapid movement of police and military personnel throughout the city at a time when civil unrest was a pressing concern (Rogers, 2001). Some of the boulevards were also intended to stimulate new residential development in what were at the time peripheral areas of the city.

The specific physical attributes of each of the Haussmann boulevards were systematically prescribed in both plan and section drawings in the landmark urban design handbook compiled by Jean-Charles Adolphe Alphand, entitled *Les Promenades de Paris* (Alphand, 1867). These drawings identified the precise locations and dimensions of carriageways, tree boulevards, walkways, light standards and other street furniture, as well as underground utilities. Importantly, height limits and setback requirements were also prescribed for buildings that lined the boulevards in order to maintain a comfortable pedestrian scale, with building height varying according to a set ratio based on the width of the street. The boulevards became highly desirable locations for both upper level residential and street level commercial uses, and adjacent properties were consistently developed with buildings of up to five storeys, significantly increasing the resident population with direct access to the lively pedestrian realm on the street below. In addition to generous tree planting, the boulevards were furnished with gaslights, benches, news kiosks, and other amenity features designed to enhance comfort and appeal for pedestrians.

Other European street promenades varied in form. Almost always generously dimensioned, some had central carriageways with parallel pedestrian concourses on either side while others, like the eighteenth century Gardiner's Mall in Dublin and Unter den Linden mall in Berlin, had wide, tree-lined central malls reserved for pedestrians, with flanking carriageways (Girouard, 1985). These broad pedestrian concourses offered ample space for sedate procession, and sufficient distance from the carriageways to ensure that discreet conversations would not be hindered by traffic noise. By the end of the eighteenth century garden promenades also had become common features in many European cities. In addition to the obligatory rows of shade trees, promenades that were situated in garden or park settings usually boasted more elaborate landscaping and more diverse views.

In Britain, early promenades were linear and like their Parisian counterparts, they were either pedestrian-only concourses, or if "parades" accommodating coaches, they were developed for the sole purpose of leisurely riding or strolling in society, seldom carrying through traffic since typically they were not well-connected to other destinations or to main circulation routes. Unlike the French belt boulevards that followed the circular alignment of earlier city walls, only a few early English promenades were built on or alongside former fortifications. Most were situated on undeveloped lands outside built-up city centers so as to offer pleasing views of the rural countryside, local woodlands, or natural water features. They adopted straight alignments, sometimes due to their provenance as the former sites of pall mall grounds, or possibly due to the influence of

seventeenth century and eighteenth century garden designs in which long, straight avenues or *allees* bordered by trees offered popular promenading venues for elite classes (Larkham, 2000; Lawrence, 1988).

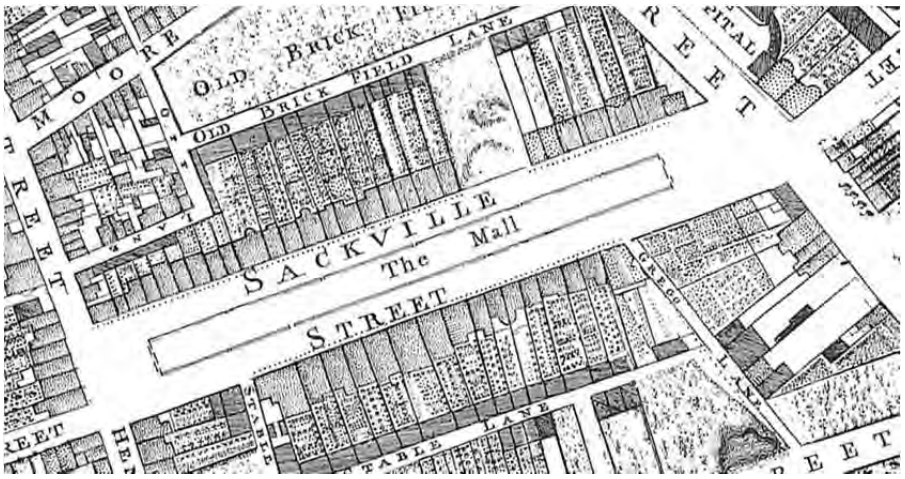


Fig. 9. Detail of Gardiner's Mall, Dublin, from An Exact Survey of the City and Suburbs of Dublin by John Roque, 1756.

Fig. 10. Perspective view of Sackville Street and Gardiner's Mall in Dublin, Ireland in the 1750s, by Oliver Grace.

Promenades at English spa resorts were centrally located near the sites of the healing waters and their associated public rooms. However since the act of walking was considered to be a healthful supplement to the curative powers of the mineral waters, many spa promenades were designed to incorporate the presence of natural features, such as rural views. This is attested by the eighteenth century English novelist Fanny Burney, who wrote of the outlook from the Grand Parade in Bath:

> *"We have meadows, hills, Prior Park, the soft-flowing Avon – whatever nature has to offer, I think, always in our view."*
> (Burney quoted in Girouard, 1985: 197)

Canalside, oceanfront or riverine promenades throughout seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe took their alignments from the configurations of the waterfronts that they bordered, and their amenity from proximity to the water, views across it, and often from fresh breezes emanating from it. Whether canalside or bordering quays, the rows of trees along these promenades were key amenity features that afforded not only visual benefits, but were thought to have health advantages as well, by cleansing the air of dangerous disease-causing vapors (Lawrence, 1988).
In the newly formed United States capital of Washington DC, Pierre L'Enfant's inclusion of a wide, straight, central pedestrian concourse flanked by carriageways in his 1791 plan for the city, was almost certainly inspired by the conjoined garden and urban designs established in Versailles, France by Andre le Notre. L'Enfant had grown up in Versailles, and he would have been equally familiar with the grand pedestrian *allees* joining *rond points*, or points of intersection, in the famous gardens of Versailles, as with the wide, straight boulevards radiating from urban squares in the city plan (Rogers, 2001).

Fig. 11. Plan of the City and Garden of Versailles designed by Andre le Notre, from an 18C engraving.

The Washington Mall was a unique gesture in a monumental urban plan. It was described by L'Enfant as a "Grand Avenue, 400 feet in breadth, and about a mile in length, bordered by gardens, ending in a slope from the houses on each side" (Reps, 1967:22). However it was not until the early years of the twentieth century that L'Enfant's vision for a linear

public space of grand scale in the heart of the capital was realized, in the re-conceived Mall of the 1901 Macmillan Plan, described as,

> *. . . an expanse of undulating green a mile and a half long and three hundred feet broad, walled on either side by elms, planted in formal procession four abreast. Bordering this green carpet, roads, park-like in character, stretch between Capitol and Monument, while beneath the elms one may walk or drive, protected from the sun.*
> (U.S. Senate Committee on the District of Columbia 1902, quoted in Reps, 1991: 252)

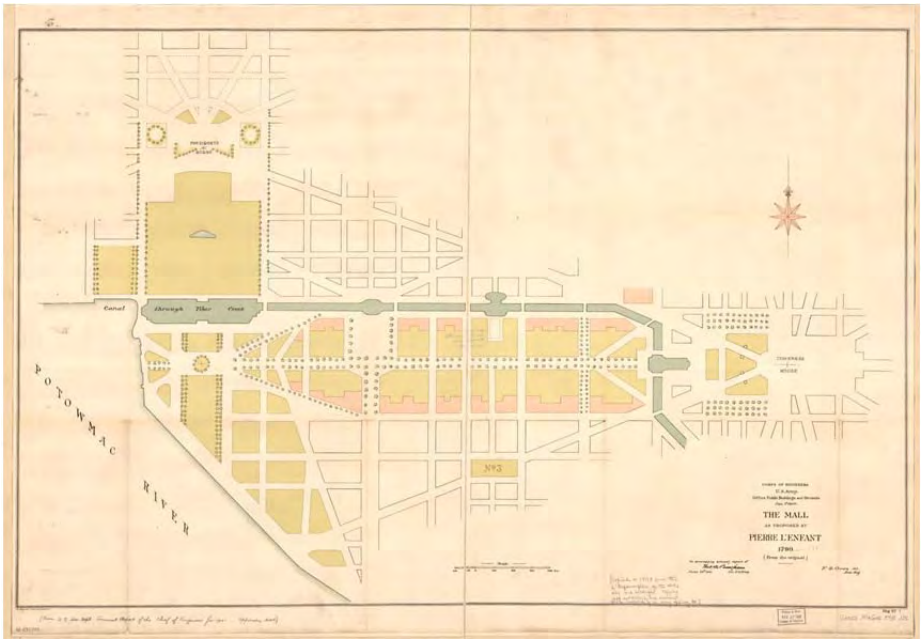


Fig. 12. The Mall in Washington DC, as proposed by Pierre L'Enfant 1790, from the original. Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, [1901].

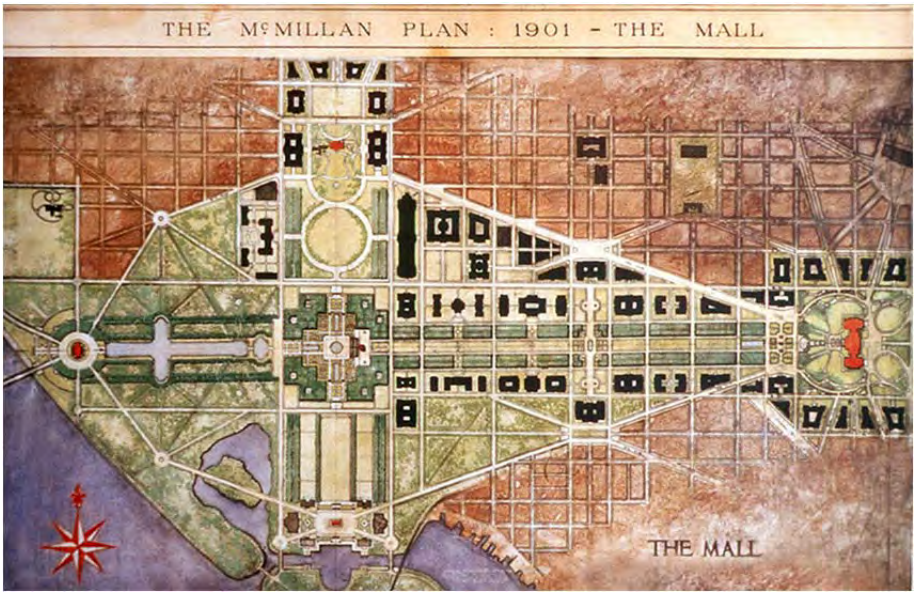


Fig. 13. McMillan Plan showing design for the Mall, Washington DC. 1901.

The vast length and breadth of the Washington Mall was clearly intended to provide an impressive setting for the institutions of a new republic, and to accommodate enormous crowds on occasion, but despite its imposing scale the presence of green lawns and multiple rows of stately elm trees nevertheless afforded a congenial setting for individuals and small groups to make use of the space for leisurely promenades.
The tree-lined promenades that by 1816 encircled the entire Boston Common were of more modest width, but added together, their lengths approximated the mile and one-half distance of their Washington counterpart, offering strollers a continuous circuit of generous extent. Their presence along the perimeter of the vast, open public green provided a clear delineation of the space and an effective transition from adjacent streets. Unlike the Washington Mall which fronted the nation's most important institutions and eventually became one of the most visited public spaces in the country, the Boston Common promenades were frequented mainly by local residents of nearby affluent neighborhoods. In later years, once landscape improvements had been made to the Common and a Public Garden established on an adjoining parcel to the west, the promenades became integral features of the larger park and the populations they attracted expanded accordingly.

Fig. 14 (left). View of Battery Promenade (Castle Garden) showing filled area, New York City ca. 1869. Theodore August Liebler.
Fig. 15 (right). View of Battery promenade and immigrant embarkation center, New York City ca. 1869.

One of the earliest New York promenades, the eighteenth century Battery promenade was located on the southern tip of Manhattan, at the site of an early fortification. Initially a modest tree-lined linear walkway bordered on one side by the harbor and on the other by an open grassed area, by 1869 the park had been expanded to double its original size by filling at the shoreline, and a formal landscape with a network of curvilinear paths had been added to compliment a relocated waterfront concourse. Contemporary images show residential and commercial buildings on the park boundary, and a sizable immigrant landing center located centrally along the waterfront promenade at the site of the former fortification. These adjacencies account in part for the popularity of the Battery promenade with a wide range of populations, from working people to affluent upper classes. However its proximity to the water was another feature of great appeal - the presence of water and views across the harbor, coupled with the quality of immediacy was almost certainly a key attraction.

Nineteenth century promenades that were created in other American cities varied in their locational characteristics. The Dutton Mall in industrial Lowell MA, took its alignment from the Merrimack Canal, initially occupying a thirty-eight foot wide corridor between the canal and a parallel street, later narrowed to twenty-eight feet. Its partner, the Shattuck Mall, bordered the Northern Canal in the same city. Both exhibited carefully designed landscapes featuring double rows of shade trees, and both were heavily used by factory workers as recreational and social venues (Malone and Parrott, 1998). The alignment of the canals shaped the layout of the promenades, which were viewed as showpieces attesting to the city's self-proclaimed image as the "Venice of America". Much of the length of these canal promenades was bordered by pleasant residential streets, home to both wealthy and working classes. The proximity of residential neighborhoods ensured that the canalside walks were readily accessible to a diverse group of inhabitants, and contemporary accounts indicate that they were heavily used. A later addition known as the Canal Walk was constructed atop a high, walled, thousand-foot long embankment at the intersection of the Northern Canal and the Merrimack River, offering promenaders superb views of the river below (Malone and Parrott 1998). Walking for pleasure and social engagement demanded routes that were diverse and interesting, relatively unimpeded, and lengthy enough for unhurried social encounters that would have been unacceptable in other settings. Consequently the proximity of water views, the natural linear alignment of the watercourses and their generous lengths, offered ideal conditions for the Lowell promenades.

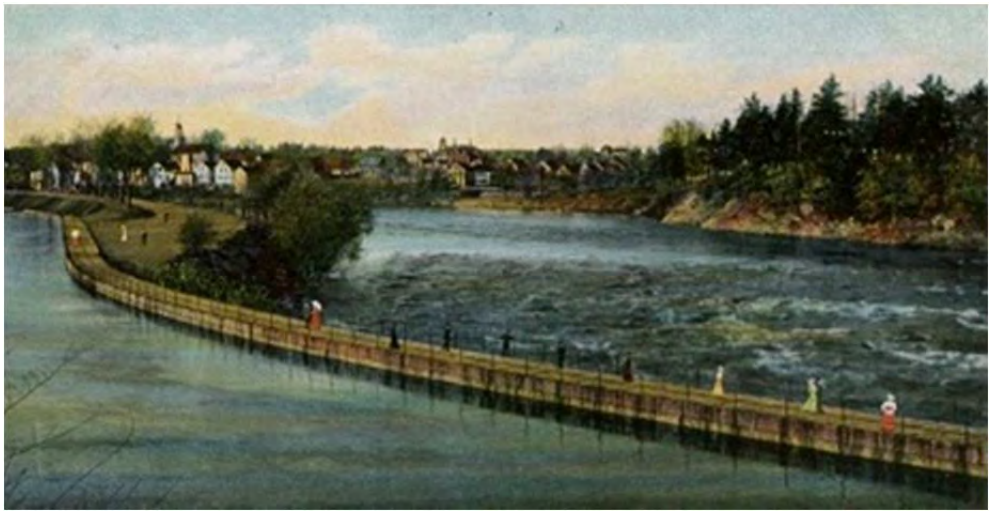
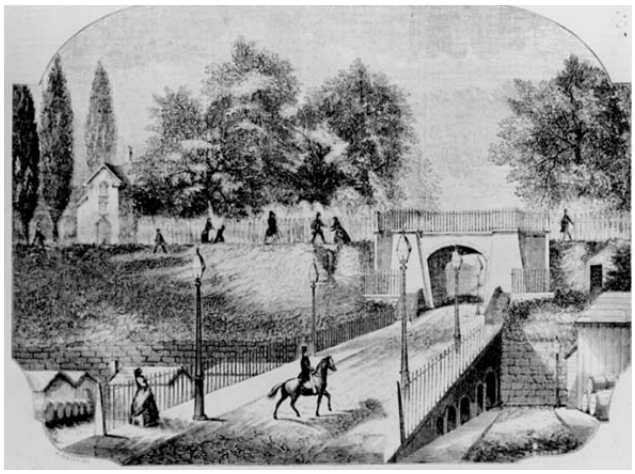


Fig. 16. Pedestrians along Canal Walk, Lowell, Mass. With Northern Canal on left and Merrimack River on right. Metropolitan News Co., Boston, Mass. [1902-1907].

Brooklyn and New York promenades of the early nineteenth century are well-documented. They consisted of four types: off-street promenades such as the Battery, Brooklyn Heights, and Fort Greene concourses; street promenades, where the sidewalks of fashionable streets such as Fifth Avenue and Broadway were regularly appropriated by members of the affluent upper class for the dual purposes of social display and encounter; formal pedestrian concourses within public parks, such as the Mall in Central Park; and the Eastern and Oceanview parkway promenades that served as local recreational spaces

as well as linear park connectors between Prospect Park and other recreational venues to the east and south respectively.

Originally the Brooklyn Heights promenade occupied a broad strip of land above the Brooklyn waterfront, land that was privately owned but widely used as a quasi-public space offering a pleasant bucolic setting with excellent views across the river to the New York harborfront. The fact that it was bordered by residential neighborhood streets to the east made it highly accessible, with contemporary estimates of usage of between several hundred to a thousand people daily. An 1820 proposal to formalize its status as an already popular venue for leisurely strolling and socializing, anticipated that this designation and associated improvements would also contribute to an appreciation in the values of adjacent real estate. The proposal called for a promenade varying in width from 75 ft. to 150 ft. and approximately ½ mi. long, with amenity features such as shade trees and benches. However despite ample public support for the idea over a number of years, it did not come to fruition, eventually losing out to the promenade and park that was established at Fort Greene in 1847 (Bluestone, 1987).



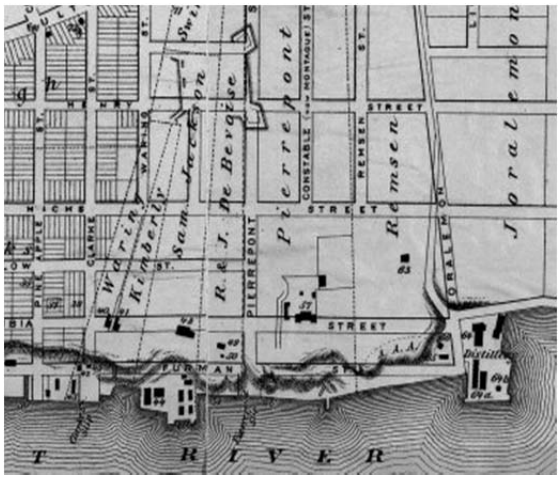


Fig. 17 (left). View of promenade along the bluff, Brooklyn Heights, New York. Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 1854.

Fig. 18 (right). Village of Brooklyn, 1816. The Brooklyn Heights promenade was located along the hachured bluff overlooking the river. The outline of the fortifications of Fort Greene is visible in the upper left.

In Central Park Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux designed a half-mile long formal promenade lined with benches to offer comfortable opportunities for respite and observation of the energetic flow of pedestrians who enlivened the Mall. Double rows of elm trees were chosen for their lofty stature and spreading canopy at maturity, which had the dual effects of not only providing shade, but as importantly, defining the spatial volume of the promenade corridor at a scale appropriate to its breadth. The concourse was located well within the park boundaries, and its alignment was deliberately deflected from the parallel streets that bordered the rectilinear park, in order to separate it from the urban context and embed it more effectively in the naturalized landscape that characterized the park. Olmsted identified a number of design criteria for the Central Park Mall which were consistent with many historic precedents. He determined that a successful promenade should be: at least ½ mile in length (and ideally longer); a minimum of 150 ft. in width; straight in alignment; as level as possible; uninterrupted by cross-streets; shaded in the afternoon; and oriented so as to avoid the afternoon sun shining in

the faces of promenaders. In addition, he indicated that service traffic should be prohibited on the concourse to ensure the amenity of recreational users on foot, horseback, or in carriages (Olmsted,1973: 387).

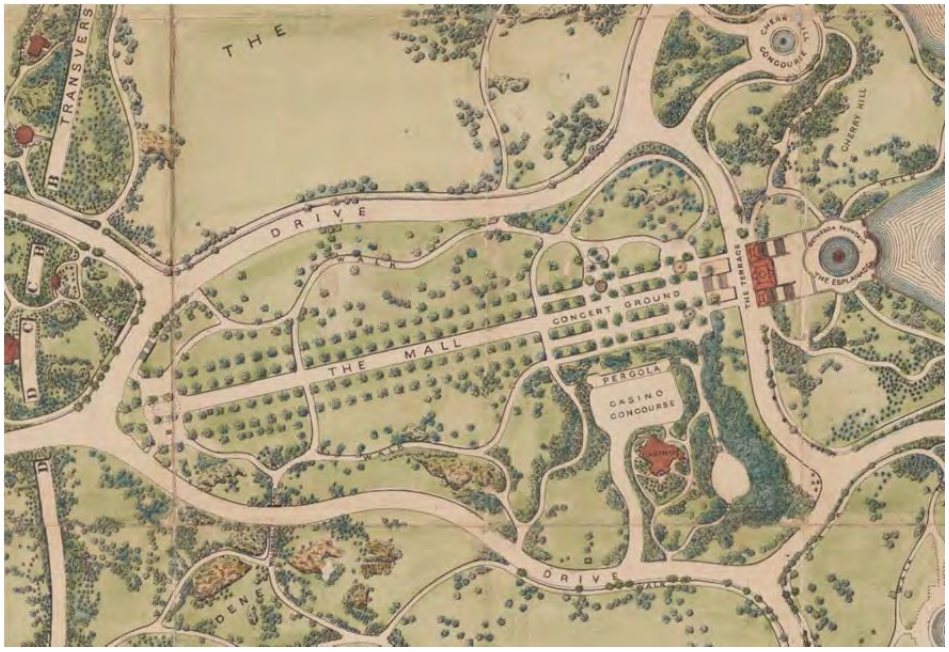


Fig. 19. Detail of The Mall from "Map of the Central Park", 1873.

The location of the Mall within the historic confines of Central Park ensured its survival until the present day, and it remains an enormously popular venue for strolling, people-watching, and informal performances of all kinds, attesting to the effectiveness of the original spatial framework, which remains intact. Even the flanking rows of elm trees, so important to the scale and character of the promenade space, have been carefully preserved in the face of the ongoing threat of Dutch elm disease, which has eradicated most American elms throughout the country.

The Eastern and Oceanview parkways that were created in Brooklyn in the 1870s were envisioned by Olmsted as key connectors in a metropolitan greenspace system, joining public parks at a regional scale and simultaneously serving local neighborhoods as linear parks and shared pleasure drives for pedestrians, riders, carriages, and later bicyclists. While initially laid out for the most part within undeveloped countryside, these wide boulevards were intended to promote residential development on their borders, and over time they were successful in this regard. Development along the parkways was primarily residential and numerous intersecting streets facilitated access from adjacent neighborhoods. With relatively high development densities lining the corridors the broad landscaped parkway median effectively acted as a continuous "front yard" for the series of neighborhoods adjoining it. In her comprehensive study of the parkways, Macdonald (2012) observes that they currently function as much more than linear promenades, supporting a wide range of local social and recreational uses, in addition to their primary role of accommodating leisurely movement.

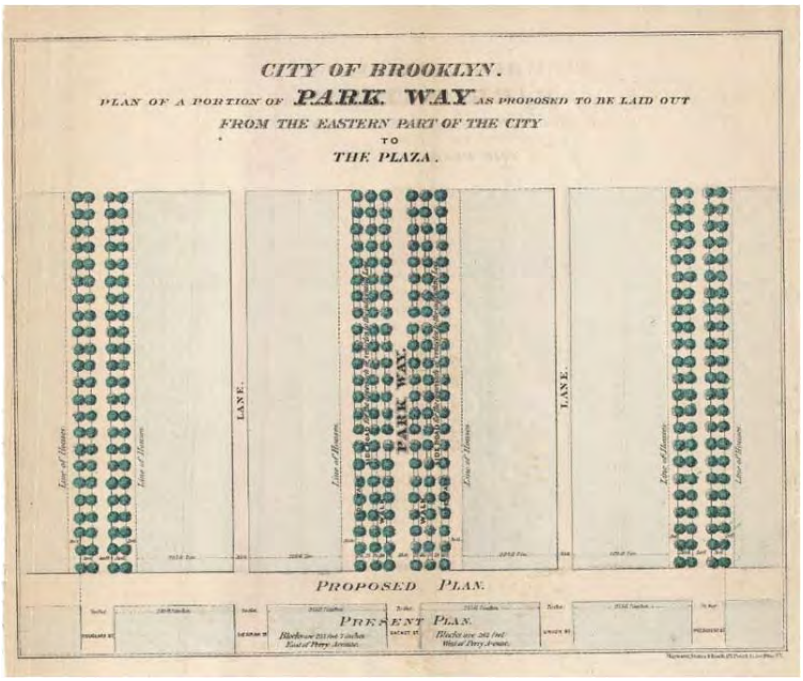


Fig. 20. Plan of Eastern Parkway, F.L.Olmsted and C.Vaux, Manual of the Common Council of the City of Brooklyn, 1868.

The layout of both parkways was similar, with a central carriageway for pleasure driving, flanked on either side by tree lawns, wide pedestrian malls and narrow side roads that provided access to the properties that fronted the boulevards. Careful separation of the various circulation systems prevented potential conflicts that could diminish the pleasure of the parkway experience. Landscaped setbacks of 30-32 ft. were required on all of the lots that lined the parkways, a strategy that Olmsted employed in order to blur the boundaries between public and private landscapes and to enhance the parklike character of the boulevards. The continuity of the parkways was preserved by limiting arterial cross streets, while midblock alleys behind the parkway lots assumed much of the obtrusive service traffic that otherwise would have shared the 25 ft. wide residential access roads flanking the boulevards. Each parkway was shaded by six rows of trees, with additional amenity features such as lighting, benches, and water fountains installed in later years (Macdonald, 2012).

Macdonald (2012: 224) also notes the success of the Eastern and Oceanview parkways as contemporary social spaces, observing that their linearity fosters mixing between residents of different neighborhoods. She cites several other key spatial features that distinguish the parkways and lend them a quality of unity, including the uniformity of the street section, the density of housing that lines the street frontages and defines a consistent spatial volume and scale, the continuity of the pedestrian malls, the regularity of the tree planting, and the presence of numerous benches throughout. Above all, the ability of these corridors to adapt to changing social and cultural circumstances is an enormous asset that has ensured their longevity and continued relevance to contemporary public life. This attests to the robustness of the original spatial framework, which continues to contain, support, but not determine, the nature of the activities that occur within it.

Persistent Typological Features

Comparison of eighteenth century and nineteenth century European and American promenade precedents reveals consistencies in a number of their physical and spatial characteristics, many of which appear to have influenced both the functionality and the appeal of the spaces. The locations of promenades had significant effects on their accessibility. While the earliest European promenades were established outside city walls where undeveloped land offered a welcome escape from crowded urban streets, over time landscaped promenade settings at first enjoyed only outside the city were recreated in gardens and parks within the urban fabric, often in locations where proximity to water bodies added to their amenity. These landscaped settings offered restorative experience as well as social opportunities, qualities which were reconceived in more urban form in street promenades, where generous shade tree plantings separated pedestrian concourses from carriageways.

As promenades became more openly available to all members of the public and not only to affluent carriage owners, locations that were central to densely populated residential areas or active commercial districts offered convenient access to large numbers of people, a condition that augmented levels of use. Regardless of rural or urban setting however, sites that afforded appealing and diverse views were highly favored. Topography was a consideration as well; not surprisingly, promenades were almost always situated on relatively flat terrain that encouraged ease of movement for pedestrians and carriages alike.

In addition to the location of a promenade, accessibility was also affected by its relationship to the surrounding street pattern. This was particularly true of the street promenades and parkways, where multiple intersecting local streets formed direct connections into adjacent neighborhoods. On belt boulevards and parkway promenades, limited arterial crossings reduced connectivity to the broader street system and mitigated the disruptive impacts of non-recreational traffic that moved at higher speeds. This served to insulate the street promenade from district scale traffic, while enhancing its accessibility to local residents. Park promenades often were not linked directly to the surrounding street system, Central Park being one example. In this case the Mall was embedded in the middle of the park, drawing its activity not from connection to a busy street, but from its attraction as a nexus of active and passive public interaction for the many park-goers who gravitated to it.

The alignments and dimensions of eighteenth century and nineteenth century promenades varied according to context. Promenades located on the site of a former pall mall ground or anchoring the axial spine of a formal garden were straight, while others were circuitous, for example following the alignment of rampart walls. Regardless of alignment however, providing an uninterrupted linear flow of movement was of paramount importance. Walkways were typically wide enough to accommodate the passage of large numbers of people comfortably, and while lengths varied, most offered extended strolls of a half mile or more, since with increased length came additional opportunity for diverse scenery and experience. The need for a long promenade route was especially relevant in early years due to a social convention that discouraged participants from pausing. This had a functional rationale in the case of the "parade", or carriage promenade, since stopping a carriage would impede the progress of all of those who followed. However this convention was equally in force among pedestrians. Promenades in mid-nineteenth century New York for example, were among the few public venues where respectable persons of both sexes could mix without censure. However these interactions were only

considered acceptable under specific conditions, among them the requirement that movement, while slow and sedate, be constant. If a conversation was to be maintained, it must be accomplished while both parties were in motion (Scobey, 1992), and the longer the promenade route, the more opportunity was afforded for leisurely exchanges.
The spatial scale and demarcation of the promenade corridor were important factors influencing amenity. From earliest iterations, shade tree plantings were requisite amenity features. Typically planted in single, double, or triple rows, they not only defined the spatial boundaries of the promenade and moderated the microclimate, in addition the closely spaced plantings delineated the various functional corridors within multi-use promenades, for example providing spatial separation between pedestrian concourses and carriageways. The continuous overhead canopy afforded by rows of trees also had the effect of mitigating spatial scale so that even wide concourses were experienced as more intimate spaces than otherwise would have been the case. Uninterrupted building facades that lined street promenades also yielded consistent spatial enclosure that supported linear movement along the corridors. And these well-populated residential, mixed residential/commercial, or civic buildings housed diverse patrons to activate the adjacent promenade spaces.

Era	Country	City	Promenade Name	Location	Condition	Pedestrian zone	Length	ROW	Mall Width	Edge Condition	Adjacencies	Amenity Features
17C	France	Paris	Mail de l'Arsenal	Arsenal	off-street	concourse	600'	80'	20'	canal	urban	shade trees
			Cours la Reine	bet. Seine & Tuileries	central carriageway	parallel concourse	.90 mi.	130'		riverside/garden	urban	shade trees
			Tuileries Garden	Tuileries	off-street	concourse	.2 mi.		90'	garden	urban	shade trees
			Belt-boulevards	former ramparts	central carriageway	parallel concourse	various		115'	boundary wall	resid./comm.	shade trees
			Ave. des Tuileries	bet. Tuileries and Etoile	central carriageway	parallel concourses	.5 mi.	260'			countryside	shade trees
	England	London	The Mall	St. James Park	off-street	concourse	.5 mi.		130'	park	institutional	shade trees
18C	United States	Washington	The Mall	Federal core	off-street	concourse	1.5 mi.		300'	bordering streets	institutional	shade trees
		Boston	The Mall	Boston Common	off-street	concourse	1.5 mi.		90'	bordering streets	resid./instit.	shade trees
		New York	Battery Promenade	waterfront	off-street	concourse	.35 mi.		10-12'	shoreline	resid./comm.	shade trees
	Ireland	Dublin	Gardiners Mall	city core	street	central concourse	.25 mi.	150'	50'	bordering streets	resid./comm.	shade trees,
												lighting
	Germany	Berlin	Unter den Linden	bet. Palace & Brandenbu	street	central concourse	.6 mi.	200'	55'	bordering streets	resid./comm.	shade trees
				Gate/Tiergarten								
	England	London	Rotten Row, Hyde Pk	Hyde Park	off-street	parallel concourses	.85 mi.		60'	park	urban	shade trees
		Bath	Grand Parade	health resort	off-street	concourse	538'		52'	riverside	urban/country	shade trees
19C	France	Paris	Ave L'Imperitrice	city core	street	parallel concourses		390'	39'	bordering streets	resid./comm.	shade trees
	United States	Brooklyn	Brooklyn Heights Prom	Brooklyn Heights	off-street	concourse	.5 mi.		75-150'	bordering streets	residential	shade trees
			Eastern Parkway	bet. Prospect Park/		parallel concourses	2.5 mi	200'	35'	bordering streets	residential	shade trees, benches,
				Ralph Ave.								lighting, landscaping
			Oceanview Parkway	bet. Prospect Park/	street	parallel concourses	5.5 mi.	210'	30'	bordering streets	residential/co	trees, benches, lighting,
				Coney Island								landscaping
			Coney Island concourse	Beachfront	off-street	concourse	.5 mi.			shoreline	commercial	
		New York	Fifth Ave	Manhattan	street	sidewalk				bordering streets	resid./comm.	
			Broadway	Manhattan	street	sidewalk				bordering streets	commercial	
			The Mall	Central Park	off-street	concourse	.5 mi.		150'	park	residential/co	shade trees, benches
		Lowell MA	Dutton//Shattuck Mall	Merrimack Canal	off-street	concourse	.5 mi.		28'	canal/street	residential	shade trees, landscaping
			Canal Walk	Northern Canal	off-street	concourse	.75 mi.		20'-22'	canal/street	residential	shade trees, landscaping

Table 1. Summary of physical and spatial characteristics of selected promenade precedents. Dimensions are approximate.

Tree plantings were ubiquitous features in every promenade precedent other than the Fifth Ave. and Broadway examples in New York City, where sidewalks were regularly appropriated for specific, limited time periods by elites, in settings that lacked the typical amenity features of trees and pleasing views but offered in their place, the appeal of a fashionable setting and crowds of onlookers to admire and validate the display of class distinction. In other promenades, trees were highly valued for the welcome shade they cast on walkways in the spring and summer months, and for conveying a restorative natural quality that distinguished the settings from their urban surroundings. Shade trees were ever-present, but other amenity features were common as well. Benches, lighting

and other forms of street furniture were often added to nineteenth century promenades to enhance comfort and safety and to encourage people to linger on the sidelines. The presence of benches along the edges of pedestrian concourses provided opportunities for respite and at the same time afforded ideal vantage points for observing the leisurely flow of pedestrians and carriages.

Conclusion

This research focused on two questions: Firstly, are there certain formal qualities that enhance accessibility, activity, and amenity, and therefore contribute to the success of the promenade as a public space? And secondly, are there are particular physical and spatial conditions that have persisted, contributing to the capacity of the promenade to endure over centuries? Analysis of eighteenth and nineteenth century precedents in Europe and the United States suggests that easy access, abundant activity, and comfortable conditions for moving at a leisurely pace all contributed to the appeal of popular promenades. These factors influenced whether people would be inclined initially to engage the public life of the promenade, and thereafter, whether they might choose to return on a regular basis. Direct access and close proximity were particularly important factors for pedestrians, reducing the distance travelled on foot to reach their destination. Activity levels were of consequence as well. Unlike informal footpaths that may have been available elsewhere in gardens or parks, where walkers might have willingly and even preferably distributed themselves so as to reduce congestion and enhance their experience of a landscape setting, the consistent aim of promenade patrons has been "to see and be seen". The promenade was a venue predicated on the experience of being "in public", that is, being surrounded by others of like mind, and sharing a common setting, whether for active engagement or simply for vicarious enjoyment through observation of the passing throngs. A promenade that regularly failed to attract adequate numbers of people would scarcely have fulfilled expectations and consequently, preferred locations tended to be within or nearby densely populated residential neighborhoods or busy commercial districts. Finally, amenity was a critical factor in the appeal of the promenade, whether it be derived from shade to moderate warm temperatures, comfortable spatial scale, adequate dimensions to accommodate crowds without hindering the flow of movement, access to pleasing views, relatively flat and uninterrupted linear corridors, or provision of supportive features such as lighting and benches.

The analysis also indicates that certain shared physical and spatial characteristics have persisted among geographically dispersed promenades over a timespan of several hundred years. Typological features such as location, connectivity, adjacency, alignment, dimensions, scale, and amenity features have contributed to the qualities of accessibility, activity, and comfort that have attracted people to promenades and supported their popularity over time. The research confirms as well that nineteenth century American promenades were legitimate successors to earlier European precedents, exhibiting similarities in physical and spatial attributes that place them squarely within a typological tradition.

These findings raise further questions: Does the promenade tradition persist in some form in the United States, in a contemporary iteration of the type? Is there still demand for the activities of "seeing and being seen" in the American public realm? Have disjunctions effected in the post-industrial era, whether evidenced by functionalist degradation of the pedestrian realm, claims of a diminished and devalued public life, or

abandonment of the real world for a virtual realm, eroded the viability of a public space type that endured for centuries? Evidence suggests that despite the damage wrought on the urban public domain by these twentieth century forces, the promenade tradition has re-surfaced on the post-industrial, post-functionalist American urban waterfront and on other repurposed linear corridors situated at the hearts of American cities. As ongoing processes of urban redevelopment yield additional promenade opportunities, understanding the typological features that have contributed to the success of historic precedents could be a valuable asset in designing these contemporary public spaces. Further research is currently underway to assess whether recently developed American promenades conform to the typological attributes of their eighteenth century and nineteenth century forebears, whether the physical and spatial conditions that characterize the traditional promenade are compatible with post-industrial urban morphologies, and whether the functions of traditional promenades are adaptable to the diverse demands placed on the public realm in contemporary America.

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Fig. 3 View of central promenade in Tuileries Garden, Paris 18C. Engraving by Perelle.
Wikipedia Commons. Retrieved 17:26, July 6, 2017 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuileries_Garden#/media/File:S7001316.JPG Public domain (PD-1923)*Fig. 4 View of the Mall in St. James Park. Courtesy of Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, George Mason University and the National Endowment from the Humanities.*
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Placemaking, livability and public spaces. Achieving sustainability through happy places

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Abstract
Livability of places is set by many factors which are in turn influenced by a variety of elements - both tangible and intangible - concerning the area in question and its surroundings. One of these factors is constituted by urban happiness, which, together with the term sustainability meant in its wide meaning, constitutes a key concept in placemaking. In this respect, a new attention to urban happiness has been given but often in terms of theoretical sense or from an observational point of view. Aim of this study is to present the Happy place mapping, a method of analysis specifically devoted to the identification of factors that influence the perception of happiness from the urban point of view. To illustrate the method, the emblematic HafenCity case study carried out in Hamburg is showed. A long process of urban regeneration is interesting this area and the new public spaces are changing the identity of the city, making it more livable and agreeable both for locals and visitors. The discussion on questions related to methods that concern intangible aspects and on Happy place mapping conclude the paper.

Keywords: placemaking; urban happiness; sustainable public spaces

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1. Introduction

Livability of places is set by many factors, which are in turn influenced by a variety of tangible and intangible elements - such as good quality design and materials, place identity, accessibility and so on - concerning the area in question and its surrounding (AAVV, 2017; Appleyard, 1981; Kyttä et Al, 2015; Burns, 2005).

Urban happiness (Carmona et Al., 2010; PPS, 2001; Evans et Al, 2011) is one of these factors and contemporaneously one of its synonymous that, together with the term sustainability meant in its wide meaning, constitutes a key concept in placemaking, namely, in the "art of making places for people" (Sepe, 2017).

Urban environments are increasingly designed to be distinctive, trying to create memorable sensory experiences and give happiness for the people who use them. Through the analysis of places, a more detailed and qualitative interpretation of the city is carried out. This is not circumscribed to its aesthetic essence, nor even to its physical geometry (Gehl, 2010; Kyttä et Al., 2015; Lynch, 1960; Madanipour, 2003).

The functional and symbolic interpretations of the elements of a place are the fundamental factors for understanding its meaning. And "as society changes, so does signification (McCay, 2017; Montgomery, 1998, 2013). Meanings attached to the built environment become modified as social values evolve in response to changing patterns of socio-economic organization and lifestyles" (Porteous, 1977).

Nowadays, a new attention to the urban happiness has been given but often in terms of theoretical sense or from an observational point of view. Indeed, the definition of urban happiness is strongly interwoven with social, environmental, economic, philosophical studies and, according with new crisis and consequent transformation of lifestyles, needs and habits, the definition is in continuous change (Taylor et Al., 1998; Wang et Al., 2016; Whyte, 1980; Zelinka et Al., 2001)

On the other hand, as mentioned before, the definition looks to be similar to that used for defining well-being, quality of life, and sustainability (PPS, 2001; Relph, 1976; Saunders, 2017).

Accordingly, urban happiness could be defined as a character which gives to the place a positive perception in people who live it and which induces them to spend long time there and/or to live there again the same experience (Gehl, 2010; Sepe, 2017; Zidansek, 2007).

Starting from these premises, aim of this paper is to present the original Happy place mapping, carried out in the framework of the IRISS – CNR National Research Council research project titled: "The design of the contemporary urban landscape: place identity, urban happiness, livability and health", coordinated by the author.

The Happy place mapping aims at identifying urban happiness and the factors which make places happy from the users point of view. As will be illustrated in the following sections, the method consists in surveys, observations and questionnaires. A series of case studies have been carried out in Europe, USA and China. The case study carried out in the HafenCity area of Hamburg (Germany), which is interested by a process of whole urban regeneration, will be illustrated. The HafenCity urban regeneration process is creating new challenges and a definition of place identity which makes this case study particularly relevant for the topic of the paper. The paper is organized as follows: section 2 describes the method; section 3 illustrates the case study in detail, according with the different phases; section 4 shows the discussion and, finally, section 5 draws the conclusion.

2. Achieving urban happiness: the method

"Happy place mapping" consists of five phases (table 1). In all the surveys *ad hoc* database are created to collect the information suitably.

The first phase consists in the selection and definition of the study area. It is necessary to go to the site in question and, through one or more inspections, decide whether to confirm the delimitation decided beforehand or modify it.

The second phase entails observing the characteristics of the place through three surveys which concern activities, perceptions and elements which contribute to the feeling of happiness.

In the first survey, it is necessary to observe the types of people (locals, visitors, professionals, etc.) and activities (leisure, passing by, work, etc.). These activities are analyzed from a quantitative point of view, considering two main factors. Firstly, the number of people making use of the space is measured (low, medium, high).

Secondly, it is necessary to observe the frequency with which the activity is repeated or implemented and at what pace, namely if that activity is carried out at a rapid, slow or moderate pace. In addition, the influence of the activity on liveability (low, medium, high) has to be assessed.

The second survey consists in the identification of singular visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, taste perceptions, as well as mixed perceptions, such as chaos, serenity, disorder, joy, harmony, disorientation, deriving from the sum of one or more perceptions. Then it is necessary to observe their quantity expressed as a low, medium or high percentage as well as their quality expressed as pleasant, non influential or annoying.

The third survey of this phase consists in the observation of elements which contribute to the sensation of happiness such as constructed and natural elements, transportation modes, equipment and services (furniture, wireless, etc). Finally, from the comparison of these data, a first finding about the degree of happiness is obtained.

The third phase consists in an open questionnaire to be administered to the users of the site, aimed at identifying factors and elements which make people who live in that place happy or sad.

Questions may include the following and can be modified in accordance with the characteristics of the place.

1. Does this place give you a feeling of happiness or sadness?
2. What are the elements that make you happy or sad here?
3. What are the facilities that make this place good or bad?
4. What kind of activities (sporting, recreational, professional, etc.) do you do in this place? How often?
5. Does the presence of many or few people improve the pleasantness or unpleasantness of the place?
6. What could be done in order to improve this place?
7. Have you lived in a "happy place" in this city or elsewhere?
8. Do you think that the weather conditions can influence the perception of this place?

The fourth phase is that of the analysis of the cartography in order to understand the elements that compose the place in terms of the type of urban layout, the historical and architectural elements, the natural environment (sea, hills, etc.), and other public spaces in the surrounding area.

The fifth phase involves the construction of the map of happiness with the identification of spaces and features that give the perception of happiness to the people who use that place.
The final analysis map will be the result of all the information collected with the different survey operations, analyses and observations (table 1).

Phase	**Objective**	**Actions**	**Product**
First	Definition of the area	Visit on site	Map with the definition of the borders
Second	Observation of characteristics of the place	Surveys of: -Activities - Perceptions -Elements	Dabase of survey results
Third	Questionnaire to users of analyzed place	Identification of elements which make people who use that place happy	Dabase of survey results
Fourth	Analysis of cartography	Urban analysis of the place	Urban analysis map
Fifth	Identification of urban happiness	Overlapping and identification of places, activities and elements that make people happy	Map of urban happiness

Table 1. Happy Place Mapping scheme

3. Happy public space

3.1. Experiments

The experiments of the Happy place mapping were carried out in public spaces and areas different by types, geographic locations and dimensions. The case studies that have been carried out have both the aim to verify the method and identify what are the factors that influence happiness of places.
In particular squares, pedestrian and semi-pedestrian streets, urban parks and waterfronts, cultural districts were selected, particularly representative for the respective cities. These include: Hankou River in Wuhan, Lungomare Caracciolo in Naples, Bordeaux Waterfront in Bordeaux, The Bund in Shanghai with respect to the waterfronts; 798 Art District in Beijing; Nanluoguxiang in Beijing; Museums Quartier in Vienna as regards the cultural districts; Millenium Park in Chicago, Citygarden in Saint Louis (Missouri), and Promenade du Paillon in Nice, and HafenCity public spaces in Hamburg, in regards to parks; the Ramblas in Barcelona, the Graben in Vienna, in regards to thoroughfares; the Stadtlounge in St Gallen, the Place des Voges in Paris, the Piazza del Campo in Siena and Piazza Trevi in Rome, in regards to squares. These areas are emblematic for the respective cities, because in many cases these are both symbolic and representative of the whole city.

3.2. HafenCity case study

The case study that will be illustrated concerns the HafenCity area in Hamburg, Germany, a 155 hectares area,interested by a wide operation of urban regeneration which started in 1998 (fig.1). Surveys, observation and questionnaires were carried out during a year and in different periods, both during weekdays and weekends, during daytime and afternoon hours.

The first phase consists in the choice and definition of the study area. Three site inspections were carried out on the whole study area and in the surroundings to identify the sites of interest for the experiment aims. Places which were chosen for the experiments concern the HafenCity public spaces that in their totality give continuity to the area. Namely the boundaries, which were identified regard: Hubenerstrasse on Southern part and Am Sandtorkai on North, including Grasbrookhafen, Sandtorhafen on western part and Am Sandtopark on East.

3.2.1 The characteristics of the place

The second phase is characterized by the observation of the characteristics of the place. Surveys which were carried out concern the activities which are effectuated in the spaces and relative modalities, relative perceptions and elements which contribute in different ways to the happiness of the place.

With respect to the first survey, the typology of people (locals, visitors, professionals, etc..) and activities (passing by, work, break, etc..) were observed. These activities are measured from the quantitative point of view, namely measuring how the specific activity is present in that place and influences its livability and frequency.

Fig. 1 HafenCity Quarters (Source: http://www.hafencity.com/de/presseportal-der-hafencity.html; Originator: Michael Korol / HafenCity Hamburg GmbH; Illustration: Michael Korol, Source: HafenCity Hamburg GmbH)

In order to illustrate the activities, the place was divided in 6 stretches (figs 1, 2a-d):
1. Grasbrook
2. Marco Polo Terraces
3. Dalmannkai Promenade
4. Vasco de Gama
5. Magellan Terraces
6. Überseeboulevard

Grasbrook playground, Marco Polo Terraces, Vasco de Gama Platz and Magellan Terraces are connected each others trough the Dalmannkai Promenade and Überseeboulevard (Figures 2 a-d).

Figure 2. HafenCity public space (photos by the author): (a) Grasbrook; (b) Vasco de Gama Platz; (c) Dalmannkai Promenade; (d) Magellan Terraces.

Surveys, which started in Grasbrook and ended in Überseeboulevard, were carried out in the daily and afternoon hours both on weekdays and weekends. An average of results obtained in the different surveys is illustrated in the following section. When particular differences during a specific day or hours were observed, this information will be reported.
In regards to activities, which are present in the Grasbrook playground, the main ones concern: the playing, pic-nic, break, educational activity, socialization, passer-by. The playing activity is carried out in frequent manner by children of different ages also of nursery or primary class – in the morning hours – or with adults in different hours of morning and afternoon, in both cases frequently.
For the children of primary school, the leisure activity is often connected to the educational ones, devoted to illustrate the new HafenCity area and its meaning in relation

to the reconstruction of the maritime identity trough the games which are present in the Grasbrook playground.
Next area is constituted by the Marco Polo Terraces, where activities which are present include: observation, break, socialization, lunch break, passing-by and cycling. The activity which is mainly present is the break carried out by people of ages between about 20 and 50 years both during the daily and afternoon hours in frequent manner. To this activity that of the lunch or coffee break is equally present and the socialization often happens within groups of 2-3 people. The activity of passer-by and cycling is also present and is carried out in all the HafenCity public spaces.
Public spaces continue with the Dalmannkai Promenade where the Vasco de Gama Platz is situated as well. In the Dalmannkai Promenade the most frequent activities include: the passer-by, cycling and taking a brake in one of the different place for sitting, from where it is possible to admire the sea from many points of view. The medium age of people who carry out this activity is between 20 and 60 years and the typology is mainly constituted by locals, residents (mainly workers of the area), and tourists Furthermore, there is the presence of some bar, shops with souvenir and restaurants which increase the activity of taking a break, even though in private places. On the Vasco de Gama Platz, the most present activity is that of break, carried out in frequent manner on the part of the square overlooking the sea which is furnished with deck chairs.
Continuing to walk Dalmankai Promenade the Magellan Terraces is reached. The activities that are mainly present include the break, cycling, walking and observing. These activities are mainly carried out by people aging between 20 and 50 years. Break takes place both on the benches and on the terraced steps. From there, the break is improved by the observation which take place in different part of the surrounding space. Furthermore, the urban landscape is enriched by the close museum of music from a side and, from the other, by the old sailing ships – visitable – and the different buildings which create a very diversified urban landscape.
Finally the Überseeboulevard is reached, where the prevalent activity is walking followed by the break in the different bar and restaurants of the area. Both the activities are very frequent and carried out by people of all the age, locals, residents and tourists.
The pace with which these activities are carried out is generally moderate and slow, offering a very agreeable perception of that place.
The second survey of single and mixed perceptions has been carried out. With regards to the single perceptions, these are all involved but the taste one – in particular in the Grasbrook playground. Perceptions which are more felt and are all agreeable include: the sound one, given by the voices of people who live this place, and by the water of the games; the tactile, given by the different material – sand, water, meadow and wood which are used for the ground of the park; that visual, given by the scenic games with which the park is built; the smell, given by the smell of the natural material used for the features of the park, and by the sea situated not so far as well. In the Marco Polo Terraces, Dalmannkai Promenade, Vasco de Gama Platz and Magellan Terraces, the single perceptions which are felt regard: the visual ones concerning the sea and surrounding constructions, including from different points of view that of the Elbphilharmonie and of the old sailing ships on the Magellan Terraces; the acoustic ones, concerning the sounds of voices and foot steps of people, low and agreeable, and in some moments, the sound of the passing ships; the tactile ones, concerning the different pavements of the walks and sittings – wood, asphalt, concrete and meadow -; the smell one, due to the smell of the sea, and – in particular close to the Dalmannkai Promenade, the smell of coffee and food.

Finally, observing the Überseeboulevard, perceptions include the acoustic one due to the sounds of means of transports and building sites – the area is still in development – and the taste one, due to the food of many restaurants and cafes of the area.
In regards to the mixed perceptions, during the inspections, the most frequent which were identified are those of cheerfulness, joy and serenity. The feeling of cheerfulness is perceived mainly at the Gransbrook Park, due to the children's games built with natural material. The feeling of joy and serenity can be relieved in all the public spaces, as testified by both the low or moderate pace with which these activities are carried out and the high frequency. The only part where the chaos is perceived is that of Überseeboulevard area, due to the works of construction sites which are still in development.
Then the third survey is that of element which contribute or less to the perception of happiness. The elements of the area which contribute to that perception include: the presence of possibilities of large public sittings in different points: from those which are built in concrete, to the deckchairs, to the stairs, creating multiple choices of activities which vary from the observation of the place to the lie down for sunbathing (during the warm months), to the making the lunch or coffee break. The sittings are located in a well organized and designed paths posed on different levels which allow both walking and cycling. The presence on the Magellanean Terraces of the historical sailing ships contribute at creating a welcoming atmosphere, recalling to the ancient maritime memory of the place. The historical memory is also due to the Speicherstadt industrial warehouses which were recovered, contributing to the beauty of the place. Old and contemporary – given by the new architectures among them the Herzog-De Meuron Elbphilarmonie - create an image of continuity with the whole city of Hamburg and then of cultural sustainability as well. The perception of continuity is also given by the old and new bridges which connect HafenCity with the rest of the city without solution of continuity.

3.2.2 The Questionnaire

The phase 4 has concerned: the questionnaire on site to the users of place devoted to comprehend the elements which make people happy or sad in the living of that place and the research of the same information trough the online research of guest reviews.
With regards to the on site questionnaire, this was administered to about 100 people, both local and tourists, in English. Questions are posedt mainly to people while taking a break on the benches or on the lawn in the different stretches of the HafenCity. All the people who are interviewed have answered to the questions, even though have dedicated different time for answering.
To the question "Does this place give you a feeling of happiness or sadness", the totality of people both locals and tourists answered of happiness, even though with a different meaning, depending on the different stretches of the area. The term happiness has been used mainly for Grasbrook park, while for the other spaces the terms which were used include joy, serenity, livability and sustainability, recalling agreeable sensations perceived in HafenCity. As regards the second question, "What are the elements that make you happy or sad here", answers regard different elements. Locals who were interviewed were both people who work on the area (70%) and people who work and live in elsewhere (30%). For the locals, the majority (80%) of people answered the possibility of enjoying the sea, public spaces, bar and restaurants and then the facility of connection with the center of Hamburg. In regards to tourists, about 80% answered that the elements concern the new architectures, the strolling among the old sailing ships, the boats which pass from there, bar, the presence of many places for sitting. The 20% of both has answered in a more

generic manner, affirming that this is well maintained and organized. To the question "What are the facilities that make this place good or bad", people, locals have mainly (70%) answered the playground, the deckchairs and the other sittings, the presence of the University with many outdoor public spaces. The majority of tourists (80%) has also added the little modern sculptures, the sailing ships, and the HafenCity info Pavillon with information concerning the different phases of urban transformation and the model of the whole area. The remaining part of interviewees both local and tourists answered the public and private ships for the tour of HafenCity by the sea.
To the question "What kind of activities (sporting, recreational, professional, etc.) do you do in this place? How often", answers were different but consistent with the possibility of activities which the place offers. Locals who live there have answered that they go to HafenCity to work and that they use public spaces in the lunch break. The remaining locals have answered that they go to HafenCity to walk, to go to the playground – in particular adults with children and class of scholars – to go to the bar or to make a break, with a week frequency or more often with public means of transport which arrive in the centre. Tourists have all answered that HafenCity is a new and very beautiful area of Hamburg which visit in one-two days, making a break, strolling in the public spaces and eating or drinking in the cafeterias or restaurants.
To the question, "Does the presence of many or few people improve the pleasantness or unpleasantness of the place?" The 90% of people answered that the presence of a medium quantity of people increases the pleasantness of the place, giving an atmosphere of vitality to the area. The different functions which are present in the area offer a frequency by people of different age, provenience and professions. In regards to the question "What could be done in order to improve this place", the answer given by locals (80%) was mainly nothing. Some of them (10%) have affirmed the quicker completion of the work sites that intrude the livability of the place, while another little part (10%) affirmed that more green space should be inserted. Tourists have mainly answered (85%) that they would not change anything. The remaining part have given answers very different among them, including the organization of more artistic events (10%), the insertion of more areas of interest for the elderly (5%), the insertion of areas for repairing people from rain in the winter periods.
To the question "Have you lived in a "happy place" in this city or elsewhere", answers concerned many places given the variety of people who have been interviewed. Locals (70%) answered the Rathaus Platz of Hamburg which represents a sort of symbolic place of the city, others (30%) answered the square – always in Hamburg - with the swans and ducks to be admired. Tourists have given the more diverse answers – including the London docks, the Barcelona waterfront, the Boston waterfront, etc..-, referred to their city of belonging and to the connection of those with the sea, where existent.
Finally, to the question "Do you think that the weather conditions can influence the perception of this place", answers were different. Many areas are used the whole year, because here there are many professionals, students and residents. In the period of cold and rains the perception of the place change for many people (85%) due to the difficulty to stay for long time outdoor. In that period spaces which are more used are mainly the private ones.
As regard the research of reviews through web sites, the first data which emerge is the high presence of the HafenCity on the web: e.g. through the google research engine 2.200.000 results have been found. The web site which reports the major number of reviews is tripadvisor with about 600 reviews focused on HafenCity. As regards people

who have answered the comment, these are mainly European and Central American of age included between 25 and 60 years old. Comments are always positive. Aspects which are evidenced regard the operation of urban regeneration which is for them successful, the beauty of buildings, public spaces, the presence of and restaurants and the cleaning of the area. In the comments – all positive -, there are also evidenced the aspects connected to the relation with the sea, the old sailing ships and the boats for the visit of the area from the sea.

3.2.3 The traditional analysis

As regards the traditional analysis (phase 4), an important aspect which is emerged is that history has played a fundamental role in the waterfront regeneration. Although only a partial reconversion of the harbour warehouses is carried out, the project is restoring the maritime vocation of the historical city and is strictly connected with the city (Sepe, 2013-2014) (figg. 1,3).

The HafenCity project is recovering the maritime identity of the historical city and will be strictly connected with the city. Hamburg is one of the major European ports and the Germany's main port. Indeed, the town joined the Hanseatic League in the first half of the thirteenth century, and Hamburg played a key role in the League. Following this period, the South American states became important commercial partners of Hamburg's shipping companies and merchants in the first half of the nineteenth century. This caused a great increasing in the harbour's cargo volume to require the construction of the city's first modern port basin, Sandtorhafen. The port developed into the current HafenCity in the course of the nineteenth century. The other port basins which were built include: Grasbrookhafen, Magdeburger Hafen, Brooktorhafen, and Baakenhafen, whose low marshes were gradually raised to 4-5 m above sea level to protect the port structures from flooding. Great Fires and the World Wars, caused many destructions to the port. Only after 1945, reconstruction begin, and, concomitantly, a significant growth in freight traffic.

The history is present in different places of the Hafencity area. Also due to the brick-built impressive facade - which is remained almost visually unchanged-, the Speicherstadt warehouse plays an important role acting as an entrance and a joining element: the warehouse is listed as a historic monument and is designed to be acknowledged as a Unesco World Heritage Site in 2014. New functions were established in the Speicherstadt, including: museums, traditional goods storage, multimedia agencies and creative business, as a sort of bridge between old and renovated image. Another important element in the recovering the place identity is the old harbour basins with its buildings which represent a place of attraction for both locals and visitors. The historical buildings which were retained became the landmarks of HafenCity. The Speicherstadt, the Elbphilharmonie Concert Hall, the International Maritime Museum, and the old Port Authority building are only an example of the new project intervention (Sepe, 2013-2014).

The project is subdivided into eight main areas, including: Am Sandtorkai, Dalmannkai quarter, Grasbrook, Strandkai, Uberseequartier, Elbtorquartier, Am Lohsepark. Brooktorkai and Elbbruken. An elaborate articulation of private and public spaces has been designed, many of them already completed (figs 1,3). The building of HafenCity will increase the surface of the original Medieval City Center city by 40%. The new area - 155 hectares of the Medieval city's overall area - is constituted by two thirds of land and one third of water and it is expected that 12,000 of the city's residents will have moved to

HafenCity in the next ten years, while stimulating the creation of 20,000 new jobs. The operation of regeneration is coordinated by a private company, the HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, which is owned by the Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg, and which manages relations between the public and the private sector.

Figure 3. HafenCity area (source http://www.hafencity.com/de/presseportal-der-hafencity.html; Originator: lab3 mediendesign / HafenCity Hamburg GmbH; Picture credits: illustration: lab3 mediendesign, Source: HafenCity Hamburg Gmb

Finally, the last part of the traditional analisys has regarded the mobility project in development. In Hafencity the motorized individual transport will be reduced from the 47 per cent of Hamburg to the 20. The HafenCity area lies less than a kilometre away from Hamburg City Hall and the city centre, it is thus easily reachable even on foot. Its services are readily available to the citizens of the rest of Hamburg as well as HafenCity's own residents. Seventy percent of foot and cycling paths run from lanes which are separated by motorized traffic. The public transport, including ecological buses and river taxis and the new U4 subway stations, connects HafenCity with the rest of the city and contributes to the ecological, economic and socially sustainable integration of the new district. The new 10 km of waterfront along the Elbe are in this way reconnecting the city to its river.

3.2.4 The happiness of the place

The fifth phase of the method concerns the identification of elements that contribute to the happiness of that place. HafenCity is an area that has many elements of interest. This study is referred to the public spaces which constitute an important part of this because favors its liveability.

Due to its nearness with the historical centre of Hamburg, but also thanks to the wild operation of participation which has been carried out from the beginning of the project of regeneration, the area is very known to the inhabitants of the city and to the tourists and then very lived. The presence of public spaces with many possibility of sittings has

determined that both professionals who work there than locals coming from other areas of Hamburg use this place with frequency and low or moderate pace.
The presence of tradition, given by both the Speicherstadt warehouses and the historical sailing boats and innovation, given the new architectures, offer an atmosphere of both memory and contemporaneity which like to people who visit the place. The presence of an InfoPavilion and a maritime museum on the Magellan Terraces inform people on the history of the place and the on-going project of regeneration, offering a further element of participation.
Another aspect of success is the presence of pedestrian and cycle paths integrated also in the design: different levels, many visual perceptions and urban landscapes in perspective, an articulated design which create variety in who live it.
The realization of a playground for children -also used by students for educational trips – is a further aspect of success of the area, together with the presence of the new HafenCity University which creates a continuous use of the place. The sea is lived in its multiple "shape": as a background of architecture, as a landscape scene to be observed from different points of view, and as a place to be lived and admired, thanks to the possibility to take both public transport boats and touristic ships for different kinds of tours. The presence of bar and restaurants offer the possibility of extending the stop in a pleasant way. Serenity, joy, happiness and surprise are the most solicited sensations in that place.

4. Discussion

The Happy Place Mapping method which was used is aimed at allowing the identification of factors which influence happiness of the place. Through different surveys, analysis and questionnaire the elements which contribute to the sensation of happiness were identified and concern both tangible and intangible aspects.
Studies on the intangible aspects which are connected to the city are many and involve many disciplines, such as sociology, environmental psychology, anthropology and so on. The method which is presented in this paper is an evolution of the PlaceMaker method (Sepe, 2013, 2015) – created by the author as well - which is devoted to the identification of elements which constitutes the place identity and intervention for its enhancements. Identity of places, while in its elusiveness, has constituted by very tangible elements such as the architecture of buildings, the urban morphology, etc. In line with this concept, urban happiness can be - only at the first stage of analysis – considered influenced by perceptions. Also in this case, perceptions and intangible aspects are strongly connected to architectures, public spaces, natural environment and hence with its sustainability.
In regards to the proposed method, during the surveys (phase 2) it has been observed that some improvements should be done with respect to the kinds of database which are used. These have to be more flexible in order to allow the variety of situation which occur in the places. Another observation regards the questionnaire, this is an important tool to understand factors which influence happiness. On the other part, sometimes answers are too generic or not strictly related to urban facts. What is important in these cases, is to reformulate questions in order to have suitable answers which are useful for the case study aims.
A last observation concern the last phase, in which the factors influencing happiness emerge as a overlapping of all the elements collected during the previous phases. Happiness is a fluid concept, above all in the intangible aspects. So the method has to be

easily updatable in order to allow the collection of new information and the creation of new results. As regards a computer science tool which support this operations should be useful.

5. Conclusion

The paper has presented the method of urban analysis Happy place mapping and a case study carried out in the HafenCity area of Hamburg, in course of completion.
The HafenCity project intends to recreate the maritime identity of the historical city and be strictly connected with the city. The area is emblematic as a case study because this is a new area which is creating a new urban identity to the whole city, improving its livability and degree of satisfaction in both locals and visitors, and hence its sustainability.
This case study, as mentioned before, is part of a series of case studied carried out in area with different geographical localization and dimension. Each case was useful to comprehend if it is possible to identify common factors – related to urban design - capable to give happiness in people who live it. The HafenCity case has strongly contributed in that sense and the results of all cases are leading at a definition of the Principles for the livability and happiness of public space.
The surveys and questionnaire have demonstrated that tangible aspects – such as variety of functions and accessibility - regard the HafenCity project of public spaces. Indeed, the new public spaces, for their variety and articulation, offer multiple possibilities to be lived from different subjects with different needs and preferences. Furthermore, the area is very close to the historical centre of the city and easily reachable with different means of transport, creating facility of access and crossing.
The intangible aspects are related both to the beauty of the place in itself, due to the presence of the sea and landscape, but also to historical memory given by the Speicherstadt warehouses and the sailing ships visible, from the different points of views of the pedestrian paths and public spaces.
Another aspect which is fundamental for the happiness and livability of these public spaces is the presence of a wide variety of sittings with both sea and landscape view where it is possible to take a break or look around contributing to a sensation of serenity.
On the other hand, an important aspect to be considered is constituted by the clime and weather as well, which in the winter period is rigid. The frequency of public spaces in these periods is more limited for questions connected to the weather, although the presence of public buildings and private societies offers life in the place during the whole year.
Finally, the results of the case study demonstrates that the public spaces of HafenCity can be considered sites where manifestation of happiness and livability is relieved, affirming itself as emblematic place in this sense.

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New urban trends towards the use of public space in Turin

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Abstract
What do we mean when we talk about public space? We asked this question, among others about the relationship between urban populations and public spaces, to some people in the context of the National Research Program (PRIN 2009) titled 'Public Spaces, moving populations and urban renewal programs'. This paper reports part of the outcome of the research done within the local unit of Turin (Italy), which has been developed with a set of interviews to local stakeholders and with a field research in the selected areas of the City Centre and the districts of San Salvario and Barriera di Milano. From the answers of the stakeholders emerged some relevant issues that I analysed through a selected literature about the concept of public space. The result is a sort of catalogue of typical public spaces of the city, as acknowledged by the local stakeholders and by the field research, and analysed through the international literature. The typologies identified are: traditional public spaces, 'cappuccino' spaces, weak sociality spaces, new virtual public spaces and the 'District Houses', a new type of public space emerging in the city. To identify them, some characteristic pictures of public spaces of Turin and interviews' pieces are also reported.
However, facing this scenario built on the empirical research, we should mind that the conflicting views of public space depend also on the professional and cultural background of the interviewees, which is such fickle data that it cannot be catalogued. So, the catalogue proposed is not exhaustive, but only indicative of the trend about new perspectives on the meaning of public space which emerged through research conducted in the city of Turin.

Keywords: public space; relational space; safety; weak sociality; district houses

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1. Introduction

What do we mean when we talk about public space? We asked this question, among others about the relations between urban populations and public spaces, to some people in the context of the National Research Program (PRIN 2009) titled 'Public Spaces, moving populations and urban renewal programs', which involved seven different working groups located across different Italian universities.[1] This paper reports part of the outcome of the research done by the local unit of the Politecnico di Torino, which has been developed in the city of Turin with a set of interviews to local stakeholders and with field research in the selected areas of the City Centre and the districts of San Salvario and Barriera di Milano, as briefly described below.

From the answers of the stakeholders emerged some relevant issues that I analysed through the international literature about the concept of public space, which I used selectively to strengthen the different interviewees' orientations. The result is a sort of catalogue of typical public spaces of the city, as acknowledged by the local witnesses and observed by the field research. The typologies identified are: traditional public spaces, 'cappuccino' spaces, weak sociality spaces, new virtual public spaces and the 'District Houses', a new type of public space emerging in the city. To identify them, some characteristic pictures of public spaces of Turin and interview pieces are also reported.[2] However, facing this scenario built on the empirical research, we should mind that the conflicting views of public space depend also on the professional and cultural background of the interviewees, which is such inconsistent data that it cannot be catalogued. So, the catalogue proposed is not exhaustive, but only indicative of the trends about the use of public space emerged from within the research, while the practice of public space, both in cultural and symbolic terms, remains in progress and difficult to distinguish from the sphere of private use (Mazzette, 2013).

2. Methodology

The local unit of Turin worked using two main research tools, field observation and stakeholders' interviews, beyond literature review. While the field observation was performed independently by each research unit involved in the national research, the interviews were based on a shared questionnaire of 12 questions, of which just three were open answer. The aim of the questionnaire was to define which idea of public space the stakeholders had, which were the most relevant public spaces in the city in their opinion and which were their main social characteristics (if they are popular, their users, the activities developed there, the kind of social relations that usually happened there, their symbolic identity, the main issues involved within these spaces, the role of the public administration in shaping these spaces, etc.).

Twenty-eight interviews were conducted, and interviewees were selected based on two main criteria: the territorial reference of each (to which geographical area they referred –

[1] The research was coordinated by the prof. A. Mazzette, Università degli Studi di Sassari. The others research groups were: Politecnico di Torino - Local Scientific Manager, prof. A. Mela; Università degli Studi di Bologna – Local Scientific Manager: prof. M. Castrignanò; Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca – Local Scientific Manager: prof. F. Zajczyk; Università degli Studi di Genova - Local Scientific Manager: prof. A. Gazzola; Università degli Studi di Perugia - Local Scientific Manager: prof. R. Segatori; Politecnico di Bari - Scientific Manager: prof. L. Bozzo.

[2] The interview pieces are translated in English by the author from the original transcription of the records, which were in Italian.

among the three described below) and the job activity or the role they have within the specific area of the city (e.g. representatives of associations, traders, representatives of foreign communities, schools and social workers, politicians and administrators etc.). Moreover, we tried to keep an adequate gender mix and a certain age variety among the interviewees, but we cannot measure any relevant statistic factor because it was a qualitative survey.
The field observation was organized with a different grid in each one of the main areas selected. For example, while in the district of San Salvario, it was important to distinguish the use of public spaces in different sub-areas and in different seasons (notably the park in the warm/cold season), in the City Centre, it was more significant to observe diverse uses in weekdays and holidays or during the day and the night. So, just after almost one year, we managed to get a quite exhaustive analysis of the use of public spaces within each area. Finally, each member of the research unit developed and improved his own literature review on the topic of public space, depending on his personal scientific background – the research group included architects, planners, sociologist etc. – and their specific research interest (urban design, gentrification processes, immigration phenomena etc.) to enhance personal consideration, later gathered in a collective book.[3] Notably, in this paper the literature has been adopted to analyse the definitions of public space quoted by the local interviewees and to organize a sort of catalogue of typical public spaces acknowledge by the research developed in city of Turin.

3. Geographical context of the research

Beside the set of interviews of local stakeholders as described above, the work done by the local unit of Turin[4] involved field research in the selected areas of the City Centre and the districts of San Salvario and Barriera di Milano, which were chosen for the high variety of their users and the rich assortment of typologies of public spaces.
The City Centre is composed of plenty of traditional squares and buildings, representative of the history of the city and highly visited by tourists (such as Piazza Vittorio and the Murazzi, Piazza Castello, the Egyptian Museum, and the Mole Antonelliana or Museum of Cinema) and is characterized by high-quality architecture and good level of maintenance; but it has not always been like that. In the past, the Centre was marked by high physical and social degradation. Considerable urban interventions started in the early 90s and improved up to 2006 (during the Winter Olympics). These updates have regenerated neighbourhoods and refurbished public spaces, in particular by making several streets and squares pedestrian-only. These changes have radically influenced the uses of public space in the city, by creating new public spaces or allowing new unexpected uses of the existing ones.
San Salvario is a semi-central district with a typical residential character, historically originated by the *Enlargement Plan of the Capital* of the mid-nineteenth century and by the subsequent expansion of the city, on the trails of the military boulevards (completed between 1860 and 1870). The majority of the buildings were built as an income by the middle-class. In the district is the most important park of the city: the Valentino Park. Originally, it was part of the Valentino Castle, one of the residences of the Savoy family,

[3] Mela A., eds. (2014), *La città con-divisa. Lo spazio pubblico a Torino*, Franco Angeli, Milano.
[4] The Local Research Group was formed by: A. Mela, R. Albano, S. Chiodi, G. Marra, S. Mazzucotelli Salice, R. Novascone, G. Tarditi.

but currently, the Castle hosts the faculty of architecture. In the park there is also the so-called Medieval Village: actually, a neo-Gothic settlement, built as a pavilion for the Italian General Artistic and Industrial Exposition, which took place in Turin in 1884; now it is an open-air museum. The neighbourhood and the park are two worlds partially separated, not only because of their morphology, but also because of their users, who rarely coincide. The park attracts sportsmen, school groups and tourists (especially in the neo-medieval village), who do not typically visit the neighbourhood. On the other hand, many users of the neighbourhood, especially shopkeepers and night-clubbers, almost never go to the park, with the only exception being during the summer, when some nightclubs are located in the open park. San Salvario is also changed from the past, but not because of a renewal program led by the city administration as it is occurred in City Centre; here the change occurred gradually and mostly from 'the bottom', as a process of local development close to gentrification, which made it a kind of fashion district. Now there are more youths here, some immigrants moved out and new Italian families moved in.

Fig. 2 - The arcades of "Murazzi".

The district of Barriera di Milano, which literally means 'barrier of Milan', because there actually used to be a custom barrier to Milan, is the most segregated among the three observed by the field research. In this context, segregated does not mean geographically separated in the suburbs (consider that it is adjoined to the old Roman City, the oldest historic centre of Turin), but it means socio-culturally and historically isolated. It is considered a social periphery and historically it was born like these; actually, it was a new district built for the industries and their workers. Today, the old industries are not working anymore, and the working-class population (mostly made of immigrants from southern Italy) who was predominating in the past, have been partially substituted by new immigrants from other counties (mostly North Africa, China, Eastern Europe). This change occurred also because of the proximity of the market of Porta Palazzo, which represents one of the most well-known reference points for the majority of foreign immigrants in search of work, because it represents the place where they can get help from their fellow countrymen. Recently, to contrast this segregation, an urban regeneration project called Urban Barriera[5] has been taking place there, by following the

[5] The project is started in 2011 and ended in December 2015. http://www.comune.torino.it/urbanbarriera/

European bottom-up approach which characterized the regional urban cohesion policy (European Commission, 2003), with the collaboration and the proactive interaction among all the actors and beneficiaries involved in the project (Public Administration Sectors, local activities or associations, Institutions, citizens, local business etc.). So, some small changes are taking place by intervening both on the physical space and on the socio-economic one.

4. A catalogue of typical public spaces

Weak public spaces

The idea of 'weak' sociality contrasts with the idea of a 'strong' one, as suggested by Crosta (1996) and with an implicit reference to the famous distinction[6] of the sociologist Marc Granovetter (1973) between strong and weak bonds. But in this context, 'weak interaction' is meant as a codified and common action imposed, for example, by a commercial business or an organised event, and it simply envisages spending time together among other people without any personal implication. On the other hand, a 'strong interaction' is supposed to take place between people sharing mutual and reciprocal relations or a common goal, with personal or intimate implications.
This idea arises from the most frequent definition of public space given by the stakeholders. Indeed, almost none of the people interviewed, apart from one,[7] referred to a 'strong' vision of sociality or made specific mention of shared civic values. Public space is considered by most as a meeting place for leisure time, sports and entertainment. As they stated:

> *"Basically, public space means being able to spend time on the streets, occupying and passing time in a square, sitting on a bench, in a green area, in a place where you can take a break."*
>
> *"Public space [is a] space open to meetings with others, for shared use, where you observe people and are observed by people, where you simply are with others."*
> *"… [public space] is used to create sociality: [it is the place] where it is possible to have the most contact with others, people outside of our usual sphere."*
>
> *"The main function [of public space] is to bring people together ... so they can talk to each other"*
>
> *"…there aren't many relations, there are people in public spaces, but it doesn't mean that there are relationships between them. Actually, among adults there aren't many deep relationships. Occasional interactions happen by chance."*

Public spaces are often identified with the most traditional open space within a city

[6] The author distinguishes strong and weak bonds in the context of social networks of individuals, by highlighting the economic value of the weak links (links without particular affective relationships, such as those between shop owners and customers, or between two colleagues etc.) as a potential work resource. However, here this distinction doesn't imply any judgment about the value of the two types of interaction and there is no reference to economic sociology.

[7] Here I report the piece of the interview: [Public space] offers people the chance to frequent it in their free time, doing things that increase their awareness as citizens. Space has to stimulate a sense of belonging and of citizenship.

(squares, parks etc.), but the idea of sociality that appears behind the claims does not imply deep relationships, and it is limited to a 'weak' idea of spending time together: people crowding public spaces, without developing any civic culture or political stance, as it was is the past[8], when 'big squares were vital to every city, because there public life was developed, while *now* is relegated indoors' (Sitte, 1889).

> *"I consider public spaces as spaces for transit."*
>
> *"…public spaces [are] spaces for transit where people pass and use the space, but they are not necessary living there."*
>
> *"Public space is for leisure time, going for walks, having fun and sport."*
>
> *"It is a place where […] we can get together and let off steam."*

The interpretation of public space, as 'weak' or a secondary place of civic culture, revokes numerous studies about the role of public space in cities.
The traditional literature on urban studies, from Simmel, Mumford and Jacobs, up to the contemporaries, Sennet, Sandercock and Zukin, sustains that there is a strong link between public space and civic culture. Public space is usually understood as privileged space to develop civic virtues and public opinions. In particular, these spaces are typically characterised by heterogeneity and unpredictability, as J. Jacobs (1960) affirmed; the same distinctive characteristics that now S. Zukin (1995) considers vanished in the contemporary city (the reference is New York).
Today, two important elements break this link up: the change of the characteristics of public space itself and the fragmentation of the public sphere. Not only is the public sphere changed, but it no longer has the characteristics required for political participation and civic formation. And in fact, the sociality among people in the public space can't be considered the main vehicle for political participation and for building citizenship up.
The elements of diversity, complexity and disorder, which were at the centre of public life up until the 18th century, now have been cancelled by the dominion of the private and intimate sphere over the public sphere (Sennet, 1982). Furthermore, this phenomenon opens up a process of privatisation, securitisation and standardisation of public space. The contemporary city is destroying common values little by little, and the urban space is progressively homologated and just a place for commerce and leisure (Secchi, 2000). The open relational space that characterised the public space in the past, now is blinded in spaces where relations are mainly commercial and business. Notably, someone said:

> *"…the main activity [of public space] is entertainment and shopping and restaurants."*

In particular, Piazza Vittorio (which was recognised as one of the most important public spaces in the city) is considered by many people as a nightclubbing space or as a setting for organised events (exhibitions, commercial events, commercial fairs etc.):

> *"…there are regularly events or other organised activities with music, or the chocolate fair CioccolaTO, to a wide variety of other exhibition. We could say, it almost an exhibition area more than a civic space."*

[8] The reference period is much before the XIX century, when the authors is writing.

However, neither Piazza Vittorio or other public spaces in the city have ever been nominated as spaces for political aggregation or where developing a civic culture. Particularly, some people, missing the past, spoke about the value of public space:
"I came here almost thirty years ago […], then the heritage commercialised the [public] spaces in order to create a type of nightclubbing that I don't like. Before, people that came here were of different origins and colours but they all had similar ideals, in terms of idiom and politically too, […] they were socially committed people. The word 'public' itself means that the space should be available for people and not just for drinking stupid cocktails."
Therefore, public space is changed by the virtue of a different quality of social rations that happen there and because it is no longer a strong catalyser of civic and political culture, but it is changed also because sociality in public space does not represent anymore the only (and for someone also the sufficient) sphere of civic and political formation. Indeed, as asserted by Amin (2008), sociality in public space is not sufficient to affirm the civic and political sphere and it would be 'heroic' to admit that more vibrant and inclusive public spaces can increase urban democracy. This does not mean that the bond between public and political space is denied nowadays, but, that this bond is become very weak due to the fact that public culture does not circulate exclusively in squares, but it is spread across other numerous environments, not strictly urban, and notably through the new media. Today, the spaces where people develop public opinions are talk shows, radio programmes, newspapers, social networks and Internet in general, while rarely are political meetings in squares or conversations about collective problems happening in the streets.
Weak sociality does not mean poor environment, even if no deep interactions happen there. Indeed, in the opinion of the interviewees, to fulfil its function properly, a public space needs some fundamental features. It should be open, safe and friendly; where open is understood with a social meaning and not physically. So, it should be accessible and not elitist, without strict and formal behavioural rules. Furthermore, facilities and design are important.

> *"…areas where people can sit, communicate and spend time in nice environment" Moreover, the appeal of a public place has been considered another important feature, because it allows to define its identity and it makes the popular. The appeal has been understood as a catalysing element, one which can be various: it can be a museum or an historical architecture or a monument, as it is common in the City Centre (e.g. the Egyptian museum, Piazza Castello etc.), or it can be the presence of any leisure facility.*

> *"…a space with an appeal ... it can be amazing historical complex, or it can be an attraction of social nature. I'm thinking about Piazza Vittorio, for example, with all its venues, a very attractive space; or other areas, such as the district of San Salvario, which have no immediate historical connotations, like Piazza Castello, but it become attractive due to the presence of venues, cafés, restaurants etc…"*

Cappuccino spaces
Some people consider the presence of places for eating and drinking as fundamental within a public space, partially contradicting the idea of a public space previously identified, which would be open (socially), friendly and truly accessible to everybody.

"Public space is a space where you find a certain type of layout, bars, shops."
"[Public space] is a natural area of passage, because it is very commercial, it has shops."
"an attractive place where people can also go shopping or can eat."

Fig. 2. A view of a "public" space in Piazza Vittorio.

The commercial image of public space originating from the interviews' pieces reflects the aesthetic American model of public spaces described by S. Zukin (1998). According to it, commercial spaces – shops, restaurants, cafés, which are always private – are considered as 'public' spaces, while roads and car parks – which are generally public – are designed as 'private' spaces. It is a model based on shops, entertainment spaces, fashion museums etc., which shape a city built on the consumption of mass products from globalised brands (such as Starbucks Coffee). S. Zukin (1995) exemplifies this model describing the revitalisation project of Bryant Park, New York. The theoretical aim to 'civilise' the park has been achieved by expanding the consumption offer (bars where you can drink a 'Cappuccino' – the Italian word is used by the author herself) and the users' behaviour has been influenced by very good levels of maintenance of the spaces and by a high surveillance with security guards.
Nowadays, some American shopping malls try to mitigate the artificial appearance of these new 'public' spaces by making people feel the environment is 'more natural' with the presence of (Mood)[9] music and pervasive smells. But, actually, the true aim of this choice is to increase sales: making the space more comfortable increases the probability that people buy products.
Despite some interviewees underlining the role of consumption in public spaces, the process of high regulation and privatisation of public spaces described by S. Zukin does not truly appear in their claims. However, this process of 'domestication by Cappuccino' seems to be a serious perspective of transformation of public spaces in the next future. Indeed, the high space commercialisation can bring very restrictive measures in the use of

[9] The term Mood is used to identify the gentle and relaxing new music introduced into some shopping malls, airports, lifts etc as a background sound in order to replace the more stressing Muzak style (derived from Muzak Holding, which has now been overtaken by Mood Media, the international sensorial marketing company).

'public' space, with the risk of codifying every kind of behaviour. As asserted by F. La Cecla (2000, p.135)[10] 'at international level, town planning became a sort of *safety* tutor, an urban safety guaranteed by a strict social division (gated communities are an example, along with gentrification theories and urban renewal – as a response to the contemporary multi-ethnic immigration) […]. As if public space was a huge shopping centre, many uses should be required there: sitting, spending time or wasting time. Public places are not living places, but places to consume according to the authority's rules'.
The dilemma is between what is artifice and reality, between Starbucks Coffee, a symbol of globalisation, and the nature, which means the real city in contrast with the glossy one, made of shop windows and enclaves. It is no mere coincidence that shopping malls, the 'non-places' (Augè, 1993) at excellence, are changing into relational spaces, the new 'public' spaces, full of attractions and people, and often more people than on the urban streets. Notably, the concerts in Turin are often held in the shopping mall 'Le Gru' (where there is an important summer rock music festival every year), and increasingly less in public squares.
Therefore, if we define 'public' as the space that joins together people, perhaps we should consider the concept of public space on a broader basis, by admitting that hybrid relational spaces, which are no longer just squares and streets, are increasing. If we look closer at this phenomenon of privatization of public spaces, we see that, on one hand, consumer spaces are expanding on streets and in the squares (although there are no global cafés in Turin), while on the other, shopping malls and outlets are shaping like traditional public spaces, with small internal streets and squares decorated with fountains and monuments. But the main risk is the loss of the sense of reality, by being absorbed in alienating environments and emotions. It means a sort of 'gentle totalitarianism', where people are victim of an illusion of intimacy, losing the real space and time, which actually are much harder to face than these abstractions. (Augé, 2013).

New virtual public spaces
New communication and information technologies have very much influenced the use of public (and private) space. As already asserted by J. Gehl in 1991, telephone, television, personal computers and more (but nowadays we can add social networks, blogs and Internet in general) have introduced new behavioural models and lifestyles. Direct meetings in public spaces can be replaced by indirect and remote relations. Furthermore, the facility of modern transports (such as cars diffusion, extensive urban and suburban public transport networks, high-speed trains etc.) has made it possible to live and work far away, with the consequence of losing the everyday meetings that used to happen within the neighbourhood of residence. According to this change, some interviewees commented:

> *"for me, public spaces are still places […]. I don't mean that people don't meet on social networks, but I don't see them as a public spaces. […] public spaces in my opinion are [those where] people meet in a yard, in a museum, in tangible places."*

Despite the fact that the previous statement says that virtual spaces do not represent a real public space; however, the development of communication and information

[10] The original text is in Italian, the translation here is proposed by the author of the paper.

technologies is not completely a negative issue. We should consider that new virtual public spaces, definitely, did not break up social ties and reduce real meetings between people in material public spaces, but they have allowed the formation of new networks and alternative manifestations of civic culture, by accelerating and intensifying the dissemination of information and communications and by creating new actual public spaces, where people can develop their civic and political culture. Therefore, nowadays we can consider material public space, as it was traditionally considered, as just one of the areas to develop civic culture and political participation, and it is probably one of secondary importance (Amin, 2008).

The Neighbourhood Houses

A particular type of public space has recently been developed in the city of Turin, offering an innovative reinterpretation of some characteristics of traditional public space. We analyse it within the research through the observation and the stakeholders' interviews; notably we spoke with some of the managers of these innovative public spaces. It is the so called 'Neighbourhood House' (the name comes from a sort of market strategy chosen by the municipality): buildings fallen into disuse (like public bathrooms), often owned by the municipal administration, and restored for social uses with public and private funding, and with the collaboration of the third sector, businesses and citizens. The building itself usually has closed and open spaces, like yards or small gardens. They host various activities of collective interest (rehearsal rooms for musicians and theatre companies, co-working spaces, rooms to hold classes and meetings, entertainment activities, after-school clubs, conferences and public presentations, film show, concerts and parties etc.) and they are equipped with restaurants or cafés. The houses are managed by associations, local development agencies or foundations and they receive the support of public and private organisations because they are unable to generate economic resources enough to support themselves.

This typology includes several spaces in Turin: 'la Casa del quartiere di via Morgari' (literally 'the neighbourhood house of Morgari street') in the district of San Salvario, the (ex) 'Public Baths' in the district of Barriera di Milano and other spaces in different districts of the city which we did not observe directly: 'Cascina Roccafranca' (in the district of Mirafiori Nord), the 'House in the Park' (Colonnetti Park, Mirafiori Sud), the 'Cecchi Point' (Aurora district), the '+ Space Four' (San Donato district) and 'Barrito' (Nizza Millefonti district). All these spaces have been opened within the last ten years.

The Neighbourhood House of San Salvario, in particular, is one of the spaces we observed closely. It is located in the former public baths of the district, like one of the other spaces mentioned. Like a real house, it does not offer services, but hosts people and associations with their own cultural activities. More than 60 associations and about 100 groups perform their cultural, but also recreational and support activities there. For example, there is a self-managed play area for children, classes of Arabic language and music are held by local associations, and there are repair shops etc. The role of this space has become very important in the district, both because it makes its spaces available for meetings or other cultural activities open to the public, but also because its presence has partly conditioned the opposite public space: a little square called 'Piazzetta Donatello', where the Church of the Sacro Cuore di Maria[11] is also located. As stated in an interview

[11] The curch of the Sacro Cuore di Maria was designed by Carlo Ceppi, exponent of the eclectic taste of the second half of the 19th century, pupil of Carlo Promis. He was also the creator (with Alessandro

(referring to the 'Casa del quartiere di via Morgari'):

> *"…in the years when this building was abandoned, the square (in front of) was less frequented, it had it was a place where for homeless and drug dealers […] The presence of the 'Casa del Quartiere' (and of other new bars which opened next to it), has made the inhabitants of the district (including the elderly) more familiar with this space. Now it is populated by old men and women, mostly Italian, and by some youngsters and students who attend the 'Casa del Quartiere', sometimes also by foreigners; they seat on the benches using their computers, because there's a free wi-fi connection."*

These houses, like the more traditional public spaces, are spaces of civic formation and for strengthening the public sphere, re-proposing the cultural value of public space. Moreover, these spaces are modern because they communicate online within the virtual space. All the neighbourhood houses mentioned are joined in a network[12] which highlights their similarities and formalises the birth of this new type of public space.
The innovation brought by this particular type of public space is on two levels: one is organisational and economic, the other one is socio-cultural. On one hand, the houses are sustained by an innovative horizontal cooperation by all the stakeholders involved in their development, and by the integration of public and private funds. On the other, they reaffirm and renew the typical values of public space as a place of identity for the local community, for exchanging culture, of civic formation, but also as symbolic place, as urban square, as central civic centres recognised by the inhabitants.

Fig. 3. A summer party in the yard of the "Casa del quartiere" of San Salvario

Mazzucchelli), of Porta Nuova railway station.
[12] http://casedelquartiere.wordpress.com

7. Concluding comment

This article has argued a list of different typologies of public spaces occurring in the city of Turin and notably in some districts the city, as described in paragraph number three. The typologies suggested are gathered through the empirical work of the nucleus of the Politecnico di Torino within a research of national interest developed in different Italian universities simultaneously, by following the methodology illustrated in the second paragraph (distinctly with stakeholders' interviews and the observation). In order to better explain the typologies, statements of the interlocutors have been reported and some references from the literature have been employed.

The article, through the typology of 'weak public spaces', has outlined that nowadays the traditional idea of public space has no longer a direct connection with the formation of civic culture and that it represents a space of a weak sociality. In general, it has been witnessed the impoverishment of the traditional idea of public spaces, which have lost their civic and social initiation value, also because of the incoming consumer culture that has produced new different artificial spaces, the ones have been defined 'cappuccino spaces'. Moreover, 'new virtual public spaces' are spreading in our everyday life, partially acquiring the lost role of traditional public spaces, by affirming a new civic culture grew up with talk shows and social media. Furthermore, the typology of 'neighbourhood houses' represents a new understanding of the traditional concept of square and cultural or literary café.

Fig. 4. A view to a public space…not for everyone.

Finally, we should consider an important limit regarding the definitions of public space given by the stakeholders: the subjective point of view of all them, which makes it difficult to generalize their opinions as exhaustive definitions of public space. Their opinions have been always given by regarding their personal experience, their work, their life experience. The spaces mentioned are squares, streets, parks, outdoor venues, but

everyone sees them through their own eyes. Some people identify streets as advertising space, because they have a commercial business, but for others the same places are considered as jogging areas, because they are interested in sports. The limit is that very few describe the concept of public space as something that belongs to everyone, indeed, underlying its public value, but they keep their personal opinion. For example, for those who work in the commercial sector, public space is a place to do business and to get new customers:

> *"…in my opinion, public space is where there are lots of passers-by, where you can advertise […] there you can take a percentage for the people that pass through the area. […] these are the most visible spaces."*
>
> *While, for people who work in the tourism sector, public space is a place that attracts visitors, for its architectural and historic value, where is important to have also the opportunity to do shopping and to get some entertainment.*
>
> *"It is a space that also has interesting architectural characteristics, so it becomes a space for cultural aggregation, but also a space for social aggregation [which attracts visitors] due to the presence of venues, coffees and restaurants."*

The youngest identify public space as a place where they can have fun: nightspots or local meeting places, to move on to other entertainment venues. The immigrants, depending on the characteristics of their culture, identify different values of public space, from recognizing in it a sort of extension of their home (as a lounge or a bathroom), up to denying the idea of public space (is the case of the local Chinese community, which live conviviality in the closed and private space of their working environment).
Therefore, we can conclude, almost with an oxymoron, that there is nothing more private than public space.

Notes

All the pictures used in this article were taken directly by the author during the research.

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Context, contribution and characteristics of public spaces for place making in contemporary knowledge and innovation spaces. Observations from Brisbane, Australia

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Abstract
The advanced era of knowledge-based urban development has led to an unprecedented increase in mobility of people and subsequent growth in new typologies of agglomerated enclaves of knowledge such as urban knowledge and innovation spaces. Within this context, a new role has been assigned to contemporary public spaces to attract and retain the mobile knowledge workforce by creating a sense of place. This paper investigates the context, characteristics and contribution of public spaces in facilitating place making in the globalised knowledge economy world. It takes an overall process-based approach to highlight the observations from Australia's new world city Brisbane to outline the application of urban design as a tool to create and sustain multi-dimensional place making in urban knowledge and innovation spaces, which caters diverse range of social, cultural and democratic needs. The study derives multi-layered permeability as the key character that defines the modified typology of public spaces and which is vital for making them more viable and adaptive as per the changing needs of the contemporary globalised or in other words knowledge society.

Keywords: contemporary public spaces, knowledge and innovation spaces, place making, quality of urban life, Brisbane

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Introduction

Public spaces lie at the core of democratic living (Carr et al., 1992). They become the centre stage of urban life facilitating the encounters and exchange of experiences between diverse people and traditions. This, in turn, contributes in strengthening the roots of a tolerant urban society (Worpole & Greenhalgh, 1996). Zukin (1995) defines them as the locus for continuous production of symbols giving meaning to the contemporary culture. Public spaces have been defined in a myriad of ways across multi-disciplinary literature through different lenses that include—but not limited to—land tenure, accessibility or social interaction. Moreover, the key role played by public spaces in the creation of local identity and developing a sense of place is widely acknowledged (Zukin, 1995; Carmona, 2003; Pancholi et. al., 2015a). However, the role of public spaces in facilitating place making in the globalised context of emerging knowledge based urban development (KBUD) has remained an under-investigated subject—which forms the particular focus of this study (KBUD) (Yigitcanlar et al., 2007; Van Winden, 2010; Pancholi et al., 2015a). Policymakers around the world have accepted KBUD as the elixir for all social, economic, environmental and spatial challenges (Lonqqvist et al., 2014). Globally the acceptance of KBUD as the most sustainable path to attain long-term competitiveness has manifested into the consequent emergence of new typology of knowledge milieus in the form of knowledge and innovation spaces (KISs) (Knight, 1995; Asheim, 2007; Kunzmann, 2008; Yigitcanlar, 2010; Pancholi et. al., 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2017). One-north (Singapore), Macquarie park innovation district (Sydney), Silicon Valley, Silicon Alley (New York), Silicon Roundabout (London), Orestad (Copenhagen), Brainport (Eindhoven), Parkville Knowledge Precinct (Melbourne) and Kelvin Grove Urban Village (Brisbane) are few of their many successful examples around the world. Planners and policymakers are searching for effective strategies to attract and retain skilled human capital in the form of knowledge workers to these KISs (Yigitcanlar et al., 2007; Florida, 2012). However, this emerging class of knowledge workers is highly mobile and displays special lifestyle choices (Zenker, 2009). Place making, therefore, has been accepted as a key strategy here for retainment of knowledge workers (Pratt, 2002; Sheppard, 2002; Pancholi et al., 2014, 2015b, 2017).

Urban design is implemented as a key process of facilitating place making for a specific context (Carmona, 2003). While design defines and characterises the experience of a locale, places are also the product of different, i.e., socio-cultural, economic and so on—layers of society and get constantly charged with different symbols and meanings (Buttimer, 1980; Creswell, 2004; Arefi, 2014). Places are also shaped through indirect design factors such as establishment of policy, investment decisions and management (Carmona, 2003). Recent works by scholars such as Shaftoe (2012) highlight that the production of successful public spaces require a comprehensive approach manifesting a fair interplay of design and management overarched by the broader framework of urban policies. This is further supported by Ken Worpole (2005) who highlights design's inadequacy to solve a problem by itself being placed into the deeper layers of social and economic values and circumstances. In addition, in the globalised spaces, the process of urban design does not only revolve around people and place but is also influenced by the variables generated by global flows, markets and regulations (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013; Kabachnik, 2010). An integrated approach—that includes consideration and comprehension of both physical and social-cultural dimension—is, therefore, considered

necessary for understanding public spaces and successful place making in KISs (Duff, 2010; Massey, 2005).

This paper aims to explore two major questions:

> RQ 1: What are the conditions for place making in public spaces of contemporary KISs?
>
> RQ 2: What are the key characteristics of public spaces to facilitate place making in this context?

In order to provide preliminary answers to these questions, two cases of the established KISs in Brisbane, the capital city of Queensland, Australia, are discussed. Australia—one of the fastest growing economies—has Brisbane as its key emerging knowledge centre (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008a; Yigitcanlar & Velibeyoglu, 2008b). Other cities such as Sydney and Melbourne have been advancing into the same direction at a fast pace following the pathway of KBUD. (Yigitcanlar, 2010). This paper seeks to establish an understanding of the key attributes that characterise the nature of public spaces in the contemporary KISs. To do so, the paper investigates two KISs in Brisbane evaluating the key design strategies implemented to develop a sense of place in two. A basic conceptual framework of characteristics derived from an exploration of existing literature is utilised for analysis. The paper aims to fill the gap in theoretical understanding regarding public spaces in the newer context of these emerging knowledge spaces.

Case in point—Context framing for Brisbane

KBUD and knowledge and innovation spaces in Brisbane

KIS is considered as the spatial core for the generation and transfer of knowledge in KBUD (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008c). Yigitcanlar and Lonnqvist (2013) put KBUD in a nutshell as a multi-dimensional policy aiming at efficient business, people, place and governance climate and their integration. Henceforth, the four main pillars of KBUD are summarised as economy, society, environment and governance (Yigitcanlar, 2014b). The city of Brisbane—one of the emerging knowledge cities in Australia—received one of its major spatial transformation after the implementation of few significant policies of Queensland government that include 'Smart City Strategy' and 'Smart State Strategy' (Yigitcanlar, 2008a). With specific concentration on socio-cultural development and knowledge sector, these policies were a major breakthrough to establish the city in a global knowledge economy. (Mort and Roan, 2003; Wiltshire, 2003). The pentagon prism model that forms the base of Smart City Strategy overarches five aspects: creative, administrative, business, natural and built environments, with connectivity playing a crucial role in strengthening local and global linkages (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008a). The focus of the policies, therefore, can be seen to have a shift from the modest local economic development to the more ambitious KBUD perspective (Smyth et al., 2004).

The strong foundation of Brisbane in diverse knowledge industry sectors such as biotechnology and biosciences, aviation and aerospace, and information technology has stimulated the development of KISs in and around the city—with some in developmental stages while others already developed and functional (Yigitcanlar & Velibeyoglu, 2008b). These include—but not limited to—Kelvin Grove Urban knowledge village, Boggo Road knowledge precinct, Brisbane Technology Park, Mt Gravatt Research Park, Da Vinci airport precinct as well as close ones such as Sunshine Coast knowledge town (Sunshine Coast) and Griffith university precinct (Gold Coast).

Knowledge workers in Brisbane

Creative class thesis of Florida (2002)—based on the idea of the 3T's—Technology, Talent and Tolerance— is at the center of development of KISs. Florida (2002) asserts the central importance of knowledge workers in the success of global economy. With about 21% of Brisbane's population being young, focused attention is being given to the knowledge workers in the policies. Being aimed at making youth engaged, empowered, valued and celebrated, Youth Strategy 2014-2019 formulated recently is an evidence of this (Youth Strategy, 2014).

Zenker (2009) identifies few characteristics that make the knowledge workers distinct. They are well-informed, participative, critical, and politically active; seek a better quality of life with healthier habits and are less dependent on consumption; culturally active and artistically expressive; displaying diversity and tolerance; having higher competency in human relations (Carrillo, 2004). Meeting the special needs and understanding the characteristics of these social groups is necessary for attracting the creative class and creating a place for them in the city (Zenker, 2009). In addition to knowledge workers' specific preferences, progressive sense of place that gets attached to place making in KISs has transfigured the objectives of contemporary public spaces in KISs (Carrillo, 2004; Pancholi et al., 2014).

Contemporary public spaces of knowledge and innovation spaces

In the globalised world, progressive sense of place is manifested in the production of permanence by the integration of global flows and processes in a locale (Massey, 1991; Lippard, 1997; Creswell, 2004). Carr et al. (1992) summarises the list of key attributes that define public spaces as: responsive, comforting, meaningful, democratic (in accessibility, expression and rights), engaging (passively and actively) and providing a sense of discovery. With the onset of 'open innovation' era, KISs are becoming more open and aim for sustainable generation, transfer and transmission of knowledge—which manifests as the major reason for their contribution in socio-economic growth of cities and regions (Chesbrough, 2003; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008c). They, hence, attach a new purpose to public spaces in addition to the above mentioned characteristics outlined by Carr et al. (1992). In addition to being the focal points serving for relaxation, entertainment and engagement, public spaces in KISs also have to act as the foremost point of connection between the knowledge space and the city, allowing the maximum seepage of knowledge within its boundaries as well as outside its boundaries (Pancholi et al., 2015a). Contemporary public spaces in KISs, therefore, have two key objectives to simultaneously act as a: (i) Platform for the development of sense of place and permanence in the knowledge workers; and (ii) Medium that facilitates the flows and processes of knowledge (Pancholi et al., 2015a).

Methodology and framework

The case of Brisbane is investigated to better identify the attributes of place making in public spaces of KISs. Two specific locations within this city are analysed: Boggo Road knowledge precinct, and Kelvin Grove urban knowledge village. A review of government documents and policies is framed by the theoretical background discussed in the literature review section. The analytical framework is adopted from research study by Pancholi et al. (2015) that includes two major dimensions. These refer to: (i) 'Character' that refers to scale, character, climate and environment; and (ii) Connectedness referring

to the spatial and virtual connectivity. This corresponds to the derived objectives of public spaces too. Character analyses the sense of place while connectedness analyses the facilitation of knowledge dissemination. The selected cases are analysed at two levels: (i) Development of sense of place and permanence by character is investigated within the precinct, and; (ii) Connectedness of progressive place to facilitate the external and internal flows is being analysed at city level, considering the give-and-take process at a broader scale.

The case of Brisbane's two knowledge and innovation spaces

Boggo Road Knowledge Precinct is an inner city development situated in vicinity of major health and research facilities—i.e., the Princess Alexandra and Mater Hospitals and the University of Queensland. The precinct is based on the historic Boggo Road Gaol, a heritage listed building. The surrounding Brownfield has been redeveloped with a focus on bioinformatics, biomedical and ICT. With the driving vision to be known as an enviro-culturally responsible project, this development is currently in its initial development phase with about 40% of the project completed.

Kelvin Grove Urban Village is instead a well-established suburb and an example of successful knowledge community. It is also considered a landmark project in the development of Brisbane (Charles, 2011). It is based on the triple-helix model i.e. a joint venture between the university, public and private sectors. Queensland university of Technology acts as the key anchor project with its widespread presence on the site. The intervention centred on creative industries and biosciences is marketed for its vibrant and creative live-work-learn-play environment.

Analysing planning documents and the intended urban form, is possible to evaluate how both these precincts have some common design characteristics (Refer Figures 1 & 2):

- *Contextual character:* In the cases of Boggo Road knowledge precinct and Kelvin Grove Urban Village, sub-tropical design principles have been used for development. This is reflected in the climate-sensitive built form depicting traditional Queensland architectural features like awnings, lattice, screens and so on.
- *Compact development:* Both these precincts have a dense and compact built-form.
- *Anchor:* An impactful presence of a main building/campus that binds the whole site together by holding other buildings.
- *Presence of an axis:* A main street is designed leading to the anchor project. The main axis is characterised by mixed land uses. This boulevard acts as the main spine of KIS with all the main economic, institutional, commercial and public activities distributed around it.
- *Central public/open space:* The public/open spaces have been given a central role as well as a central location in the selected cases.
- *Interconnected public spaces:* Public spaces, of varying scale and character, are arranged around main axis and hence are interconnected with each other.
- *Visual vistas:* Open vistas within the built spaces emphasises a sense of unity into the precinct and provide visual connectivity to the broader context.
- *Human-scale:* Attention has been paid to ensure scaling down of urban form by the use of architectural features such as podiums or awnings and also by controlling the height.

- *Pedestrian environment:* An extensive network of pedestrian roads is laid all through the site. To further strengthen pedestrian friendly environment, creative landscaping, sculptures, art integration, casual seatings have been provided.
- *Engaging lower floors:* In order to provide an exposure of the research activities running behind the walls of buildings, a visual engagement with the public spaces is established by the use of transparent facades and provision of commercial activities at the lower floor.

Table 1 shows a summarised outline of the major features identified in both KISs; it analyses elements within the precinct and in the broader context, revealing the relationship of KIS with the external world, as shown below:

Table 1: Comparison between the major features in each KIS

Place level	Derived attribute:	Attribute addressed	Boggo Road knowledge precinct *(Refer figure 1)*	Kelvin Grove urban village *(Refer figure 2)*
W I T H I N	Contextuality (Attachment of meanings)	Character	Responds to the heritage listed gaol	Responds to the historical military context
		Human scale	Low heighted (up to 9 storeys) blends into the context	Up to 7 storeys high
			Pedestrian friendly streetscape with outdoor dining and coffee shops	Pedestrian friendly streetscape by high level of detailing in pavements, street furniture, use of artworks, landscaping
		Environment	Low impact medium density housing blends with environment	Blend of nature with man-made structures
	Connectedness (Attachment of meanings)	Spatial	Mixed use environment	Blurring of boundaries between living and learning
			Permeable built forms enabling activities of anchor project being visible to public domain	Seamless integration of main project with built environment and accessibility to public to all display areas of university
			Physical connections between the public spaces through buildings	Interconnected open space network
		Visual	Visual linkages established between various elements of precinct	Concept of 'Eyes on street' by houses overlooking the public spaces
		Socio-cultural vibrancy	Collaborative environment within the precinct	The popular local markets
				Integration of local artworks in landscaping

E X T E R N A L	Context (Flows and Processes)	Character	In harmony with the inner city CBD	In harmony with the inner city CBD
			High-tech built environment based on knowledge and urban lifestyle gives a global character	High-tech built environment based on knowledge and urban lifestyle gives a global character
		Climate	Awarded for its sustainable design concerns	Climate- responsive: Tropical design
	Connectedness (Flows and processes)	Spatial	Main roads and train tracks block the edges making it less permeable	Considerable integration with the neighbourhoods
			Well connected by transport to other parts of city but less permeable boundary	Well connected by transport to other parts of city but less permeable boundary
		Visual	Emphasis on vistas opening up for outside views like CBD	Views of Victoria Park Golf course, undulating adjacent suburbs and CBD
				Views from residences towards the CBD/mountains
		Socio-cultural vibrancy	Lack of social activities that integrate it with outer world	Local markets attract the visitors from other part of the city but this needs to be enhanced
			Lack of cultural events	Lack of cultural events

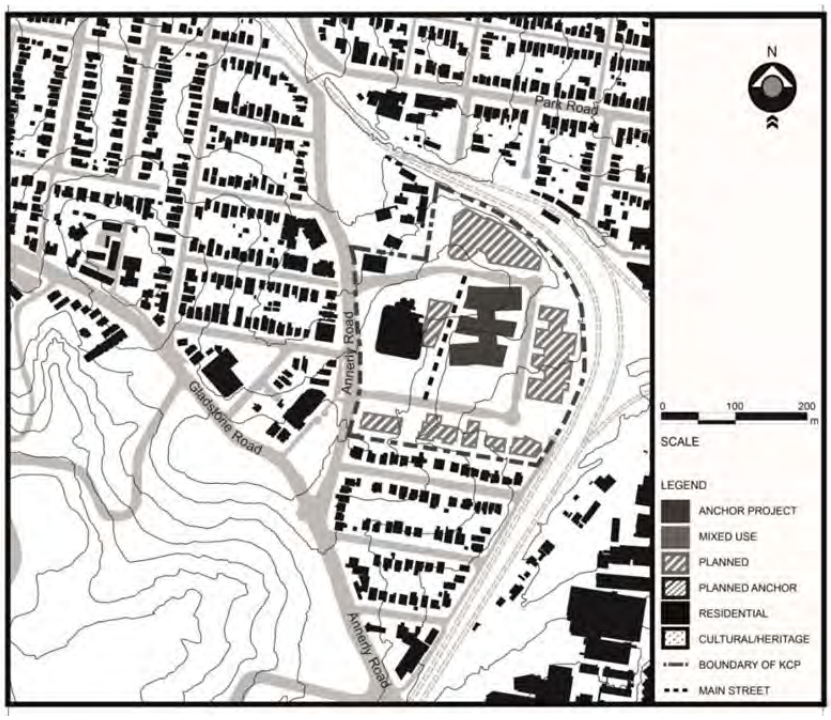

Fig. 1: Boggo road knowledge precinct [*Diagram by Guaralda M. (2013)*]

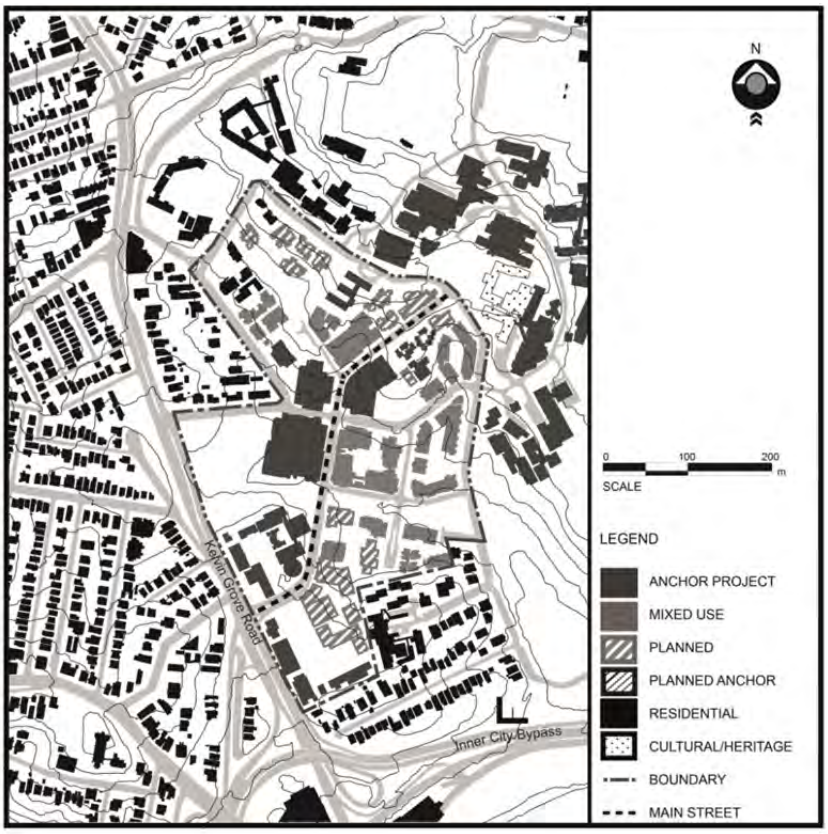

Fig. 2: Boggo Road knowledge precinct [*Diagram by Guaralda M. (2013)*]

An investigation of case studies leads to identification of 'permeability' as a major attribute that define public spaces of contemporary KISs that contributes in facilitating a progressive sense of place making for knowledge workers. More importantly, permeability refers not only in spatial but also in economic, social and environmental terms—as evident in both the cases.

It is possible to conclude that new defining characteristics of permeable typology can be summated as:

- ***Spatial permeability:*** Spatially, this is seen by the presence of: (i) Mixed land uses: Blurred boundaries between living, working and playing is one of the key defining quality of these places. (ii) Permeable urban form: Physical and visual connectivity is promoted throughout the precinct by the interconnections between public spaces and opening up of internal vistas. (iii) Permeable built forms: The facades of public and anchor project buildings are designed as transparent towards the public domain to allow maximum visibility of activities going inside in order to engage people outside. The windows, entrances and also footpath uses at lower floors enables active street frontage (iv) External vistas: Both these precincts visually connect to the outer world by opening up the vistas towards CBD and surroundings.
- ***Social permeability:*** Social permeability, in such KISs, is seen to be manifested in following aspects: (i) Contexuality: In both the cases of KGUV and BRKP, careful consideration has been taken for development of these places in response to the original context. This assists in the communication of local arts and history to the

migrant population and develop a sense of place by helping them attach meaning to the place; (ii) Connectedness: The display of local music, arts and crafts as a part of the weekly market in Kelvin Grove is an attempt to communicate the local knowledge assets to the knowledge workers. Such markets also act as a platform for people from various cultures to display their arts, culture and music, thus giving all the social groups an equitable chance to express them. The use of ICT for providing wireless communication within the precinct also enhances the internal connectedness, and; (iii) Integration of Diversity: Emphasis has been laid to provide a variety of housing typologies responding to the choices of people from all social and cultural layers. But again in the above two cases, the social and cultural activities are not yet seen to be effectively sufficient to make the social layer permeable with the city and region attracting visitors from outside and letting the knowledge seep down throughout.

- ***Economic permeability:*** Economic permeability is seen at two levels: (i) Economic ownership: Knowledge and innovation spaces, unlike the traditional precincts, are based on the triple helix model thus reflecting permeability in its economic model. It is a joint collaboration between the private, public and economic sectors, and; (ii) Affordability: The permeable character is reflected in the presence of economic options for all classes in such places. Special attention is being paid to develop activities catering to all economic groups.
- ***Environmental permeability:*** Care has been taken to blend the architecture with context by keeping it to a scale that matches its surroundings. In case of Boggo road knowledge precinct, the low impact, medium density housing blended with context is an example of permeability with environment. The built environment needs to keep itself permeable to the wildlife and nature around. Also, the provision of sustainable designs stresses upon the integration of nature with the man-made designs. Thus a considerable extent of permeability between natural and man-made environment is seen in both cases.

Conclusion

In the current era of open innovation, for any KIS to be globally successful and competitive, it is vital to develop a sense of place in knowledge workers that contributes in sustenance of talent as well as dissemination of ideas within and outside the precinct (Chesbrough, 2003; Van Winden et al., 2013; Pancholi et al., 2015b). The competitiveness between global cities has generated an attention to local contexts. The specific locale, with a unique sense of place, can provide that character and unique experience that young talent are looking for. Moreover, it also acts a medium for lubricating the flow of ideas. Our research demonstrates that a key role, here, is played by design of public domain that becomes a central element in such KISs. This paper has reviewed two case studies, one in its final stages (Kelvin Grove Urban Village) and one in its preliminary development stages (Boggo Road Knowledge Precinct). The investigated cases led us to identifying 'permeability' as the central attribute characterising the emerging public spaces of these contemporary KISs and contributing in their adaptation as per the changing needs of this globalised context. This refers to a comprehensive and multi-layered permeability, i.e., in spatial, social, economic and environmental terms. The research also suggested certain common design features as evident in implementation of Brisbane's strategy to plan their emerging KISs. These include existence of an anchor project, spinal main axis and, most

importantly, a permeable and connected layout. A local typology responsive to the local tropical climate and Australian culture of traditional outdoor living can be very evidently seen to be manifesting itself. Hence, KISs in Brisbane, though each having a different context and identity, are all proliferating as permeable typology driven by some common underlying principles shaping them.

In practice, planners and policymakers engaged in place making in contemporary KISs should, therefore, attempt to integrate multi-layered permeability as a key attribute. Physical development policies that encourage mixed-land uses and planning of horizontally and vertically connected spaces can be done to strengthen spatial permeability. Establishing formal and informal groups and organising events and functions that integrate socially diverse community are few of the initiatives for strengthening social permeability. To strengthen economic permeability, planning of diverse range of affordable spaces and encouraging an equal participation by various groups of stakeholders—including public, private, academia and community—needs to be implemented. Policies and strategies that encourage the context-sensitive development—which include cultural, climatic and social context—will strengthen environmental permeability. Integration of permeability in design and development of their public spaces as well as the entire planning and development of KISs will lead to maximum circulation of knowledge within the precinct as well as from the precincts to the overall veins of the city and, in the process, actively attaining the objective of place making for the knowledge workers. The findings from this research can be utilised for future research in aligned areas such as critical analysis of place making and smart city strategies. In addition, a more detailed and extensive exploration into diverse context such as other Australian cities and larger focus on the social aspects of place making as tool for developing successful public spaces in contemporary KISs will be addressed as a part of future research.

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VIEWPOINT

About Public Place.
A joint work of Behnam Zakeri and Morteza Niknahad

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Iran has a special position in the world geographically, politically, socially, culturally and artistically. Mentioned features lead the intellectual and artistic atmosphere of the Iranian community to a certain extent that causes most of the artists to make an inspiration source out of social constraints. In the meantime, many artists choose urban and urban space, many openly criticize the community in the language of art, some are trying to improve the city-human relationship so that people behave the city more responsibly. Urban space identical to generality and accessibility has ever been a channel for many artists. In addition to the city's mysterious mysteries, and the source of plurality of the population, it also occasionally displays a face of stillness and silence. With all its limitations and disadvantages, the city provides an experience of diversity and proliferation of new images; urban space, as it always is visible and accessible, is not

considered as an important subject, and this could make the urban space invisible. This feature has become a commonplace in the great cities of modern life. For the first time, the cinema depicted the invisible face of the city, a monotonous and routine image that always faces the eyes of the people, now its features and aesthetic appeal have been discovered, and in this direction, the diminutive visual improvisation towards the city became more conscious.

Public Place collection is a joint work by me and Morteza Niknahad which deals with public issues and Iranian society's behaviors in the language of satire. We carried out this project along the seafront applying the idea of overlapping life of dolphins and humans, the closest example to the human beings. Our idea comes from the public places where human behavior changes towards the environment and place, and this duality of human behavior in the personal and public environment was the most important factor in the production of this project.

We started our work in a public space with a focus on the social life of humans, and we made our common ideas in an overwhelming experience through a team work including 150 people.
Our initial idea came from walking along the seafront and it became big and bigger day by day. I have to say that this project is very different from our other works, although in all of our ideas, human beings are the key in the photographs, but an experience of this size has led us to focus on management of our future projects. Working in the public places is an invaluable experience, because existing constraints make it possible to do more creative work and explore different paths to the goal.

We live and work in Bandar Abbas, a region in southern Iran. This area is of tropical and warm climate, which does not allows you to do such huge work in the public places except in winter.
This experience, though difficult, as a work of art in the public place, was of the pleasing final results. Due to the focus on the space, lack of access to humans and the proper lighting conditions, we shot all the photographs during the dawn. Choosing this time for

photography and the other hardships faced us with great challenges, including the long process of production.

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VIEWPOINT

In protest of apathy. The case of Panjim, Goa

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Sunset at Miramar beach. Source: Rakesh Ayilliath.

I never started out as a staunch defender of public spaces. My charming albeit small hometown – Panjim, Goa – did not have the quintessential town square, replete with small shops, fountains, and cafés. Instead, it was the local beach that served as a centre of social life, be it for gossiping, people-watching, or snacking on tender grilled corn-on-the cob. It was at this very beach where I first learnt to build wonky sandcastles with my red bucket and green spade. As a child, I did not give much thought to sharing my playground

with tiny hermit crabs, elderly couples savouring soothing sunsets, and hippies with dreadlocks in search of nirvana.

To me, Miramar beach was a collective space, preordained to be enjoyed together. The above status quo remained the same as I went through school and high school, except that creative sand art took a backseat to giggling with other lanky teenagers at the beach face, with the occasional amused comment on exhilarated tourists seeing the ocean for the first time. Even then, I never fully appreciated the luxury of having a social sanctuary that was equally open to all. It was only as a fresh-faced architecture student that I came to better understand the role of Miramar as a public space. It was my internship in Pune, India, to be precise, that drove home the need for such places in the lives of ordinary citizens. A shortage of space in this bustling metropolis meant that malls served as gathering places, but of an entirely different nature. Like in other parts of the world, shopping centres were both expensive and exclusive, catering only to a select population. The social justice advocate in me was horrified at this development and profoundly grateful that Miramar still managed to stay true to the notion of public space - a space in which people gathered to become "citizens of the world" (Norberg-Schulz, 1988: 55). This collective aspect of public space applied not only to Miramar, but to most of Goa's coastal stretch, its streets and parks, which were central to the state's culture and identity.

Specific to Panjim, locals and tourists seemed to respect and cherish its public spaces, which were clean and relatively well-kept for the most part. In addition to Miramar, the city boasted of two sports grounds, a majestic rain tree-lined boulevard leading up to a scenic riverfront, and a main market where fishmongers and vegetable vendors haggled with customers of all ages, all the while trading greetings and friendly jibes. These are amongst my fondest memories of Panjim. Nonetheless, as an expat who has now been away for more than a decade, my heart breaks a little for the city that awaits me each time I return, with streets choked by rule-flouting cars, off-shore casinos that are killing the capital's main river, and garbage becoming a perennial blot on the landscape.

As if it were not discourteous enough to double park on what were once pedestrian-friendly streets, it has also become fairly common for drivers to roll down their windows and casually throw trash onto the streets. The new market building, boasting endearing murals inspired by Goa's most famous cartoonist, is blighted by sprays of *paan* (betel leaf and areca nut) spit, thereby making the market appear unwelcoming and rundown. It is Miramar beach, however, that seems to be the worst affected. Mounds of plastic debris left behind by beachgoers have replaced sand dunes, and the shore is routinely awash with flip-flops, cigarette butts, and beer bottles, endangering both marine life and unsuspecting joggers. Worse still, a certain stretch of Miramar has been privatised by a luxury hotel and other stretches are often appropriated by groups of tourists, accordingly impinging on both the cleanliness and publicness of the beach itself.

Being a non-resident, or an 'outsider' as often labelled by other Goans, it is difficult for me to pinpoint the exact moment the tide began to shift or to decide who is responsible for it. Tourists are usually the first to be blamed, but given that they are not the sole users of Panjim's public spaces, it would be unfair to pin the blame entirely on them. The answer arguably lies in Carmona et al. (2008: 207) finding that cultural issues determine people's attitude towards public spaces i.e. how they act in them. In the case of India, a family-oriented culture has generally meant that the private domain is more valued than

the collective, the latter being perceived as not belonging to anyone and hence no single individual's responsibility. This potentially explains why most Indian homes are spotlessly clean whereas the public realm is not. The same reasoning, however, does not entirely apply to Goa.

On the left: Mural at Panjim market covered in *paan* spit. Source: Manish P Pawar.
On the right: Garbage at Miramar beach. Source: Ajoy Barretto.

Having been a Portuguese colony until 1961, Goa is relatively different from the rest of India especially in terms of culture and form. The Panjim of my childhood is a clear testimony to the Indian-Iberian fusion. This is what makes the increasingly blatant disregard for public spaces doubly distressing to me – both as an urbanist and as a Goan, regardless of my resident status. Impassioned discussions with friends and family members have led to one overwhelming conclusion: people either consider civic issues to be the government's responsibility or have resigned themselves to the woeful state of affairs. Therein lies the rub: APATHY. Prominent British anthropologist and UN messenger of Peace Jane Goodall (2002) calls apathy "the greatest danger to our future". In keeping with Goodall's assertion, it is my fervent belief that if we shrug off our individual responsibility to take care of our planet, cities, and public spaces, or if we let our feelings of helplessness overcome our desire to act, we will no longer have a planet to cherish or public spaces to gather in to revel in our shared humanity.

Reassuringly, Goodall puts forward hope as the antidote to apathy. In Panjim's – and Goa's – case, hope comes in the form of a citizen's initiative named *Team Up to Clean Up GOA*. This is a campaign that urges people to take responsibility for their surroundings

and to desist from littering in order to protect the environment. The clean up drives organised by *Team Up to Clean Up GOA* have primarily focused on public spaces, including Miramar. It is true that similar clean up drives have been organised in the past by schools and organisations, such as the Rotary Club. Nonetheless, what makes *Team Up to Clean Up GOA* different is that it is a citizens' movement wholly initiated by civic-minded residents from all walks of life, united in their belief that they should be the change they want to see in Goa.

From the point of view of managing public space, what makes *Team Up to Clean Up GOA*'s approach noteworthy is that it involves people directly in the process of making decisions related to public space. This is a key strategy of mitigating apathy towards public spaces (Carmona et al. 2008: 207). Enabling people to take ownership for their shared spaces fosters a stronger sense of civic pride and lays the foundation for a more considerate public space ethic. Given the utmost importance of public spaces in our lives, apathy simply cannot and must not be an option. What Panjim, and Goa, therefore need are more such movements in defence of public spaces. In short, Goa's future depends on it.

Post clean-up at Reis Magos Fort, Goa. Source: Team Up to Clean Up GOA.

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PORTFOLIO

Creative Community Development. From urban design studio to international collaborative workshop

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Creative Community Development Workshop is a collaborative programme initiated from the two tiers of academic endeavours to achieve people's involvement to foster cities in sustainable manner. The first tier is a regular programme from a studio subject in Urban Design and Development International Programme, Faculty of Architecture and Planning at Thammasat University, UD326 Urban Regeneration, aiming to enabling students to identify and investigate a 'dead' or 'lost' urban area and create a design programme to regenerate and transform the urban environment. The studio working approach is conducted by working with the stakeholders to derive collective information, ideas and experiences for design processes and final proposal, by which must address the multiple needs of a variety of stakeholders, and is expected to be relevant to a particular neighbourhood whilst considering the impact of the regeneration on the larger city.
The second tier is an annual international academic consortium event, established since 2009 upon the initiative of the Yokohama City University (YCU) called, "the International Academic Consortium for Sustainable Cities (IACSC)", as a result of YCU's participation as coordinator of the meeting session entitled "Cities and Universities – Towards Collaboration for Sustainable Cities" at the conference of CITYNET, held on 9 September 2009 in Yokohama City, Japan. Focusing on urban planning, public health and environment as the major components of cities, the consortium endeavours to develop cooperation, foster dialogues and discussions, encourage sharing of information and resources and promote networking mainly in Asia on research and collaborative activities between academic and research institutions, and establish and strengthen the linkage between universities and the cities where they belong towards capacity building for a sustainable society. Since 2010 the consortium has to date conducted 8 general assemblies and symposiums, annually rotated hosted by 6 networking universities from Japan, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam and South Korea where provide teaching courses in planning, urban design, built environment and architecture. The networking universities have worked closely to compile examples of case studies with supports for the collaboration by cities, international organisations, development agencies and NGOs.[1]

[1] Office of International Affairs, Thammasat University (2017). 'About IACSC – IACSC 2017 in Bangkok', in http://www.iacsc2017.com/about-us/, 28 December 2017, 14.10 hrs; Yokohama City University (2017).

The workshop in 2017 on Creative Community Development was an activity under the 8th IACSC Symposium on "Well-being of Sustainable Living in Aging Population Era" which was hosted by Thammasat University at Rangsit Campus. The workshop was hosted by Urban Design and Development International Programme (UDDI), between 5-11 September 2017 at the Faculty of Architecture and Planning and on-site study area in Suan

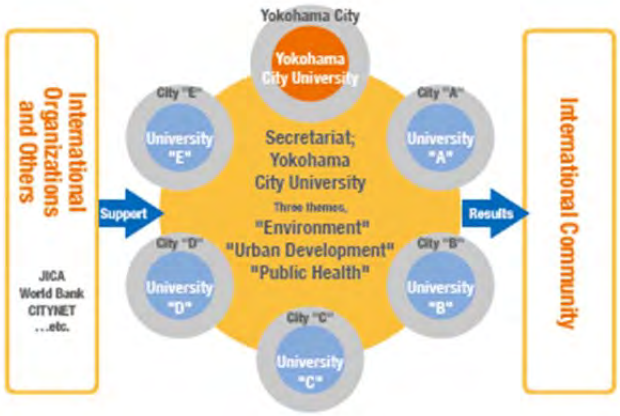

Fig 1 (left). The structure of the International Academic Consortium for Sustainable Cities (IACSC)
Figure 2 (right) The Creative Community Development Workshop poster
Source: IACSC, 2017

Yai Bang Kwang, Bang Kho Laem District, Bangkok, and conducted in a week session on the preliminary stage of community development study and regeneration proposal for the Urban Regeneration studio, led by the unit lecturers and studio supervisors Associate Professor Dr Yongtanit Pimonsathean, Ms Jarunee Pimonsathean and Ms Hansa Srilertchaipanij (also as the unit coordinator).

The workshop participants included 60 students, 10 instructors and 2 research assistants from four leading universities in Asia: Department of Urban and Community Planning, Faculty of Global, Regional and Urban Studies, Yokohama City University (YCU), Japan, under the supervision of Prof Dr Nobuharu Suzuki, Prof Naoyuki Kuniyoshi, Assoc Prof Dr Masahiko Nakanishi and Assoc Prof Dr Mariko Fujioka; Division of Architecture and Urban Design, College of Urban Sciences, Incheon National University (INU), South Karea, Ass Prof Hwan Yong, Kim, PhD; School of Housing, Building and Planning, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Malaysia, Dr Diana binti Mohamad; and, Urban Design and Development International Programme, Thammasat University, Thailand, all the UD326 studio course supervisors and the visiting professor to UDDI Dr Mirko Guaralda, the senior lecturer from Faculty of Creative Industries, School of Design, Queensland University of Technology (QUT) in Brisbane, Australia, with the valued support from the workshop assistants Mr Jin Ho, Kim (INU) and Mr Taizo Kondo (YCU). It was apparently

'The International Academic Consortium for Sustainable Cities (IACSC)', in https://www.yokohama-cu.ac.jp/en/global/iacsc/, 28 December 2017, 14.10 hrs.

made a time for a biggest number of workshop participants in academia in this region so far.
The aims of the workshop are to promote a mutual understanding among the international students, to enhance the students' ability to propose planning scheme proposal in communicable manner, and, to give an opportunity for students to work with and contribute to the local community the community development ideas towards livability and sustainability.
Since the quality of its process that can improve quality of life of dilapidated urban areas through holistic approach, the 'urban regeneration' model was introduced to be applied for the workshop exercise to a city area where decayed conditions are found whilst rapid urbanisation has been transforming its surrounding environment. And for confidentiality, the exercise area has to be possibly accessible for the visits and data collection by approval of the landowners' consent. Finally, with the agreement among all the collaborative university instructors, an area close to a central business district in southern part of Bangkok was selected.

Background and history of land development of the study area[2]

The study area is called, "Suan Yai Bang Khwang", located in Bang Kho Laem District, one of the fifty districts in Bangkok. Covering 61.5 hectares kilometers and having density 164 persons/hectare, the area is administered under Bang Kho Laem District Office authority, by ten communities are registered with the local government to gain supports and budget for their community development. The land tenures in the area are rent from the Crown Property Bureau, the quasi-government agency responsible for managing the property of the crown of the Kingdom of Thailand.
The number of population in the area is between 25,000-30,000, having been mix of ethnicity since the communities established i.e. Thai Buddhist, Thai Muslims, and Chinese, and later in recent decades Laos, Myanmars, Cambodians, etc. earning livelihoods as petty traders, day laborers, company employees, etc. Some of them have participated in the community organisation activities, mostly in the pursuit of maintaining their ethnic cultures and societies, performing through religious and cultural places e.g. mosques, shrines of the city-god, community centres, etc.
The area was first developed in 18th century as a large orchard field. In 19th century the waterfront development was introduced into the nearby area, created warehouses, saw mills, rice mills and lumber settlements, and hence marked the impact on the development of the area mixing with communities, including Suan Yai Bang Khwang. In the 1950s the land was transferred to the Crown Property Bureau; subsequently, urban housing spreaded in the area over the 1960s-1970s, making communities since then. Recently the surrounding areas were dramatically developed due to the launch of the expressway project operational to the district and nearby, and the opening of the large-scale development the Asiatique the Riverfront and the waterfront high-rises.

[2] Pimonsathean, Yongtanit (2017). "Urban Regeneration (UR) in Bangkok", the handout of *UD326 Urban Regeneration*, session week 3, Monday 4 September 2017.

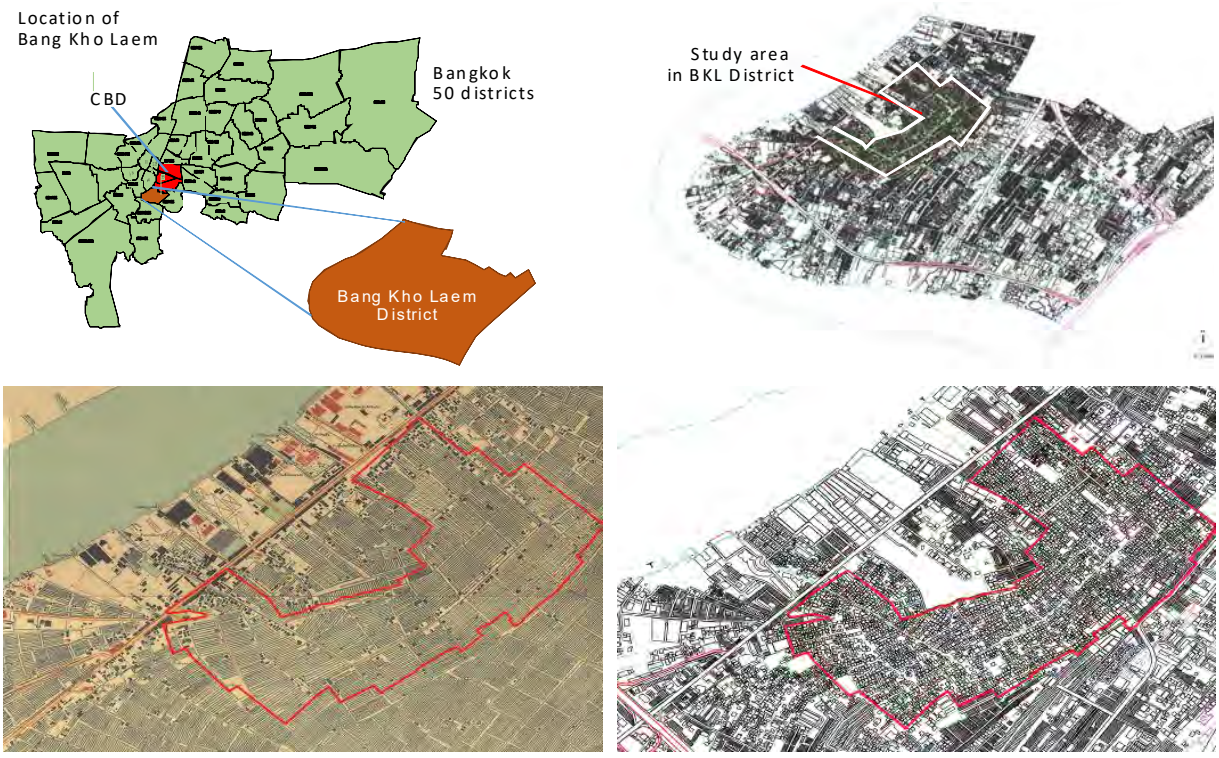

Fig. 3-4 (uppers). The location of the workshop study area, Suan Yai Bang Khwang
Fig. 5-6 (lowers). Comparison of maps illustrating Suan Yai Bang Khwang in 1930 and 2015
Source: (upper and lower right) GIS base map by Department of City Planning,
Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 2013;
(lower left) The old land use map by Royal Thai Survey Department, circa 1930.

Along with the policy and plan defining the area to be developed under the condition of land use regulation category R-9 following the Ministerial Regulation on the Bangkok Comprehensive Plan 2013 (B.E. 2556) which indicates residential use as the major and commercial and light industry as the minor land uses, whilst allows increase of floor space ratio up to 700% with fair limit of open space ratio at 4.5%, but without limit of the building height, except those areas along the waterfront, together with the escalation of the development nearby in recent decades, the existing low-rise housing, poor vehicular accessibility, lack of open and greenery spaces, sub-standard public services provision and living with the polluted canal, Suan Yai Bang Khwang hence has been a focus for potential area for the future development of Bangkok.

The workshop format

The workshop was directed into three sections throughout 7 days, from the workshop commencement, field visit and survey, to group discussion and developing proposals to report to the consortium; all of which were conducted on site visit and in the workshop room at the campus.

Fig. 7-10 The evolution of land development surrounding Suan Yai Bang Khwang:
(upper left) Former Prayakrai Temple, now turned into the Asiatique the Riverfront;
(upper right) The East Asiatic Port Warehouse in early 20th century;
(lower left) Former Prayakrai Police Station; (lower right) The present Asiatique the Riverfront
Source: (uppers) Baanjompra; (lower left) Watphrayakhrai.metro.police;
(lower right) Yongtanit Pimonsathean, 2017

The first section was undertaken in the first half of day 1 at the campus by the introduction to the programme and the ideas and experiences shared through country reports by the delegates from the four universities, marking issues and solutions for community development through cases of their home cities. Subsequently, the lecture on urban regeneration in Bangkok, history and the current development circumstances in the study area was given by Assoc Prof Dr Yongtanit Pimonsathean from UDDI.
The second section was set out on the second half of day 1 to day 3, by which all participants divided into 10 groups conducted the in-depth interviews with key informants of the study area i.e. community leaders, local organisation leaders, etc. on the site visits and collected basic and essential information of the communities' households and livelihoods, and conducted observations for physical appearances of the area.

Fig. 11-14. The circumstances of Suan Yai Bang Khwang:
(upper left) The main road access; (upper right) The densely low-rise housing;
(lower left) Poor vehicular accessible; (lower right) The polluted main canal
Source: Yongtanit Pimonsathean, 2017.

Besides, on day 2 all participants visited and attended a lecture by TCDC and the guest lecturer, Mr Thanan Lilaonitkul, the manager of Creative District Bangkok, on "Co-Creation Development" at Thailand Creative and Design Center (TCDC), Bangkok Office, to derive the ideas of the creative development and shared experiences from the cases applied. For the third section, in the evening of day 3 to day 5 all participants returned to the campus and sitting together doing group discussion, sharing materials and ideas from the site visits and data collection to consolidate identifying the negative and positive assets of the study area, after that, developed ideas to propose solutions for community development particularly concerning holistic approach by means of integrative involving stakeholders under their basis of needs and resources availability. The group work was conducted under the supervision of all the workshop instructors in the format of desk critics and panels throughout days and nights.

Towards the students' proposals on the study area regeneration, the final product of the work was presented through slides on day 6 at the workshop final event and debriefing, and following the supervisors' instructions prepared posters in the format of sets of 25 creative idea cards by each group of the students in order to be presented at the 8th IACSC on the following day. The final proposals introducing urban regeneration into Suan Yai Bang Khwang ranged from enhancing mobility and accessibility, community betterment, housing development, and disaster prevention, connecting the residents and the main canal, boosting the local economy, improving the community development, tidying spaces and creating green space, to creating local street markets into the area.

Fig 15-18 (upper left and middle). The workshop opening ceremony, introduction and lectures;
(upper right) The workshop participants on field survey along the reconnaissance route;
(lower left and middle) Suan Luang 1 Community welcoming the workshop participants on the site visit;
(lower right) The community leader of Suan Luang 1 Community was presenting the successes
and lessons learnt from the community initiative programme
Source: (upper left) Naoyuki Kuniyoshi, 2017; (upper middle and right; lowers) Jarunee Pimonsathean, 2017

Fig. 19-24 (uppers). A workshop participant team visited a community in the study area
and conducted in-depth interview with the community leader;
(lowers) The workshop participants visited and attended the lecture on "Co-creation Development"
at Thailand Creative and Design Center (TCDC) at the Old Head Quarter of Post Office Building
Source: Naoyuki Kuniyoshi, 2017

Fig 25-28. Group discussion and instructors' supervisions at Thammasat University after the study site visits and data collection, for identifying positive and negative assets of the community
Source: (uppers and lower left) Jarunee Pimonsathean, 2017; (lower right) Naoyuki Kuniyoshi, 2017

Fig 29-34 (uppers). The 25 idea card poster format; (lowers) The workshop final event and debriefing
Source: (upper left) Mariko Fujioka, 2017; (upper middle and right) Jarunee Pimonsathean, 2017; (lowers) Naoyuki Kuniyoshi, 2017

Fig. 35. The 25 idea card poster from Group 1. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 36. The 25 idea card poster from Group 2. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 37. The 25 idea card poster from Group 3. Source: IACSC, 2017

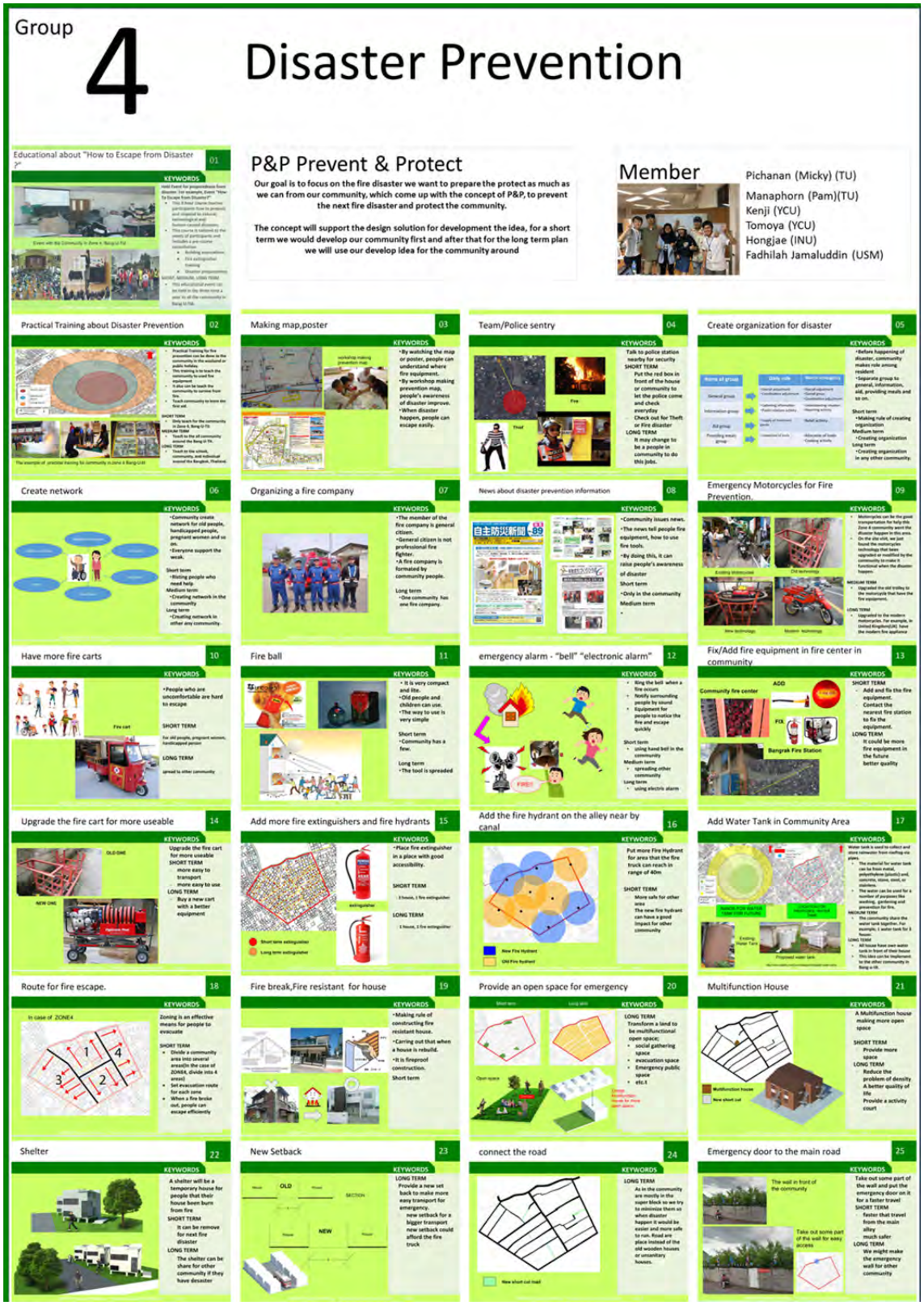

Fig. 38. The 25 idea card poster from Group 4. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 39. The 25 idea card poster from Group 5. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 40. The 25 idea card poster from Group 6. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 41. The 25 idea card poster from Group 7. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 42. The 25 idea card poster from Group 8. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 43. The 25 idea card poster from Group 9. Source: IACSC, 2017

Fig. 44. The 25 idea card poster from Group 10. Source: IACSC, 2017

The final proposals were presented to the IACSC at the poster session at its 8th General Assembly and Symposium, at Thammasat University, Rangsit Campus, on 11 September 2017. Although there were difficulties for students to setting ideas and proposals under the limited time of the workshop, it successfully provided working together arena among the international students, and between the students and the local communities for the benefit of their mutual learning and understanding. In addition, the contribution suggested various ideas towards livable and sustainable towns and cities can be extended for further individual studies or researches following the interests of the workshop participants as well as the public, as some of the participants tended to be interested in. Afterwards, back to the UD326 Urban Regeneration studio till the end of the semester which lasted until early of December 2017, the area regeneration schemes and design proposals were brought to be developed more in details to elaborately address the local needs and aspirations, with full consideration on the limitations of the current city regulations and orders and the opportunities and impacts to the city economy wide.

Fig. 45. The 8th IACSC General Assembly and Symposium at Thammasat University
Figure 46 The Creative Community Development final proposals presented at the poster session of the 8th IACSC General Assembly and Symposium
Figure 47 The final event of the Creative Community Development Workshop
Source: Naoyuki Kuniyoshi, 2017

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