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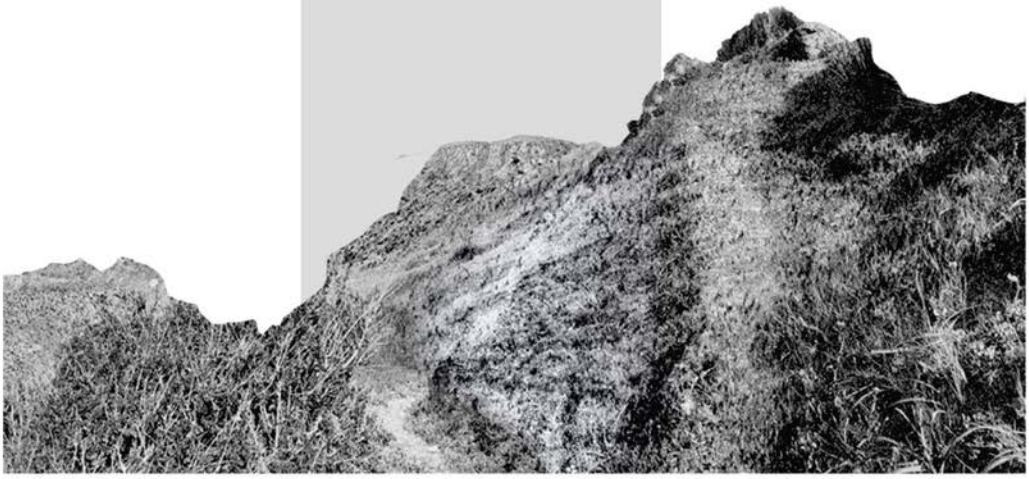
28 July 2026

INCLUSIVE / EXCLUSIVE CITIES

Ognen Marina
Alessandro Armando
(Eds.)



SINERGI Project

Social Integration through Urban Growth Strategies

The SINERGI Project (Social Integration through Urban Growth Strategies) is a network of twinned cities that provides exchange of knowledge, experience and good practices of partner cities, Universities, civic organizations and social groups enabling better social integration through joint development of urban growth strategies. The project has enriched the sense of identity and mutual understanding between European citizens by bringing upfront problems and issues of urban life that are shared among them, but also by sharing common values, history and culture in an open dialog.

The network organized two seminars as a platform for creative and open debate between local authorities, academics, experts, civil activists and citizens from local communities about the problem of social integration in ever-growing cities. The SINERGI Book One: “The Projects for an Inclusive City” is the result of these two seminars. The purpose of this book is to provoke decision-makers and citizens to challenge their perception of the city and, through critical understanding of mutual interests and shared values, to create a sustainable and lasting network of cities and active citizens.

Inclusive Exclusive Cities

Edited by
Ognen Marina
Alessandro Armando

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Inclusive/Exclusive Cities

Cities are complex systems of elaborated spatial and social relations. The challenges of the contemporary urban transformation have surpassed its economic aspect and emerge as a social, environmental, spatial and identity crisis sometimes having devastating effect on the social fabric of local communities and cities. The pressure of the financial crisis and outdated concepts and strategies of urban growth have caused the policies and politics of the urban growth and cities management to become exclusively matter of city administration, decision-makers and politicians. The questions of democracy and broader social inclusion in the scope of urban growth is mainly discussed and raised in the domain of the urban activism, within the academic debate or in marginalized and excluded groups of civic society. However, it reveals not only different ideas and tools how to provide the urban growth but also the tremendous difference in vision of the future of cities and urban imaginaries.

This condition has a direct implications on the process of cities development but also of governance and confinements of democratic potentialities in designing urban space that are only released with the broader inclusivity. Consequently, the emerging resistance to imposed spatial order made apparent the role of social and spatial inclusion in democratization processes and social relations in a society framed by its differences. Completely opposite to inclusive, transparent, participative planning for diversity, the process of creation of exclusive projects and spaces in cities encourages divisive tendencies and damages future prospects for open, connected and socially sustainable cities and societies. In spite of everything, these trends across the world provoked reawakening of public sphere and demonstrated that urban space is central to democratization processes. We can recognize strongest reactions in emerging every-day spatial practices with increased movement across newly marked social and cultural barriers and switching the border zone into contact zone. In this dazzling blend of financial crisis, challenged concepts of urbanity, dysfunctional policies and citizenship in crisis we can go through the social and economic contradictions and failures of the cities by innovating the urban policies and practices, aiming to enable a more inclusive, effective and socially responsible approach.

In order to understand the potential for joint effort for construction of better cities this book aims to develop a platform of knowledge and promote an informative debate about concepts, approaches and tools that are coherent with the complex nature of the cities and societies, but comprehensible and simple enough to be useful for institutions and citizens that are affected by the processes that are shaping cities. The questions that could be addressed and topics are: 1. Where and how could we identify and analyse the issues of social inclusion/exclusion in a transformation troubled cities and what can we learn from good and bad practices of social inclusion and/or exclusion? 2. Is there a new complexity of the relationship between cities and society, uncertainties, and questions to be addressed? What are the new approaches, tools and practices that will enhance democratization of urban development through better inclusiveness? 3. To what extent could urban disciplines be engaged with urban progress in terms of theory,

practice and education in an era with new social networks, new political policies, new digital tools and new forms of art and culture? 4. How cities can encourage urban inclusion at a time of intense social and cultural transformations, especially through design and urban planning? Moreover, to what extent are urban plans able to facilitate communication between citizens and institutions, society and the form of the cities?

The contributions to this volume show different perspectives and positions about inclusiveness, both in spatial urban practices and in the strategies of city governance. Thus, the answers to the previous questions cannot be reduced to a coherent set of statements. Nevertheless, some addresses seems to emerge from the debate.

Regarding the first and primary question – the issue of inclusion/exclusion– the main contradiction is to conceal the "right to the city" and the inclusiveness of the process with the effectiveness of the plan (Cabral). On the one hand the inclusive strategies lead in many cases to read the city as a fragmented entity and promote local development actions (as in the case of the "mosaic structure" in Bakalcev et al., whether the "micro-urbanism in Velevska et al.). On the other hand, the need to propose collective frames for urban space development and for unifying consensus should ask for a more institutional and general *top-down* discipline, which cannot avoid various forms of exclusion (Frassoldati). This kind of contradiction could reflect somehow different approaches, according to what François Lyotard called the two opposite models of society as a "functional whole" or "divided in two" (*The Postmodern Condition*, 1979). In the first approach, the balance within the urban system should start from the bottom, at the local level: since the equilibrium is possible, its composition will be incremental – but then it will unlikely extend to the entire system, being the effects stuck at a very small scale. Instead, the second approach considers conflict as an inevitable factor, thus it admits that the institutional conditions can limit conflicts, also through top-down interventions and accepting some forms of exclusion (from benefits, from decision-making involvement, etc.).

The second question is about the "new complexity" of the European (and world) cities: the structural conditions of urban systems (real estate market, connectivity, economic balance, political orders…) continue to change rapidly in the last years. This complexity can whether reflect dramatically into a parallel transformation of physical space (as evidently in Skopje as in Guangzhou) or it can be almost indifferent to the material urban development, which falls into a sleepy decline (such as in Turin, Zagreb and partly in Lisbon). The processes of exchange affecting the urban collective life – both the symbolic exchanges and the technical, economic, bureaucratic ones – acquired new topologies, becoming more dynamic and dislocated. The scholars are trying to describe and map this phenomenon: the new urban complexity produces innovation and opportunities for democratic development, but it also generates unpredicted forms of opacity. The real estate market gains power in combining information at the global level, while the planning instruments and the urban policies are stuck into a local perspective, being subjected to unrestrained conditions. The institutional

plans regulating land use, density, infrastructures into long-term actions and public contracts still reflect a set of urban paradigms, which are going to disappear rapidly. In the meanwhile, the cities continue to transform even without the help of public plans. In this divergence between the institutional capacity of regulation and the autonomous raising of unexpected forces, the innovation in planning instruments is urgent. Some experiences of local negotiation (as in Lisbon) or some proposals for re-thinking the planning process as a “rhizomatic nesting” or as a predictive and diverting tree have been presented and discussed during the SINERGI project, finding here some punctual proposal (Mantziaras, Frassoldati, Pensa et al.).

The third question is an interdisciplinary topic. Urban studies and technical knowledge about architecture, infrastructure, planning have never in many decades been so openly challenged as much as today. The social dimension of reality, mainly in its aspect of a global network, shows more and more its power on the material space of cities: the “total mobilization” (as the philosopher Maurizio Ferraris recently called it) affects habits, collective values, fluxes, borders, capital assets and geopolitical orders. The scale of the city becomes the sphere where new intersections among disciplines are experimented and where the challenges of humanities, engineering, economics are tackled and natural sciences can build new forms of alliance – as Panos Mantziaras recalls in his article, quoting Bernardo Secchi. Academics, professionals, public administrators have to renegotiate the limits of their competences: designers with planners, urban sociologists with economists, management engineers with political scientists, etc. The disciplines traditionally in charge of the technical aspects of urban transformation should rewrite their skills and move them into the socio-political dimension of the process, and vice versa. The disciplines focused on the development of the XXI century city can turn into a network of *sociotechnical* sciences.

The fourth and last question is about the discipline of architecture, in its most general sense: the architecture of the city in its spatial and temporal extension, from design to planning. It is the question regarding the possibility of achieving a new kind of urban projects, for both our present and future cities. A project of the city, taken as a public action of governance, can integrate many different dimensions of urban transformation: social interaction and public debate about values, symbols, etc., the technical and bureaucratic management, the economic and financial aspects of the process. The innovation of urban projects should move from the traditional tools towards a more flexible and self-generative set of instruments, preserving their value of public and institutional objects. To this extent, urban plans can promote social inclusion by broadening the implications of a process, and by developing their capacity of predicting deviations in the future. Design and urban planning can enlarge our societies, but only by integrating good promises with measurable effects. In other words, it is necessary for designers and planners to accept and consider plans and projects both as means for imagining a better future, and as instruments of power.

Panos Mantziaras

The 24 hour non-stop Metropolis: Building up the Greater Paris collective narrative

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to present some thoughts and acts on the importance of socially inclusive urban contexts with regard to the sustainable city of tomorrow. It will showcase innovative alliances between decision-makers, professionals, artists, educators and the civil society in their effort to address the 21st century's challenges in environmental and socio-economic terms. The paper will briefly narrate the experience gathered between 2008 and 2013 in the Bureau for architectural, urban and landscape research (BRAUP) of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication. I will particularly focus on two research programs: what is internationally known as the "Greater Paris consultation" (2008-2010) and its subsequent research-action program "The 24h-hour-non-stop-metropolis" (*La grande ville 24h chrono*, 2013)[1].

This retrospective glance at two particular moments of thought and action on the city will be steered by ideas of one of the most important, visionary and engaged European planners, namely Bernardo Secchi. Two reasons lead to this hermeneutic choice. On one hand, both of the aforementioned programs were marked by his participation in them together with his partner architect Paola Viganò. On the other hand, Secchi's moral and intellectual stature reflected in his numerous writings, projects and academic endeavours, compose an invaluable disciplinary compass, much needed in our nebulous period. Notwithstanding the fact that planners have systematically been the "right arm" of power structures dominating the cities, Bernardo Secchi's *œuvre* is not only an alarming warning against deviations and misdeeds, but also a humanistic declaration of hope teaming with all of those still convinced that space matters in the ongoing project of modernity.

In 2013, two years before his passing away, Secchi published his last book entitled *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri* [2]. He thus bequeathed us a critical urban and social memo on the "new urban challenge" (*la nuova questione urbana*). He advocated that the planners have a large and precise responsibility in the worsening of social inequalities; and, conversely, that the urban project (*progetto di città*) ought to be one of the starting points of any political engagement to attenuate them.

Relating design to politics is not neither novel nor rare. In our story also, all this was initially sparked by an official speech given at the inauguration of the Satellite 3 at the Charles-de-Gaule Airport by the then President of the French Republic Nicolas Sarkozy in late June 2007[3]. It is only the French tradition of *les Grands Projets* that made the words ushered by a nation's leader just a little bit sound a bit less unexpected than usual. Or else, how would it be possible to have a politician state L'Enfant's plan for Washington or Hausmann's Paris, to launch an official appeal to "rethink the city"?

---

[1] The Bureau was directed by the architect Eric Lengereau, PhD, between 2000 and 2010, joined in 2004 by two architects as scientific consultants: Panos Mantziaras, PhD, and Nicolas Tixier, PhD. The latter took over the direction of the Bureau from 2011 to 2015.

[2] Bernardo Secchi, *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*, Bari, Laterza, 2013.

[3] The speech is to found in the website of the French Republic: http://discours.vie-publique.fr/notices/077002121.html

Regardless of the presidential stylistic or other preferences expressed in that occasion, the underlying discourse found immediately a fertile terrain at the BRAUP. Since its foundation in 1975 the Bureau was triggering and monitoring research on the architectural and urban scale in conjunction with social, economic and environmental issues[4]. Without surprise, in 2007 there was a necessary operational vocabulary, bulk of knowledge and logistical know-how. Above all, there was the will to mould a broad political view of planning and the city into a concrete research programme. Moreover, thanks to the teaching experience of its members, the Bureau was also in the position to combine fundamental grey-literature rigour and design studio methods into a research and development question. Finally, our principled stance in favour of a sustainable development (not so popular at that time among the major part of the architecture circles that were still living in all-but-gone post-20th century constructive euphoria…) gave our intellectual edifice a firm basis upon the Kyoto Protocol.

These three specificities made it possible to launch in March 2008 the " International Consultation on the Future of Metropolitan Paris: Designing the Future of the Paris Agglomeration"[5]. The call was launched for a "strategic reflection" bound to "provide the very substance of a spatial intelligence of the urban territory without which there can be reasoned development of the contemporary metropolis". These capacities were invited to concentrate on the "point of convergence between research and action, and between the scientific and political realms"[6]. The call specified two distinct and complementary deliverables. On one side ideas on the "Post-Kyoto Metropolis of the 21st century", through fundamental research. On the other side, a "prospective diagnosis" of the Greater Paris region, calling for applied research approaches.

The rest is history. The forty-two initial proposals from all over the world, were analyzed according to their innovative approach, their methodological clarity and their technical feasibility by a steering committee composed of representatives of the State, the Ile-de-France Region, the City of Paris and the local governments. Ten projects were finally selected and submitted for monitoring to a 25-member scientific committee. This initiated an elaborate process aiming to preserve and reinforce the virtues of the urban paradigm. As Secchi wrote,

> “in Western cultures the city has long been looked upon as a social and cultural space: a safe place, protected from the violence of nature and men, where diverse elements come in contact with each other, know each other, learn from each other and exchange the best parts of their knowledge and their own culture in a continual

---

[4] Important multi-annual programs such as "Villes nouvelles", Art, architecture et paysage", "L'architecture de la grande échelle" had fostered an extended field of expertise encompassing all the scales of the design discipines.

[5] The draft of this document can still be found in the following web site: http://urbact.eu/sites/default/files/import/corporate/General_presentation_document.pdf

[6] ibid. p. 4.

process of hybridization, thus producing new identities, new subjects and new ideas"7.

2 THE POST-KYOTO PARISIAN VISION

The ten interdisciplinary groups each one led by an architect were thus able to propose spatial visions on the large scale, on the urban design scale and on the architectural scale alike.

The Roland Castro group was distinguished for its approach on the open public spaces –"magical places" (*lieux magiques*) such as a "central park" at La Courneuve in the north of Paris, part of of polycentric system encouraging social mix as a remedy against exclusion. Indeed,

> "In the western city, rich and poor have always met and continue to meet, but they also increasingly become visibly distant. Today more than ever inequalities are striking in large metropolitan areas and planning often sustains strategies of distinction and exclusion" (Secchi)

Sir Richard Rogers's team on the contrary proposed a radical change of the regional governance, through a daisy-like restructuring of the administrative districts. This aimed to give everyone in the region the right to access the centre, not only by transport but also through the exercise of his/her political rights, by integrating the 1280 municipalities of the region in a democratic decision making process, against a "politics of distinction" so dear to the western bourgeoisie since the 18th century[8]. (Figure 1)

Figure 1. Richard Rogers, Inclusive City

The condensation in strategic points, in the so-called commons, of a 21st century political debate was also the ambition of Djamel Klouche's team, that specifically opted for the transport nodes of the extended metropolis, as places with a high degree of accessibility. His "urban collectors" were part of

[7] Secchi, op.cit. p. 3.
[8] Cf. Secchi, ibid. p. 31.

a regulating machine, set to "transform different and at times quite complex idiorythms into articulated spatial, economic and social relations[9].

A different approach of the mobility strategy was adopted by Yves Lion's team, whose linear urban configurations connected the Greater Paris region and its poles of reference (Figure 2) similarly to Christian de Portzamparc's team looking for the form and functions of a "hybrid metropolis" (Figure 3).

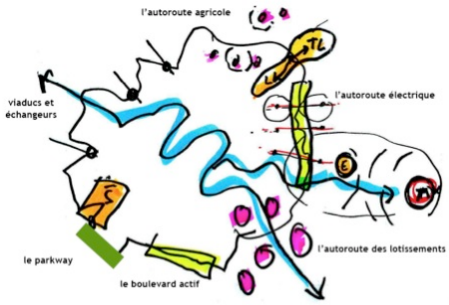

Figure 2. Yves Lion

Yet another role to mobility was to be given by Antoine Grumbach's team, who playfully distorted the graphic codes of the Parisian métro maps in order to exemplify a linear megalopolis downstream the river Seine until Le Havre. The dextrously designed new Grand Paris metro map offers the eye a 300 km-long region as a sole urban entity. The metropolitan experience becomes thus conceivable by and desirable to a much larger population than the one initially involved. The megalopolis turns into a palpable everydayness thanks to the homogenization of urban accessibility, one of the key factors to the redistribution of goods and services that "gave Europe a long period of […] diminishing inequalities"[10].

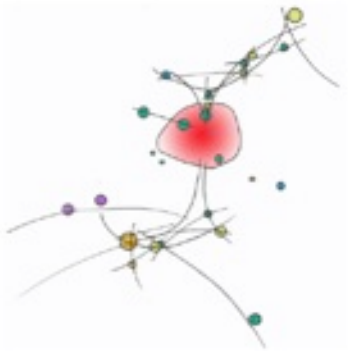

Figure 3. Christian de Portzamparc

[9] Cf. Secchi, ibid. p. 59.
[10] Ibid. p.64.

The reticular character of these projects differs substantially from the areal philosophy adopted as much by Finn Geipel's team, and the concept of *ville légère*, as an extended field of intensities rather than densities giving thus new impetus to "the patient research of a series and architects and planners [that] tried all along the twentieth century, especially in Europe, to make so that the distances in the quality of the space used by each and every social group, inside and outside its own residential realm, be shorter than those existing between their respective levels of income and power"[11].

In opposition to this "patient research", another form of interrogation came to the fore with the provocative approach proposed by MVRDV — rather not surprisingly… Their "what-would-happen-if" method, led the Dutch team to the exploration of the limits of the planning rationale of the contemporary metropolis. The representations of a Parisian space at times vertical, at times horizontal, at times dense or just the opposite, rendered their project a *cadavre exquis,* subject as much to awe as to the ridicule. But this radical dissection of the history of urbanism for the scope of a mute exposition of its once glorious ideas on the shop window of the contemporary metropolis had, perhaps, one positive aspect. Namely the observation that any mercantile effort to curb the city into a solely result-oriented mechanism is bound to fail in front of the socio-cultural resistance of its heterogeneous population (Figure 4) Contemplating the blue sleek 3D urban abstractions one could not but recall Manfredo Tafuri warnings against the expressive "silence" of architectural and urban design in the capitalist development[12]. For that matter it is only too well known that any devious real estate practice favouring capital optimization in the Greater Paris is subject to the rebel nature of its people especially the marginalized youth, which have often not hesitated to get into "war against silence"[13].

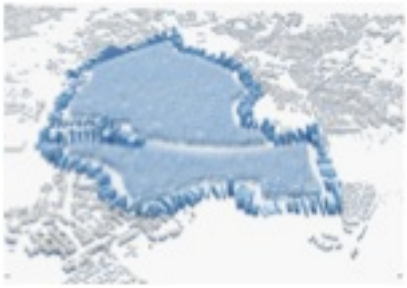

Figure 4. MVRDV Project "Paris Plus Petit"

[11] ibid. p. 38.

[12] "The 'fall' of modern art is the final testimony of bourgeois ambiguity, torn between 'positive' objectives and the pitiless self-exploration of its own objective commercialization. No 'salvation' is any longer to be found within it: neither wandering restlessly in labyrinths of images so multivalent they end in muteness, nor enclosed in the stubborn silence of geometry content with its own perfection. For this reason it is useless to propose purely architectural alternatives. The search for an alternative within the structures that condition the very character of architectural design is indeed an obvious contradiction of terms". Mafredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia, Design and Capitalist Development,* Cambridge(MA), MIT Press, p. 181.

[13] Ibid, p. 53

Finally, the most balanced of the projects for the Greater Paris happens to be the Secchi/Viganò idea of the "porous city": balanced between a network and a place approach, between theoretical abstraction and concrete context, and engaged to the idea of social justice within an environmental strategy. This project remains in many ways a prototype for the role that architecture and planning might boast in the 21st century city, by advocating "the adoption of strategies that are not based on grand and spectacular projects, but that intervene instead in incremental ways in order to create porosity, permeability and accessibility to both the natural environment and people — to each and every one, without distinction; [ways] that change the city as it has often changed in periods of crisis"[14] (Figure 5).

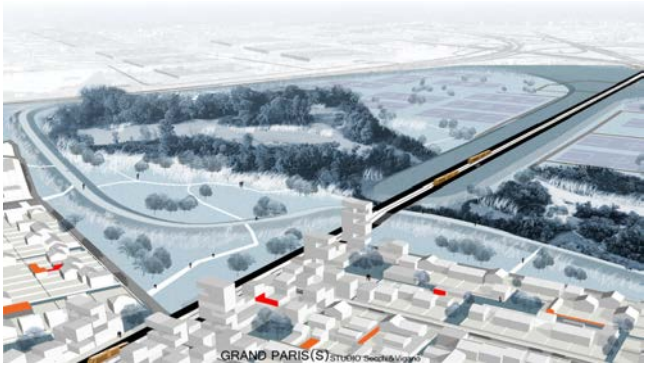

Figure 5. GRAND PARI(S), Paris, France – Studio B.Secchi + P.Viganò

3 THE 24 HOUR NON-STOP METROPOLIS

In April 2010, the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine (CAPA) exhibited the outcome of this eighteen-month-long consultation bringing architects with different visions, methods and techniques together into a positive emulation. As a result the ten projects, although quite different, were mutually enriched thanks to an exchange protocol established by the BRAUP. In other terms, the once-competitor-teams grew up into an inspiring unofficial think tank, baptised Atelier international du Grand Paris a few months later.

Nevertheless, the free setting (in the curved high ceiling north aisle of the Palais du Trocadéro) of the ten "tipis" containing one team's project each didn't allow the public to understand this complex, interactive and stimulating experience. Despite the quality of its content, the exhibition looked like just another architectural show, focusing on the individual projects — not on the "open work". This didn't hinder the show from becoming the most popular public venue of the CAPA, to date. Indeed, schools, citizens, associations, stakeholders, everybody wanted a taste of what the Greater Paris would look like. To take a glance at the different *Wunschbilder* (desired images) of the

[14] ibid. p. 77-78.

Parisian future, as the German architect Fritz Schumacher would say a century ago.

This consultation was thus both a trigger and an accelerator. It led to a second phase along two axis: on one hand a 200-km regional railway project, the so-called Grand Paris Express that should gradually become operational between 2020 and 2030; on the other hand the administrative reorganisation known as Métropole du Grand Paris, officially established in January 2016.

The multiple interests at stake and the complex mechanisms at work during this period are not to be analyzed here. But it is commonly admitted that both axis defined clearly a field of action that seems virtuous in a certain sense, valuable and productive in the long term. It set this 12-million-people region in motion, gave it a common project and defined a common horizon.

Or did it? Did the project set a horizon common enough? Was the city of the rich and the city of the poor – as Secchi and Viganò acutely demonstrated the Grand Paris to be – adopting a shared identity of the "grandparisien", just as this happened with the Parisians after a long period of annexation of communes, especially in the 19th century? If yes, where did this identity find its legitimacy and its force? If not, why?

The larger public was certainly a well-intentioned spectator during the initial phase and a rather engaged interlocutor during the second phase which consisted of a plethora of local meetings and a very intense interaction at all levels between the State, local governments, the civic society and the public. Numerous magazines, radio emissions, TV programs and other public events surfed on top of this very promising and seemingly profitable perspective. But it was still too early to know if this complex top-down-construction would result into a sense of place and the wish of the population to share a common destiny.

"Civic pride" was the term used by the British scholar Andrew Lees in order to describe the psycho-sociological attitude of the urban populations attached to their cities[15]. While generally generated by socio-economic processes pertaining to the elites, civic pride quickly though not homogeneously permeated the urban classes of certain 19th century cities, thus forging a sense of communal achievement.

Identity forging is assuredly a never-ending process — perhaps even not the most important one as far as the construction of self is concerned. Moreover, communities are infinitely more complex "bodies" than the physical human entity. And yet, social constructs exist. They can be social mechanisms, phenomena, or categories created and developed by society; they can also be perceptions of an individual, group, or ideas "constructed" through social and cultural practice. Such constructs, for as much as they become recognisable, readable, interpretable and transmissible, are bearers of identity, in that they can be compared to other constructs and differentiate

[15] Cf. Andrew Lees, *Cities perceived, Urban society in European and American thought, 1820-1940,* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1985.

themselves as entities. Belonging to a city and identifying oneself with her is a construct, which has allegedly marked the urban history worldwide, with varying intensities and functionalities, for rich and poor alike.

In a Greater Paris Metropolis under construction, being one of her citizens and identifying oneself with her as a "Grandparisien" is therefore of catalytic importance for its robustness and resilience.

One rarely has the honour to a witness such a construction in the making. Cities and urban entities do not come to existence every day and when they do, processes involved are rather more incremental and diffuse than concrete and identifiable. Chances to find oneself in the position of grasping, understanding not to mention influencing the birth of a city-region are rather low.

Utterly conscious of the uniqueness of that historical moment, the BRAUP seized a rare possibility to enter the grand maelstrom of the Greater Paris Metropolis construction, through the bias of cultural identity. Technically, it was about participating in the exhibition on mobility curated by the engineer-architect Jean-Marie Duthilleul then executive director of the AREP, architecture office of the National railways organization, who had also been a member of the Scientific committee of the Greater Paris consultation.

Certainly the legitimacy of a Service of the Ministry of Culture in matters cultural may look like a common place. But legitimate means neither expert, nor efficient. The real reason lies in the rich exchange of ideas between the teams' members and the scientific committee, during the three coordination seminars that structured the consultation. It was during one of these sessions that one of the committee's members, the German architect and planner Thomas Sieverts ushered the term "culture". He pointed out that while "cultural activity" can be found in many different parts of the Parisian megalopolis, "cultural value" was shockingly different between *intra muros* Paris and its banlieues[16]. He suggested that the so well described by Hannah Arendt "crisis of culture" met recurrently its economic sister in an explosive rendez-vous that had cost the Parisian megalopolis a number of violent, destructive and costly upheavals; and that haves and have-nots seemed not only included to (or excluded from) the products of economy but also from the social product of culture in its extended sense.

Sieverts's words were of course widely acclaimed and as a matter of fact most of the teams resolved to some sort of cultural programming in the greater Paris area. However, this general tendency to a democratization of culture in favour of the peripheral areas and their lower strata was still in 2011 more wishful thinking than reality. At best, it was a vague political will of which the inner Paris representatives were not necessarily the most fanatic promoters. But it had one merit and everyone acknowledged that — including Parisians. Namely that in the global cities competition for capital investments, the concrete advantages of a 14-million democratically organized society were best promoted through widespread all-inclusive

[16] Except for some high places such as Versailles, Fontainbleau, etc.

cultural strategies. Not only as amusement goodies for tourists or the elites bur mainly as the cement of a collective identity, whose cultural facet also partakes in the social construct of a new extended citizenry.

I admit that this approach may seem fairly deterministic, quite top down, quasi totalitarian. If it was to be adopted straightforwardly it would fail to reflect the multiplicity, heterogeneity and fragmented character of a contemporary society as complex as the one under discussion here. But, as I see it, this danger lurks no more in the western forms of managerial, yield-oriented and short-sighted governance. Rather the opposite seems more probable in the culture of laissez-faire, namely a "laissez-faire culture". In other words, we witness today an overwhelming dominion of a mass culture based on entertainment and leisure that cares little, not at all or even opposes an emancipating cultural experience.

There was therefore an opportunity to imagine the sketch of a democratic cultural politics via and alongside the Greater Paris spatial project itself. So, instead of proposing a theoretical intervention there had to be research-action workshop using mobility not as a scientific object but as a cultural means towards a regional collective identity. In other words a cultural software that should accompany and give meaning to the infrastructural hardware of Grand Paris Express which was already under study at that time.

The concept of the programme emerged as soon as the question of how one should present metropolitan mobility to a larger public came to the fore. Should it be a slide presentation of mobility issues in a specific place, e.g an auditorium? Should one show images of mobility to the public by means of an exhibition? Would this usually top down information have the expected effects, namely to make the everyday person conscious of his/her role in a dynamic regional urban scheme?

Or should it be the other way round? That is, instead of bringing mobility into a museographic/academic environment as an object, transform mobility into the protagonist of real scale event, which by its expressive characteristics would show the meaning of "being in" mobility. An event taking place in the metropolis to demonstrate mobility not as an infrastructure but as a theatrical scene, as an instrument of art and creation.

Nine sites for this multi-place event were sketched by Duthilleul and myself on a napkin, as usually architects do… It included airports, railway stations, metro and regional train stations, fluvial sites and of course streets and highways. It goes without saying that this first sketch wouldn't be possible without the extended knowledge that the Greater Paris consultation had just finished to produce.

The next step appealed to another sort of knowledge that Bureau disposed of, thanks to its administrative role as monitor of architecture, urban and landscape research. Namely names of experts and research groups in all fields that this experiment called for: architecture, urbanism, landscape architecture, art. The nine interdisciplinary groups were formed over a period of six months according to their specific expertise on each site.

A few initial questions were then set in order to orient the problematic. What is the identity of a metropolis composed of? How can we, the inhabitants of an extended urban realm, find in it a sense of belonging? What do we need to invent a common destiny and finally become its citizens? How might a spatial project bear the collective experience of a territory?

The nine groups pulled up their sleeves, to suggest possible answers to these questions. They slowly started bringing ideas on the table for artistic actions engaging the infrastructural space, its urban surroundings and their inhabitants. Nevertheless, there was still something missing in this initial setting. One could not but reckon that cultural happenings and artistic events are a common reality in many urban contexts of the western world, and beyond. Taken separately, the projects under construction did not offer the "desired image" of a unified metropolis. We were still looking for unity and clarity in an otherwise somewhat common enterprise…

A further step was taken as soon as the teams, the scientific committee and the steering committee reached to the common conclusion that there should be a unifying path, inviting the visitors to practice a sort of cultural pilgrimage, by visiting one after the other the events and their sights. The practice of pilgrimage is certainly rather old and its cultural value perhaps belittled today under the charge of its religious connotation. Leonardo Benevolo emphasized the extend to which the paths that Christian pilgrims created in their successive visits to Roman churches, created an elementary urban mobility infrastructure later to be crystallized in the *forma urbis Romae*. (Figure 6)

Figure 6. Antonio Lafreri, Pilgrims visiting the Seven Churches of Rome during the Holy Year of 1575 (c.1575, Engraving, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Beyond this early example, one should also bring to mind the Japanese sugoroku board game, bringing the players to simulate a visit of famous

places of Tōkyō during its Edo period. Both examples signify in different manners the propensity of the urban realm to offer points of reference as links of a chain that, reciprocally, are its valid representation[17] (Figure 7)

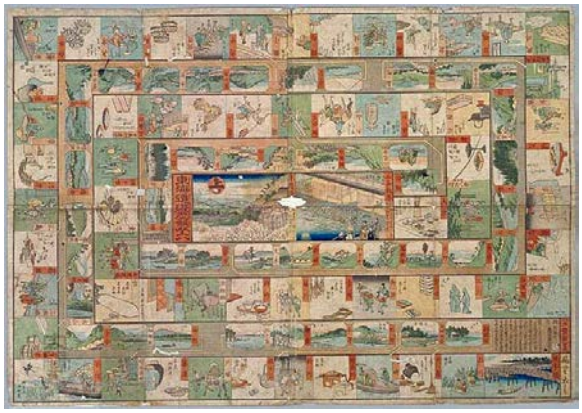

Figure 7.Sugoroku Board Game

In constructing the research-action method of our project, nevertheless, this step was not quite sufficient yet, in order to give the spectator the full range of the kaleidoscopic, yet unitary image of the Greater Paris. There lacked a synchronicity of experience, the compactness of the time frame that would give the overall project the unitary character of a *partie de jeu.*

It is a childhood reading that revealed this third dimension bound to give the programme its finite shape, namely Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*. Even as adults, we have all been impressed by its capacity to unite local experience into a global thinking was probably the first of its kind in the modern era. Not merely because of the adventurous travel sequence; if Phileas Fogg and Jean Passepartout were able to play a sugoroku game of planetary dimensions – and win it – it is because they gave themselves the time constraint. The game was worth, and its outcome famous, because it had to be completed in exactly 80 days. (Figure 8). Each and every station of this voyage had its meaning both for its individual characteristics and for its capacity to propel the protagonists, and with them the reader, forward, towards the final resolution.

[17] Meisho Sugoroku was a board game from the Edo and Meiji periods where players simulated on the board a tour on renown sites. The board was a patchwork of pictures of these sites arranged topologically in linear manner on the board (often being a line spiraling around the centre of the board). Scholars believe that the Japenese city was also experienced as a sequence of points each bearing some particular meaning, or as a collection of remarkable points distanced by void so that, if one needed to go from to another, "it is across time rather than topography". Cf. Barrie Shelton, *Learning from the Japanese City*, London, Taylor & Francis, 1999.

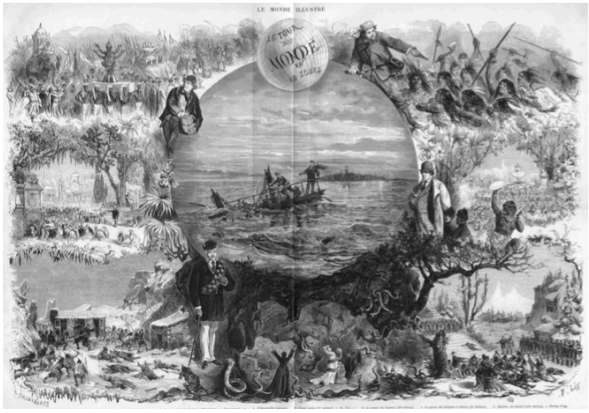

Figure 8. Jules Verne, Le tour du monde en 80 jours, 1872

Verne's novel was not exactly an accidental product of a literary genius. It appeared in a period that sees the control of time becoming an indispensable complement in the strive for economic domination on Earth. For example, in 1871, France shifted from « true time » to « national time », a practical measure erasing also regional peculiarities. In 1872, appeared in the parisian *Gazette* Jules Verne's novel in six parts. In 1876, the Canadian engineer and geographer Sanford Fleming invented the international time system, bound to coordinate the nascent financial markets since 1907 with the establishment of the Universal Coordinated Time (UTC) that France only joined in 1914. In general, the Belle Epoque marked the beginning of the experience of space in a set time frame as a tool for multiple agendas including political ones. So, if the first Tour de France by bicycle had already taken place in 1903, the first world air tour is organized in 1924, the first non-stop world air tour in 1949 and all this brings us to Marshall McLuhan coining of the term « global village » in *The making of the typographic man*, in 1962. Phileas Fogg's trick to win by traveling eastwards ends up somewhat banal today, but is certainly the artistic predecessor of any modern attempt to familiarize with the contingencies of our *choros* by plying it into the intransigent *chronos*.

The Greater Paris kaleidoscope had thus to be composed thanks to a "bet" that we – contemporary Phileases – took. Namely to construct a 24-hour-non-stop tour of eigt Greater Paris key-sites, each corresponding to one of the eight teams engaged in a local twenty-four-hour action.

The experimental research-action programme "The 24-hour-non-stop metropolis" had thus found its complete configuration. It was ready to invite the public to pay a visit to some or all of these events, during 24 hours, from midday May 30th to midday June 1st 2013. For this scope, a ninth "mobility team", was composed: a group of mobility experts architects and planners[18], commissioned to invent a series of possible circuits[19], as well as *the* circuit

[18] Agence AP5 - Stéphane Lémoine, architect and planner.
[19] The general idea was of course to allow the participants full liberty of their choice of places, rhythm and speed.

proposed by the BRAUP with two buses leaving at 4am and returning at 4am the next day at the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine (Figure 9)

Figure 9.Time and space coordinated in the Greater Paris

A specific timeline was created which will allow me now to offer the reader a rapid revival of the itinerary.

4pm. Buses leave the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine (Trocadéro)

5pm Arrival at the city of Orsay, in the south of Paris. An uphill walk through the forest leads us to the Plateau de Saclay where the team "Occupying the territory"[20] addresses the mobility question through walking as a means to create bonds and events. The team proposes a mapping game where smartphone photos taken by the public during the walk get uploaded on a giant screen map as a sort of real-time narration of the event in the future site of an agriculture school, the final meeting point. There, discussions, a diner with local products and a musical improvisation bring together the participants (Figure 10.).

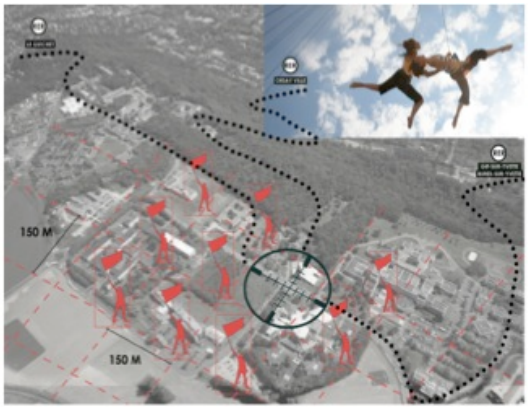

Figure 10. "Occupying the territory", Plateau de Saclay

[20] Sabine Chardonet, architect, professor at the Paris-Malaquais architecture school with the laboratory ACS, in collaboration with the landscape architects of the Agence Saison-Menu.

8pm Arrival at the Charles-de-Gaule airport, Terminal 1. The team "Turbulences"[21] welcomes the public with an installation (Figure 11). Subsequently we are led in a silent stroll through the Terminal while an actor whispers on our headphones literary texts on risk and terrorism and provokes queer feeling of "inhuman speeds to the human relations, creating proximities that never existed before" (Sloterdijk).

Figure 11. "Turbulences", Charles-de-Gaule Airport, Terminal 1

12pm Arrival at La Défense. The team "Strativarius, a sit-com under La Défense"[22] receives us in an exhibition hall where images of the complex three-dimensional megastructure prepare the public for a real plunge into its concrete bowels. The underground "cathedral", once programmed to be part of this huge train intersection and otherwise inaccessible to the visitor reveals itself as a bladerunner-like dystopia, whose uncanny expression turns out to be the planned slab-city (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Strativarius, a sit-com under La Défense

[21] Andrea Urlberger, art historian, Toulouse architecture school, LRA research team with Agence Taktyk, Brussels.

[22] Marc Armengaud, philosopher, professor at the Paris-Malaquais architecture school, LIAT research team, with the Atelier AWP, Paris.

4am. Arrival at the regional market of Rungis. The team "Subagglo-manifeste: fragments from elsewhere"[23] receives us in a semi-abandoned railway station, where they had spent the day with the local authorities and the public to discuss future potential developments of the site. Music, dancing and an exhibition warms and wakes us up…

Figure 13. Subagglo-manifeste: fragments from elsewhere, Rungis

8am. Arrival at La Courneuve, the northern Paris modern popular housing town (*cités*), renown for its poor, marginalized and rebel inhabitants. The team "4000 pitches: a promenade manifesto"[24] lets us follow a flock of sheep — the only means to appease the morning aggressiveness of the bleary local gangs. We ramble along the highway flanking the "cités", and through them up to an old farm amidst the 1950's development where Paola Viganò and Bernardo Secchi offer to the public breakfast and an art exhibition.

[23] Béatrice Mariolle, architect, professor at the Belleville architecture school, IPRAUS research team with the architecture office Obras, Paris.

[24] Denis Delbaere, landscape architect, Lille architecture school, LACTH research team, with the Groupe Ici-Même and the Studio 2013 (Secchi/Viganò). The 4000-number relates to the infamous "Cité des 4000" (four thousand apartments), built at La Courneuve between 1956 and 1966.

Figure 14. 4000 pitches: a promenade manifesto, La Courneuve

10am. Arrival at the Saint Denis RR Station where the team "The RR station, a stage for the urban imagination"[25] invites the public to relax in the armchairs of an "urban boudoir" for an "open-air psychoanalysis". The concept aims at the creation of a familiar ambiance in the open space as a background for an individual introspection on the future of the metropolis. The fatigue makes eyebrows heavier under the early metropolitan sun, but the words and visions deployed are noted down for further analysis by the team.

Figure 15. The RR station, a stage for the urban imagination, Saint-Denis

14pm. Arrival at the confluence of the rivers Seine and Oise, northwest of Paris. The team "Engins"[26] welcomes us in a river shipyard, sporting an open temporary museum of mobility machines of various times and places. Officials have been waiting for our cortege since early morning together with local associations and inhabitants, to give this moment an official yet festive character.

Figure 16. "Engins", Seine/Oise confluence

[25] Christiana Mazzoni, architect, Strasbourg architecture school, AMUP research team, with the Agence AUPA-URBA, Paris.
[26] Antoine Beyer, engineer, Iffstar research institute, with Anthony James, Grau Architects, Paris

16pm. Return to the starting point, at the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine. Some of us haven't slept for thirty-two hours. There is still to watch the rediscovered "Return to the future/Urban crossings"[27] 1928 short movie by André Sauvage on Paris and its mobility; which we happily do, half-asleep… Only to be awaken by the final critical discussion between the teams and the public expressing the hope that an ameliorated edition of this event might take place in the future.

3 THE CITY OF THE RICH AND THE CITY OF THE POOR ON THE MOVE

The experimental character of this event proved to be as affirmed as the determination of the teams to offer the best possible expression of a metropolis in her making through the places and forces of mobility. Its low budget (ca. 70000 euros) makes this enterprise even more inexplicable in the eyes of potential cultural entrepreneurs. The question though is not so much how much would it cost to repeat it, but who this is addressed to, who are the actors and who are the spectators. Admittedly, the biggest difficulty has been to assure the local authorities that the central government was not somehow playing a trick on their backs; that all this was the genuine effort of a "marginal State service" to enrich the process of metropolitan transformation. Another difficulty was to convince potential partners that this multi-site, multi-team event was merely and simply possible. There was a lot of doubt on the possibility to use this 12 million people/12 thousand sq km region as a real and unified venue.

Nevertheless, the bet of this unique experience was won. Our cortege circulated twenty-four hours non-stop in the extended Paris area, without hindrances, delays, unforeseen obstacles or impossible dead ends. All events took place as they had been programmed, without the slightest incident. All deliverables were in place in due time. The energies of at least a hundred people met the desires of more than two thousand visitors.

The biggest achievement of all was to show that a virtuous political coordination on a regional level was apt to create a unified cultural field, whose potential effects are as yet to determine. In other words, that good government could and should be in the service of a democratic, open society; and that culture in the true sense of the word should be the utmost outcome of an inclusive urban realm.

Urban and periurban space was in this case only the setting, just a contemporary version of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Effects of good government*, sporting the Parisians as contemporary Senesi cheerfully stroll beyond their city walls. Unfortunately, contrary to Siena, no "Governo dei Nove" was there to allocate a film budget. There will never be a comprehensive media format of this experiment. The mobility effect and its modern artistic form, the cinema, didn't meet, alas! Our research probe may fade away as an urban

[27] Nicolas Tixier, architecte, Grenoble architecture school, CRESSON research team with the urbanists group Bazar Urbain, Grenoble

myth, unless the collective will retrieves its essence and method for a fresh start.

Nevertheless, good government and the well-being of the community cannot but be bound together, at least since Thomas More's *Utopia*, published exactly 500 years ago[28]. This rare anniversary is there to remind architecture and planning the civic *raison d'être* of their mission, whose evolution finds in Bernardo Secchi's testament a much needed compass.

The Greater Paris consultation and the 24-hour-non-stop metropolis were but two ways to pursue this mission in an exceptional tailwind conjuncture. Many others will come. But it takes a good faculty of vision to see through the mist. Even more, it takes courage to pursue a disciplinary task amidst crises economic, social and environmental. On the whole, our exceptionally troubled present requires our capacity to transform the discipline in order to adjust it to a new reality.

"In the most advanced visions and projects one commences to distinguish the traits and potentials of such a transformation. These lead us to a re-examination of the spatial structure of the city; to understand the importance of the territorial figure in this new approach; to understand also the role of a new isotropous and capillary infrastructure within this figure, able to give both the city and territory an ample and more diffuse porosity, permeability and accessibility; to design ambitious public spaces, taking into account the quality of the qualities of those in the past; to reason afresh on the - dimensions of collectivity. The scientific status of the urbanist will thus be transformed, parallel to the city itself. New alliances ought to be created within the city and among [her] various disciplines. Urbanists, as well as economists and sociologists, have to reestablish the dialogue with geographers, botanists, engineers; they have to immerse themselves much more than up to now into the individual and collective imagination. It may be that in the near future things get worse, but if we want to transcend the economic crisis we have to work on the needs of *le plus grand nombre*, without limiting ourselves to [whims of] the social and technological niches. This is why it is necessary to promote democracy, by reducing the spatial inequalities"[29].

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[28] *CONCERNING THE BEST STATE OF A COMMONWEALTH,*
AND THE NEW ISLAND OF UTOPIA, A Truly Golden Little Book,No Less Beneficial than Entertaining, by the Most Renowned and Eloquent Author, THOMAS MORE,
Citizen and Undersheriff of the Famous City of London, Leuven, 1516

[29] Secchi, op. cit. p. 78

Chapter 1

Democratic Tools for Development of Inclusive Cities

João Cabral

The Inclusive City as the New Urban Question and the Challenges for Urban Policies and Planning

ABSTRACT

The aim of this text is to discuss trends in city developments and urbanisation processes in relation to challenges for urban policies and planning in scenarios of economic uncertainty, state rescaling and restructuring in urban and territorial regulation. The first part focuses on recent debates about the role of cities and urbanisation for social and economic development and the implications for urban and political theory. The second part identifies three areas which can be considered critical to an understanding of the challenges for urban policies and planning: a) the urban and city scale(s) for development control and democratic representation; b) the type of planning model, vision and rationality; and c) the planning and governance process reflecting the role of agency and a place-based approach. The final part focuses on the importance and responsibility of planning professionals for gathering the appropriate evidence and producing narratives to substantiate decisions on the scale for intervention, the planning model and the governance process to be adopted for effectively shaping and programming the right to an inclusive city.

KEYWORDS: city and urbanisation; urban policies; planning scales, models and processes.

1 INTRODUCTION

This article is the result of a reflection about the challenges facing city planning and policies regarding urban development as territorial scales, state resources, fiscal capacity and political strategies are redefined worldwide and imperatives for capital accumulation became more global, selective and discriminatory. Urban planning has always been taught and practised as a competent instrument for regulating the urban development process, with the means of promoting a balanced use of public and private interests and resources. This balance is the outcome of public and private decisions regarding land, reflecting dynamics in land markets and conditions for development control. State regulation and the planning of the urban process is, however, a conflicting process, as demonstrated in the 1970's and 1980's by various authors (see, for example, DEAR and SCOTT, 1981). It became increasingly problematic in the late 1990's as territorial scales, state resources, fiscal capacity and political strategies were redefined worldwide, and imperatives for capital accumulation became more global, selective and discriminatory. A major outcome of the globalisation and liberalisation of market transactions was the increasing functional relationship between the economy of cities and land use control, as location costs and land values soared and property markets and the building industry became major players in the capitalist accumulation process (CABRAL and CRESPO, 2012).

These dynamics affected the institutional planning system. The resulting process of rescaling politics and policies associated with differentiated and overlapping interests around territories highlighted the existence of distinct (and competitive) national, regional and municipal agendas and concerns (BRENNER, 2004). The financial crises of the *subprimes* in the summer of 2007 and its implications for the national economies made more apparent the importance of 'space financialisation' (FRENCH et al, 2011) for the development of cities and the increasing separation between decisions regarding the production of the built environment and the role of local planning.

Thus, the idea of a capitalist state concerned with the reproduction of labour power for planning and managing the urban, established in the 1970's by Manuel Castells in *The Urban Question*, changed to concerns with the extended reproduction of capital, of '*productive*' consumption, "*through financialization and dispossession, through dispossession and reconfiguration of urban space*" (MERRIFIELD, 2014:18*)*. Consequently, the debate around the role of urban politics and the 'new urban question' has been coupled with debates revisiting the 'right to the city' enunciated by Henri Lefebvre, the fight for an 'inclusive city' and the claim of the urban as a collective project – "*produced through collective action, negotiation, imagination, experimentation and struggle"* (Brenner & Schmid, 2015: 178). A new role for the state became an emergent issue. Thus, Magnusson (2012), in his book *Politics of Urbanism – seeing like a city* proposes to see the world as a global city – "*to envision the political through the city in order to see it in terms of the complex practices of government and self-government, involving multiple authorities in different registers*" (pp.112-113).

Under the prevalent dynamics and debates, the importance of state promoted urban planning for guaranteeing the social role of land and the ecology of territories has become controversial. In Europe, the institutional and planning approaches for dealing with the development problems of cities and urban regions combine, however, differentiated perspectives. All of them share a strong focus on the distinctiveness of the role of the local level. On the one hand, there has been a shift toward conservative governments and restructuring decentralised territorial policies for coping with the rising financial crisis of the state. On the other hand, in line with EU concerns for territorial cohesion and a more efficient use of public funds, development programmes emphasise the need for place policies and place-based approaches.

The first perspective is represented by reforms in territorial administration and planning. These types of reforms are being designed and implemented by a number of European governments. Justification for economic rationalisation is the main argument, particularly amongst states under pressure to reduce their public debts. It also becomes the justification for making their planning rules more flexible and more appealing to private financing. This does not always mean a reduction in bureaucratic burden as governments seek compensation for lesser public investments with further taxes and regulations, as illustrated by the case of housing provision in France (RENARD, 2012).

A second perspective is represented by EU policies and programmes through a *Cohesion Policy* and a *Territorial Agenda,* emphasising the role of sustainable development and a place-based approach. A pertinent question is how these innovative concepts and objectives will be translated into effective funding programmes that are open for local applications, after being filtered by national governments and by local and regional authorities concerned with budget reductions.

In order to address the argument in favour of inclusive urban policies and planning, this article centres on debates around three areas which are critical to an understanding of the changes and the challenges that planning is facing in asserting a role towards creating a more equitable and sustainable society: a) the scale for planning intervention; b) the type of planning model; and c) the planning and governance process.

2 THE URBAN AND CITY SCALE(S) FOR DEVELOPMENT CONTROL AND DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION

The issue of the scale for planning emerges primarily as a result of the changing role of the state as the main development regulator in a post-Fordism era[i]. Scales were associated with administrative boundaries and development control and criteria for public investments which justified a zoning and a land use plan. State rescaling and restructuring of territorial jurisdictions and the imperative for more flexible and collaborative processes

to overcome market uncertainties put into question the relevance of urban perimeters for development control. Democratic representation did not become an immediate issue for the local community: it was an issue for political representation and for the restructuring of state functions. The more flexible approach in terms of procedures and decision making was accompanied by forms of spatial rescaling which involves, as ALLMENDINGER and HAUGHTON (2009) wrote,

> *not simply a shifting of emphasis across the existing scales of the statutory planning system, but the insertion of new scales for planning intervention, plus an apparent predilection for promoting new policy scales, initially at least through the device of fuzzy boundaries.* (p. 619)

This creation of a seemingly more dynamic and effective development planning system has become a target from conservative and neoliberal governments and the pattern for promoting State reforms. Thus, changes in territorial scales and jurisdictions have become a political issue, yet without clear outcomes. The challenges associated with the quest for reform represent a reaction in two aspects. On the one hand, planning through land-use and zoning plans, at different scales and scopes has become outdated. The changes from land use to spatial planning represent a different perspective, not only in terms of territorial scale but also in terms of a shift towards an interpretive planning approach (DAVOUDI, 2012, p. 438). On the other hand, the response for changing and adapting territorial dynamics requires new approaches for integrating space and place as the object of planning, and for promoting horizontal coordination and the conditions for action and programming through collaboration. State restructuring reforms such as the *Localism Bill* in the UK and the merging of local authorities represent a political approach. The main challenge, however, is associated with a different approach to the scales for planning intervention (and to planning models and processes as we will see later), privileging an understanding of the changes and the capacities of the local and regional levels from a place-based perspective.

The concept of place-based as territorialised policy has been associated with the formulation and implementation of development policies particularly in developing countries, allowing aid and institutional efforts to focus on particular problems in specific locations. The connections between place and policy address two crucial components for the efficiency of cohesion policy – the promotion of social inclusion and the integration of resources, both financial and institutional (see BARCA, 2009). In European Union policy and directives, the implementation of the concept of territorial cohesion has obvious connections with a place-based development approach. Although documents such as the *Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion*, the *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities*, the *Territorial Agenda of the European Union* and the most recent *Europe 2020 – a strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*, do not suggest methodologies and identify best practices in detail, the territorial (integrative) approach is either explicit or implicit. In that sense, the results of public consultation among regional

and local authorities on the *Europe 2020* document inferred that 'the key areas of the strategy correspond to their competences' and that the role in the Strategy of regional and local stakeholders 'needs to be increased to secure a full and equal partnership between different levels of government (multi-level governance)'. However, the adequacy of the urban planning system and policies responding to place development agendas requires changes in local approaches and methods which cannot be met solely by institutional reforms. A focus on place-based planning supported on targeted information analysis is a requirement that has to be evaluated on site and through practice.

3 THE TYPE OF PLANNING MODEL, VISION AND RATIONALITY

Having investigated changes and challenges regarding the adequate scale for planning intervention with implications for democratic representation, we will now look into the question of the type of planning model and the adequate design for planning effectiveness. Regarding pertinent changes, there are three approaches worth reviewing: planning and plan making as a vision, as an instrument for urban regulation and as a design strategy for intervention. These refer, respectively, to concerns for societal change, for development control and for economic feasibility.

The idea of a model (with a vision) for achieving societal changes has always been present in the history of planning as utopian thinking (HALL, 1992). Early 20th-century attempts by physical planners, such as the new town movements, were based on access to adequate resources for planning design and implementation under a different development model. Today's interpretation means a new rethink, as ATKINSON (2005) remarks:

> *The creation of Utopian settlement patterns must grow out of fundamentally participatory processes of social and economic restructuring that, if and as these develop confidence in their capacities to realize more congenial and controllable social and economic arrangements at the local level, then graduate to thinking about the physical structure of settlement pattern in the particular ecological and resource setting. This becomes the model for the 'urban and regional planning' of tomorrow, Utopian as ever, but grounded in new social processes aimed at transforming the structure and orientation of social and economic process. (p. 294)*

The concerns for development control linked with the idea of a planning vision for societal changes through participatory processes are, however, associated with the changes from land use planning towards a place-based and spatial planning perspective, as referred above. These changes do not develop overnight. The institutional history and concept of planning and plan making has a tradition of development control and national planning systems

that is grounded on a positivist approach that still maintains a strong influence (DAVOUDI, 2012).

Planning systems vary between countries, influenced by different planning and administrative traditions which are characterised by, among other factors, the scope and maturity of the system, the locus of power, the nature of the system of law and the relative roles of public and private sectors (EC, 1997, p. 33-49). Thus, the prevalent territorial and urban planning models are, in each country, the social product of a combination of developments in urban law and urban and regional development regulations and policies. Most European spatial planning systems have a constitutional basis and are associated with one of the main planning families consolidated after the Second World War in articulation of local and regional development policies (NEWMAN and THORNLEY, 1995). The pattern does not vary much between countries – regional development (structure) plans are indicative and are either produced by the national or the regional administrative level, while regulatory or normative (zoning) plans, at different scales (municipality, city, urban area or neighbourhood) are the responsibility of the local or municipal level.

In the late 1970's planning prospects changed dramatically under imperatives for less state control, spending and urban regulation to facilitate private sector involvement in land and property markets. These changes went along with developments for a more participatory and interventionist civil society and, in the European Union, with a new approach regarding investment programmes and policies promoting exchanges of experiences and the support for projects addressing common environmental, land use and urban regeneration problems (the example of the *RECITE* programme and the Community Initiatives such as the *URBAN* programme).

In addition, since the 1980's, European Community Directives have set-out rules and legislation that were adopted with some consistency by the different planning legislations enforcing conditions for sectorial integration, particularly in terms of environmental matters. State reforms for the decentralisation of planning functions (the example of the *Localism Bill*) and flexibility in planning procedures have also promoted developments towards a more integrative and interpretive (and democratic) approach to regulation.

The different strategies and designs for planning intervention, addressing various territorial scales and contexts with the widespread use of fuzzy names and concepts highlight the inherent contradictions of the changes taking place. Looking at debates regarding the contradictions between planning objectives, planning boundaries and the use of different terminologies as fuzzy concepts, there are relevant contributions. MARKUSEN (1999) defined a fuzzy concept as '*one which posits an entity, phenomenon or process which possesses two or more alternative meanings and thus cannot be reliably identified or applied by different readers or scholars*' (p. 870) and asked for greater conceptual clarity and rigour in the presentation of evidence for the work of politics, policy and planning guaranteeing the role and responsibility of agency. From a different perspective, BOURDIN (2010)

associated the wide use and abuse of '*concepts flous*' with a liberal approach built around the multiplication of actors and different powers in decision making. Examples of these concepts are terms such as competitiveness, innovation and diversity, which are applied to city planning and management to justify an urbanism of events and flagship projects in detriment of places' complexity and local relations.

What we see is a proliferation of planning models and concepts, tailored to a variety of needs, spatial scales and objectives, or copied from successful experiences (the case of Barcelona), named as 'masterplans' (BULLIVANT, 2012), strategic plans or '*projets urbains*' (to use the French word).

In a more positive approach, FALUDI (2010) assumes the need for new types of cooperation to respond to today's complex challenges, ones that do not respect rigid boundaries but do consider geography and spatial planning in the pursuit of territorial cohesion:

> *There is thus more to planning than spatial analysis, an evidence base, and financial incentives. What is required are discourses, story lines about space and spatial development and how to guide it. There is creativity, a feel for the situation, etc., etc., involved. This is of course nothing new. To reiterate, the difference is that I am not talking about exclusive, authoritative visions. Rather, there can and should be many spatial visions for many soft spaces, and these should be encouraged to rub off on each other.* (p. 22)

Thus, in a scenario dominated by the financialisation of space for which new forms of cooperation and compromises between the local agents and the local state are needed, the challenges for an adequate planning model refer to the capacity for articulating imperatives of flexibility and programming for guaranteeing the social role of land and the ecology of territories.

There are no rules, however, on what can be considered as a good planning model when it is informed more by process than by project and has not yet been tested (CABRAL and CRESPO, 2012). For that purpose the issues raised above can be portrayed by the analysis of the evaluation of the rules regarding how people use land ('rules under private law and under public law'), as developed by NEEDHAM (2006). The author argues that those rules should be evaluated against three criteria: 'effectiveness in realizing democratically chosen goals' (how the ambitions for land use in a particular location could be realised and how the land-use goals by the appropriate state agency are being met), 'economic efficiency' (as land-use planning affects the efficiency with which economic resources are used), and 'distributional effects' (associated with the equity criteria in public policy and control systems structuring and regulating markets).

These three criteria are a useful basis for assessing the articulation between policy goals and land use planning and the choice of the adequate planning model. The concrete conditions for them to occur depend, however, on the choice of the planning and governance process to be adopted. The changes

taking place and the challenges facing the role of urban planning at this level are dealt with in the next section.

4 THE PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE PROCESS

The identification of the challenges around planning scales and planning models for the role of territorial planning have pointed to the imperatives such as place-based approach and to an adequate articulation between norms for development control and conditions for programming urbanisation. This takes us to the concrete local conditions represented by the role of the governance model and the planning process to be adopted. These are crucial for guaranteeing community access to planning information and to planning decisions in order that enabling (rather than controlling) is an appropriate approach. This approach is set as part of the debate on spatial (or territorial, in the analysis of NOVARINA and ZEPF, 2009) versus land use planning role and scope referred above. The debate underlines the gains acquired from an interpretive approach and a continuous process of plan review, in contrast to a positivist stance and a discrete process leading to blueprint plan (DAVOUDI, 2012; DCLG, 2006).

The conditions for this to happen are not, however, guaranteed from the outset. They have to be constructed over time, through conflict solving and consensus building. Most importantly, they are dependent on the way adequate evidence is collected and gathered, with the capacity for achieving results. Design of the planning methodology and collection of the appropriate evidence necessary for understanding trends, defining options, generating alternatives and motivating and involving stakeholders, requires, conversely, a suitable governance system and institutional environment, a matter whose success is deep-rooted in the local planning culture and tradition.

What is at stake is the capacity of planning and planners to demonstrate competence through place-based governance models and planning processes, to prevent urban and community fragmentation and unregulated urbanization, facilitated by neoliberal state reforms and by the financialisation of space. The anticipation of urban and community fragmentation processes is to be addressed in opposition to the idea that "community" can substitute public policies and the management of urban problems, as localism and state reforms promote, and as HARVEY (1995) warns:

> *community is an unstable configuration relative to the conflictual processes that generate, sustain and eventually undermine them – as so far as it does acquire permanence it is frequently an exclusionary and oppressive social form.* (p. 54-56)

However, the prevention of unregulated urbanisation is to be set as part of an enabling (rather than controlling) strategy which is not opposed to development control but has to be translated into programming instruments

and methodologies for guaranteeing 'the right to the city' as HARVEY (2008) argues:

> *the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from the question 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 daily life we desire, what kinds of technologies we deem appropriate, what aesthetic values we hold. The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization.* (p. 23)

5 DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH – SCALES, MODELS AND PROCESSES FOR ACTION

The three areas addressed in this article considered as critical for the changes and challenges taking place and imply three directions of research which are of determinimg value for future developments in planning action. These refer to the scale for intervention, the planning model and the governance process to be adopted for effectively shaping and programming the right to an inclusive city. These are at the same time the arena and the responsibility of planning professionals when gathering the appropriate evidence and producing the narratives of rationalities and power relations to substantiate decisions, as explained by Flyvbjerg (2001).

Firstly, in terms of the scales of planning intervention for territorial cohesion, the emergent task is to identify the multiple jurisdictions with different and conflicting political and financial priorities and AGENDAS for a separation between planning functions and the implementation of a place-based and place-making planning approach.

Secondly, in terms of the planning models for place-shaping and place-making, the strategic goal is to demonstrate, at the different planning scales, the possibilities of planning ALTERNATIVES integrating concerns for flexibility and programming for a democratic and accountable decision making and governance process.

Thirdly, in terms of the planning process and governance for programming, the main objective is to guarantee that local planning is a credible and transparent process, accountable to the democratic governance structure at the scales where CO-OPERATION is critical for the formulation of a sustainable territorial development strategy.

Thus, further directions for research on the role of urban planning in a scenario of economic uncertainty and neoliberal policies should emerge from

the study of how evidence and place based interpretive approaches are present all along the planning process, and how different planning cultures mediate and produce governance practices for effectively programming urbanisation processes, reclaiming 'the right to the city'.

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Francesca Frassoldati

Shaping the Possible City: Between Choice and Chance

ABSTRACT:

With the financial crisis threatening the most diverse aspects of urban life, cities have to cope with the uncertainty generated by any modification in their economic, cultural, or spatial status quo. Cities face tendencies such as inertial resistance to change, bureaucratic decision loops, and budget constraints. In most cases, cities operate by reducing the risk of decision-making; however, processes of urban transformation still occur. In the light of this technical pragmatism, the following chapter outlines a discourse on ‘effectiveness‘ in urban transformations: what are the implications of inclusive practices, potential matters in compromising, and how decision making might be alternatively approached.

KEYWORDS: *Urban transformation, urban process, decision making, inclusive/exclusive process*

1 INTRODUCTION

In a time of rapid transformation of existing cities, a popular trend worldwide is the specialization of urban change and urban regeneration: notions that have been generally associated with the urban space, such as smartness, cultural value, innovation capacity, and eventually resilience, are singled out as explicit targets that designated pilot districts or neighbourhoods should achieve. Urban systems have, in most cases, survived for centuries as a result of their inherent adaptive capacity to transforming contexts. Public aspirations are expressed in catch words such as ‘smart city’, ‘city of culture’, and ‘resilient city’. The notion that cities should perform according to selected universal criteria is, for instance, the very basis of most international think tanks‘ guidelines and recommendations on eligibility under the available funding schemes.

Increasingly, the performative notion (i.e. how some specific aspects of the urban environment can be measured and compared via common indicators) has been assumed in the public discourse as a demand for the urban environment to conform to agreed indicators. Cities are requested to be more sustainable, more accessible, and more equal. In the best cases, such mobilization has achieved important targets. However, it is worth questioning what the implications are in pursuing better performances when designated indicators are measured. To some extent, the bottom-up requirement for better urban quality that dismantled the core of standardized planning rules implemented by modern urban planning traditions is replicating similar models when designated targets are translated into normative approaches (Albrechts & Balducci, 2013). In the last twenty years, a new ‘bureaucracy‘ has emerged that specifically focuses on sustainability and stakeholders, for example.

Strategies of participation and inclusion in public decisions about spatial transformations are no exception. It is increasingly common throughout the world for citizens to have their say in public choices about the city they live in. Inclusive strategies may serve as a method to overcome administrative constraints, making the process of making decisions about the city more democratic. Non-mediated inclusion is recommended by numerous international organizations to counterbalance both uncontrolled administrative procedures and citizens‘ disaffection towards the public and collective sphere that is undermining consolidated tools of representative democracy. However, enthusiastic approaches to participation fail to recognize that citizens‘ engagement can be approached technically and bureaucratically without producing and/or reproducing any public value other than conformity to a settled procedure.

The European Union funded project *Social Integration through Urban Growth Strategies* (SINERGI) provided the setting for four cities to share their experiences on inclusion and exclusion in the practices of urban transformation. The cases presented at the final conference in Skopje, which mostly regard the four cities in question, Skopje, Turin, Zagreb, and Lisbon, illustrated problematic definition, implementation, and critical evaluation of

inclusive practices and excluding attitudes. The pages that follow, in which I elaborate on the contents of the keynote speech delivered at the conference in Skopje, present more general thoughts on some of the implicit issues in the programmatic integration of design and social aspects connected with urban transformation.

To provide a common prospective framework, I will begin with some methodological concerns. Many of the essays that follow have been written by active groups that have studied or professionally worked in the urban space which they examine. These groups articulated a number of contributions that look at the same city or eventually the same urban neighbourhood from different angles. Although they arguably share a common 'frame of reference', since most of the contributions critically regard recent neoliberal trends in urban policies and adopt a variety of bottom-up approaches to problem setting and problem solving, the works develop into independent threads. Lefebvre's work on the 'right to the city' and Marcuse's critical rephrasing 'whose right, what right and to what city?', which many referred to at the conference in an effort to understand urban struggles, paved the way for a multitude of specifications and distinctions in which particularities overcome any tentative general answers.

In one of his short essays on complexity, Ilya Prigogine (1987: 97) wrote that, 'Wherever we look, we find evolution, diversification and instabilities'. In a world characterized by intrinsic complexity, there are no excuses to procrastinate in offering tentative explanations of single phenomena if doing so improves our understanding and makes 'the gap between "simple" and "complex", between "disorder" and "order" [...] narrower than it was thought before' (Prigogine, 1987: 98). Many of the following works initially expose a situation of apparent disorder or uncoordinated activism that is later illustrated as reasonable in light of the general situation in which it is embedded. The piecemeal approach disfavours broad frames and solutions and instead privileges manageable and effective experiments with limited or well-defined scopes. My contention is that punctual interventions and informed activism at the scale in which general problems become apparent in the physical urban space are more likely to coexist rather than substitute comprehensive planning pictures.

Coexistence is a direct implication of complexity in urban processes. As long as problems cannot be linearly described, the notion of one unique solution should be replaced by a series of incremental optimizations or ameliorations—through which multiple diversified stages come into being. Following Bourdieu's conceptualization (1991, pp. 40 and 45–46), the condition could be described as the contemporary shift from an ontology of end-state being-in-the-world to a notion of becoming-in-the-world. Places are in a state of continuous change, even if they are conceived and described by their persistent 'changelessness'. Design professionals live with the disciplinary contradiction of focusing almost entirely on end-state design whereas design implementation is made possible via incremental stages.

Indeed, there is hardly room for an implicit distancing of professionals' ideal configurations and reality as it is. Both design professions and urban policies have to confront the unfinished status of place and social process. Inclusion and exclusion have specific developments in the framework of complexity when the coexistence of different alternatives is hypothesized simultaneously. I propose four issues to frame a debate around inclusion and exclusion in urban practices through comparative cases that aim at establishing a common dialogue among reciprocally remote locations.

2 URBAN AMBITION

Even amidst troublesome urban contexts, urban space is by definition the opposite of isolation and singular conditions. Urban space is a collective matter and (re)generates common resources and a redistribution of costs. There are many ways in which difficulties, actions, and failures direct or inspire future pathways. Eventually, in urban contexts not only are durable investments worthy of appreciation, but even doing nothing, surviving mistakes, or withdrawing competitive schemes at the right time can serve as useful lessons.

Is this uncertainty something that specifically characterizes our contemporary times? I was particularly inspired by the epilogue to the unfinished construction of the Cathedral of Siena mentioned in the introduction to the Italian and French versions of *Moral Calculations*, a relevant volume on game theory written by Lazlo Mérő (1998). It is a story of urban adaptation, public engagement, and strategic choices that dates back 500 years. Siena had a cathedral in the fourteenth century, but in 1339 the city decided to enlarge it, adding a second massive body to the original building. It would have doubled the size of the structure with an entirely new nave and two aisles to which the pre-existing nave would have served as the perpendicular transect. A number of unexpected occurrences, such as construction errors, the Black Death in 1348, and financial mismanagement, halted the completion of the cathedral and the work has never been resumed since. However, the outer walls of this extension remain and can now be seen on the side of the Duomo; the floor of the uncompleted nave paves a public open space. Though unfinished, the remains are a testament to local power and misdirected ambition. Mérő's epilogue notes that instead of falling into a common social trap, in which those who started the investment continue to pile up extra resources in order to actualize their initial idea, people in fourteenth-century Siena gave up the competition with other cities in the region to have the most magnificent cathedral. They made a rational decision to adapt the initial idea to the different context that emerged a few years later. In the end, they had a cathedral completed, although it was smaller than imagined during the previous exciting season. What is more, that decision in most cases goes unnoticed, even if the unfinished remains were not eliminated. What was not used according to the original design was used to fit other purposes.

At this point, Mérő (1998, p. 6) highlights that contrary to common game traps, in which players are unwilling to give up their initial stake, the city of Siena not only withdrew from the game but also decided not to invest in removing the sign of that turnover, saving extra resources to guarantee that the church and its surroundings were restored to their original conditions. The ‘error‘ was included in the formation of a different space. Inclusion and exclusion thus also reflect the grade of complexity and the number of alternatives that may be incorporated into public decisions.

In 1998, the British government commissioned the Construction Task Force (CTF) chaired by Sir John Egan, a report on the status of the domestic construction industry and a consequent set of recommendations. The report included the following striking conclusion:

> …studies in the USA, Scandinavia and this country [UK] suggest that up to 30% of construction is rework, labour is used at only 40–60% of potential efficiency, accidents can account for 3–6% of total project costs, and at least 10% of materials are wasted. (CTF, 1998: 15)

No other sectors in manufacturing can coexist with such low performances. Therefore, one possible way to make public decisions related with the urban space more inclusive is to learn how to coexist and manage the divergence between initial ambitions or intentions and their implementation. To some extent, all decision makers and professionals should be concerned about the outcomes and implementation that are pertinent to the urban project. Far from halting decisions, this concern might have some elements in common with an evaluation that is also adaptive to evolving situations and does not pertain solely to the end state or conclusion.

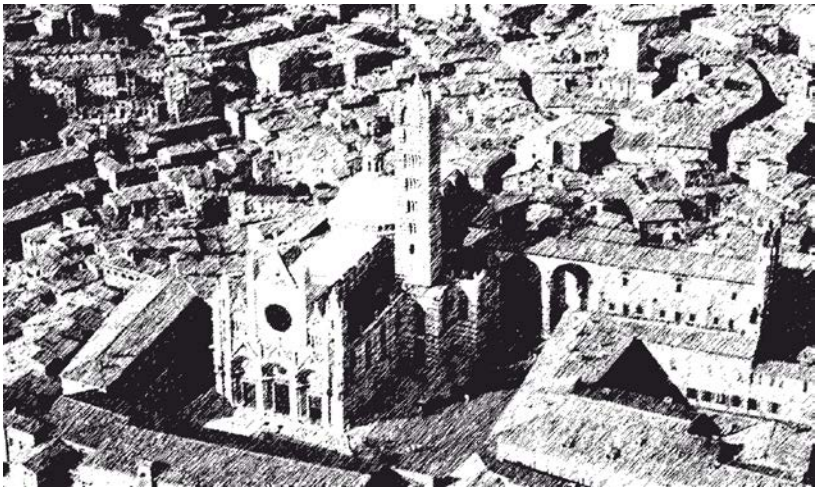

Figure 1. The cathedral of Siena

3 THE RISK OF DECISION

One could argue that this notion of inclusion of alternative developments into urban processes produces little effects, as it reproduces technical prescriptions of tools designated for managing the urban space. The difference, however, is in the principles guiding a programmatic inclusion of alternatives and not an ex-post confirmation/verification of what has been decided already. Incremental processes of inclusion accept the eventual shift of initial targets. One reference during the discussion in Skopje was the ongoing transformation of the former airport in Hong Kong. The airport was relocated in 1998 from a relatively urbanized area to a more suitable location. It was evident that the abandoned area was in urgent need of transformation, and the local government already had some general ideas regarding those 488 hectares. Due to the massive scale and fragmented use rights, the transformation has gradually taken the form of a two-tiered programme made of large-scale international investments driven by global interests (320 hectares) and a multitude of coordinated efforts that are controlled locally to create a decent place notwithstanding the unpredictable times of the other substantial investments. If regarded now, it is easy to say that the way in which the soft Masterplan phasing of transformation is designed is obviously inclusive of alternatives that were not predictable in the 1990s, and in many cases the people who were engaged in the transformation did not originally know they could have been implicit stakeholders.

However, it is worth reminding the reader that there has been a first ‘positioning‘ in which something different was declared as necessary and a general target was settled as the frame of reference for all efforts to actualize what was at the moment out of reach. Assessing what is ‘within, against and beyond the current urban condition’ (Chatterton, 2010, p. 235) is an active project. Indeed, it is a possible means of city making. Many contemporary constraints are internalized in this process: firstly, the diminished role for public institutions to define what benefits the majority (which has represented the declared aim of public policies, specifically spatial planning and urban design; see Albrechts & Balducci, 2013). The redefinition of citizenship during and as a result of urban transformation is also implicitly in question. Secondly, problems and approaches have a double meaning comprising both universal and punctual definitions, which may be conflicting. More tax revenue for the government from international investments is not necessarily perceived as benefiting local citizens who demand local urban quality. Thirdly, a general and reassuring sense of continuity of the process may prevail in alternative claims of discontinuity with the past. Continuity is a specific character of the urban space that is continuously used and inhabited, albeit in ever-changing fashion, with rare exceptions.

Within a similar urban narrative, the social network described by Anthony Giddens (1984) adds further operational implications. Instead of rigid pyramids of decision, which characterized the industrial society, Gidden‘s conceptualization of organizational networks emphasizes their adaptivity to changing contexts, eventually isolating critical pieces to boost the

performance of the system. Therefore, similarities with complex urban systems multiply and a different angle emerges from the network reference to look at urban transformations. Indeed, the experience of fragmentation of both action and change is rather common in the contemporary urban space. Is there any tension towards the recomposition of these urban fragments?

Figure 2. The evolution of a Masterplan

4 IMPLICIT QUESTIONS

The fragmentation and implicit incoherence of urban decisions offer the chance to eventually act on isolated pieces without questioning the existence of the urban system to be transformed. This approach has numerous implications. Beginning with the positive implications, it may be inferred that change is made possible by opportunities of potential effects rather than by need. An ideal definition of the right thing to do is substituted by what is possible in a given context. Yet, the collective dimension of change is then based on singular or particular impulses, i.e. the parts of a network that are suitable for change. The benefit of the many is thus forced to focus on what is changeable, which is indeed a rather narrow notion. Moreover, the city may become more involved in managing procedures that avoid structural questions.

A remarkable point of crisis of European governing system is that governments survive longer in a democratic environment if the risk of their decisions is reduced. An attitude that characterizes critical urban studies is in fact strongly against compromising with governing bureaucratic powers by softening critical conditions with palliative solutions which can constrain the construction of future alternatives. However, pragmatic actions that are generated by singular groups and tactical urban interventions (Godanho, 2015) are the expression of direct forms of decision making and consensus with an inherent limit in terms of size. Even in the best cases, tactical actions are acceptable for a limited group of persons that define and agree on what is right. Moreover, tactical urbanism is made possible by the persistence of a comprehensive background defined by the central policies it antagonizes. To some extent, tactics are concerned with the deconstruction of a complex

situation into a manageable context in which the most striking impediments are disabled (such as bureaucratic procedures, unwilling financial support, and ideological opposition) to favour pragmatic actions. The general intent is thus not far from what a comprehensive and inclusive public process should ideally do. The contexts in which actions take place define whether supplementary collective aspects may apply, such as the recomposition and redistribution of tactical benefits in a broad urban picture.

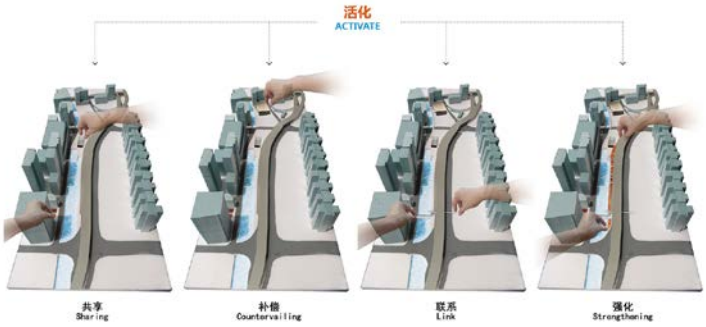

Figure 3. Tactical urbanism

5 IMPLICIT BARRIERS

The opportunity to redefine urban issues based on the chances they provide for tangible effects to take place leads us to reconsider the scope of public action in urban contexts. Government‘s actions will more easily be approved and implemented to the extent that they are individually reversible and non-compulsory. Bottom-up actions, and particularly those ranging in the grey area between what is allowed and what is illegal, will be taken into positive consideration when unvoiced subjects receive some sort of benefit that, although far from a shared structural solution, provides a temporary frame in which general urban principles are not systematically violated. Again, rather than the conflict or tensions that may arise at some point, it is interesting that the attitude underlying both kinds of action is to move on and incrementally redefine the terms to negotiate in a dialogue.

Different perspectives and paradigms may coexist, but once questions and spaces of negotiation are made explicit, the terms to agree on are directed towards a shifted target. As in many ‘wicked‘ problems related with the urban space (Rittel & Webber, 1973), opportunity mixes with opportunism and occasional choices mix with chances. Whenever urban issues are made specific in this way, it becomes clearer that there is a gap between the capacity to act on a defined scale and with or for a defined target (which does not prevent transformations from taking place) and the ideal image in our mind of the city as a compact entity and a unified society where everyone is actively engaged in public life for the public—and not their own—interests. The picture we get after this description is a city in which

issues and prospects are mostly defined by separate groups. All in all, it is an urban world that works in a way which leaves the impression that the commonality of adjustable interests is the force that aggregates rather than the ground to make differences explicit and accepted.

6 CONCLUSIONS

To summarise the major arguments discussed above. The discussion began with a description of the new constraints that the understanding of contemporary complexity poses to public decisions related to urban space. In a world of complexity, places are in a state of continuous change. In many respects, making decisions in the public realm corresponds to maintaining this process of incremental adjustment. Modelling procedures and processes make inclusive actions plausible, but only specific and empirical references specify ineluctable questions. For example, what is the purpose? What is the effect? Who are the winners? Who loses? Inclusion and exclusion have different meanings in diverse contexts, while the universalizing language of normative discourse tends to make smooth transitions among any crucial differences. When confronted with oppositions, such as detailing/generalizing, the paradigm of complexity helps us in configuring a multi-scalar world in which different angles may coexist and, in most cases, where polarizing differences obscure more than they reveal: in urban planning and design professions, the fascination for conflict becomes as dangerous as the idealization of consensus. Indeed, they are both elements of the public process rather than bold alternatives.

With a focus on the tension between inclusion and exclusion tensions, we ended up questioning the possibilities for action in an urban world of fragments. Quite often the imageries connected with the direct exercise of decisions by collective groups refer to the poetics of village life and the virtues of self-sufficient sustainable communities. Although this is a possible pragmatic attitude to reach measurable (small-scale) effects to counteract large and complex problems, the recomposition of city imagery on such bases is rather challenging. In other words, a city system can hardly be continuously reconstituted starting with a single parcel whose isolation hinders potential conflictual diversity. While parcels may provide an escape for governing matters, they do not result in a synthesis of universal paradigms. The consequent fragmentation first changes and then becomes a consequence of effects and means. Even for design professions, the request to be specific and place-based, and therefore to specialize in potential outcomes avoiding parochialism, is an everlasting challenge.

The discussion may convey the impression that we have developed an analytical capacity that overcomes our ability to produce positive effects in a complex context. One way for further elaborations to reconfigure urban frames is to focus on the procedures within which single fragments are recomposed. Another approach is to counterbalance singularities with those

current and permanent dimensions that exist only as aggregated urban issues: infrastructure, energy, water, waste, and the like.

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Committing to City Spaces
Notes on the Italian experience of the “Urban Commons Regulations”

ABSTRACT:

Traditionally framed as “public functions”, the management of the public realm, the provision of collective services and in more general terms the maintenance, reuse and transformation of the city spaces are issues being questioned and partially reframed in the Italian debate on the “Urban Commons Regulations”. At its initial stages, this way of repracticing the relationship between the municipalities and the urban communities, comes in a moment of weakness by the public local authorties and the need for new paradigms to frame local development and growth in urban systems. The debate on the urban dimension of commons could offer an interesting perspective to study the urban political process and the production of spatial policies. Yet space, physical assets and their concern are crucial to explore the shift between property and management as key aspects in the debate on commons: much more than a simple matter of maintenance and care of city spaces, the perspective suggested by the Regulations issue should include space in its generative dimension, as a translating tool, as a common ground for local development and for a more inclusive and empowering urban political process.

KEYWORDS: *Commons, active citizenship, collective spaces, urban lands, planning process*

1 INTRODUCTION

During the last few years many Italian cities have started an unprecedented work on the involvement of the urban communities in the handling, managing and development of city assets. Far from representing an accomplished and national process, this new attitude encompasses a number of issues, surely directly questioning traditional and acknowledged practices to manage public properties and urban physical assets, but more generally taking into account a number of matters related to our capacity to design fair and democratic cities in addition to developing effective and efficient urban systems. Mainly originating from civic society and framed as a bottom-up-generated dynamic, this phenomenon recently started to involve also institutional actors at city level, rising the attention on the need for different ways to frame civic participation in the urban political process. From another perspective though, it can be interpreted as one of the many evidences of the gradual lack of capability of governing coalitions to express and cope with collective issues, reclaiming a general enlargement and enrichment of the relationship between problem-setting, decision-making, policy-making processes, new sets of tools and devices to define plausible shared visions and strategies for local development.

The complex and multifaceted set of experiences that is promoted in Italy, and at the same time supported and pushed on the debate on the civic management of city assets can be intended as the story of an effort to frame the relationship between municipalities and citizens in a new way, offering local political authorities new instruments to institutionalize bottom-up practices. Despite its long gestation dating back to the late nineties (Arena 2015), the phenomenon has come in more recent times to tangible outcomes, with the launch on may 2014 of the “Urban Commons Regulation” in the city of Bologna and a growing dissemination in the whole country. The “Urban Commons Regulations”, are ordinarily presented as a set of rules addressed to recognize (and somewhat institutionalize) the role that active citizenship could play in terms of maintenance and care of city spaces and services. The Regulations are supposed to make the role of individuals, associations and no-profit entities legitimate, allowing them to sign cooperation agreements with the public authority, stating and disciplining their work in partnership with the municipalities. Tools, positions, fiscal incentives, technical and operational details are defined, to allow local actors directly charge interventions and services traditionally provided by the public– from simple maintenance to shared management of services, to temporary or permanent regeneration of built assets. Until now a strong legal and administrative perspective has prevailed in the debate, presenting the Regulations mainly in its juridical evidence than in its generative potentialities. This sort of a dichotomy is particularly clear when it comes to the relationship between ownership and uses: by stating the possibility for single citizens or organizations to transform a publicly purposed building/area (publicly or privately owned), the Regulations commit to govern a number of existing “borderline licit”/currently unauthorized uses and treatments of collective spaces, making them admissible. The possibility to state a different regime between public property, collective uses, civic

management could substancially relieve the public authority from its assignement to directly provide and maintain public spaces and services to the community. At the same time though it potentially breaks the typical strict structure of land use regulations as they are traditionally framed in our country - where permitted purposes and end uses of lands are defined by law through the City Masterplan, and where public and private ownership tend to be clearly differentiated and physically separated.

At present more than 50 municipalities in Italy have adopted the Regulations and almost 80 have started the approval process, while the issue of “urban commons” has somehow entered the general debate on cities regeneration, shrinkage, urban resilience, intercepting the discussion on the use, reuse and development of city lands as much as the one on growth strategies models. The widespread interest for this kind of tool has surely contributed to enhance a more general concern of how subsidiarity could be applied in an urban context, fostering some sort of institutional change and offering space for an organizational reframing of the traditional “mandate rationality” towards a more cooperative attitude (Arena 2015). At these stages the value of the initiative stands more in its capability to suggest a change in the insitutional action than in its direct operational outcomes, as just a few cities have concretely started to use it. In those cases, except probably for a few initiatives started in Bologna, the range and scale of the interventions are often very limited and bound to basic actions separated by the main urban development strategies. Anyway it must be underlined how this in nuce experience and its vicissitudes have nationally contributed to the acceptance and a better understanding of a growing number of bottom-up, informal, uninstitutionalized actions over the city. If on the one hand this can be considered as positive, on the other hand the main framing of the issue presents a number of criticalities and weak points, while the very perspective embraced to explore it seems to be quite limited and incomplete - rooting back to the general debate on commons for example, is the strong law and economics-oriented perspective shown by the Italian declining of the issue, where, as already stated, the Regulations are mainly framed as a legal tool to manage a the agreement between the public authority and the citizens.

A few terms would require a deeper reflection -*"what do we mean or refer to when we talk about urban commons?"-,* while the original concern of the commons issue would need to be recalled to better understand the current appeareance of the Regulations. At the same time, to fully explore the potential this kind of tools could offer to the urban political process and to spatial policies in particular, a reflection on the role of space and on its concern in this framework is necessary - *in which way can city spaces be considered as commons? Or, which kind of city spaces could become commons?-.* Detecting a multilayered and more complex idea of what space fits the definition of commons, exploring it as a translational device and as a generative fact, a possibile way to differently interpret urban crisis issues is suggested, exploring how tools like the "Urban Commons Regulations" could help shape local development strategies on a more open, inclusive and

democratic basis. Instead of simply stating the rules to displace some public functions from one actor to another then, the focus of the argument would become their capability to strengthen local governance systems, intervening on the urban transformation process reforming/modifying/interacting with the existing planning tools - *in which terms can the urban commons issue show a new pathway for city planning policies?-.*

The arguments will be structured around the vicissitudes of Torino, a city that in recent years faced a massive restructuring process, involving local society at many levels and in many ways. Here the role of space in urban policies has been outlined (specially by the public authority) in a very peculiar way, with a number of implications for the local governance system and the critical capability of stakeholders to effectively perform innovation and lead/participate the process of change (Bobbio, Dente, Spada 2005, Lucchini 2014). Today, at the end of the political season that accompanied a two decades-long post-fordist transition, the city is in need for new growth and development paradigms to rethink itself after the global crisis: the general political and economic conditions have changed, the issues to be treated have changed and the old strategies and rationalities to manage the urban system seem not to be working anymore. To be effective, the performing of an "Urban Commons Regulation" in this sense should then become an occasion to discuss a number of wider matters that have to do with space, its conditions and its transformation (including its role also on economic terms), but also with the way the public authority has dialogued with local communities until now and could interact in the future. Questioning the very basis of a development model, the discussion will focus on the need Torino has for new tools capable to influence and reform the planning process. In which way the urban commons debate can contribute to affect and change the operating principles of the traditional planning rationalities? How could they effectively involve local actors to shape the future city promoting urban innovation and local development?

2 URBAN SPACES AS COMMONS

The term “commons” has a long story in the background, crossing significant stages of the debate on resources management, the government/governance and public/private relationship, institutional action, common pools generation and public functions, the regulatory role of the market and the state in managing goods and resources, just to name a few. Rooting back to the 60s the discussion has involved prominent scholars (Hardin 1968, Ostrom 1990), calling into question the very basis of the operation of our socio-economic systems as much as the paradigms of our development models, the way we design our institutions and the way we frame and structure our communities by dealing with our global resources. As a general framework the traditional debate on commons could be attributed to two main fields of reflection, both coming from legal and economics -related fields. A first line of reasoning is more closely bound to

the theory of property, exploring the issue of accessibility to goods and resources – in terms of whether they be limited or unlimited, natural or artificially produced, in relationship with their availability and with rivalry in their use (Hardin 1968 and others), outlining the concepts of over exploitation and degradation. A second - more recent one - is centered on the environmental laws issue and, by exploring the way common pool resources can be managed (though not directly owned) by communities, local groups or informal organizations, suggests an enlargement of the public/private property dichotomy, introducing governance and collaborative management of resources (Ostrom 1990).

Over time the issue of "commons" has been framed, conceptualized and articulated, including a number of different modifications, referring both to physical and tangible goods and to intangible patrimonies/property/heritage (knowledge commons, cultural commons, digital commons, assets, etc.). A growing debate on the urban dimension of commons has stabilized, intercepting the work of scholars from different schools of thought underlining the importance of the city/urban system as a key-factor for the production of commons (Hardt, Negri 2011) and innovation (Glaeser 2012), as much as for economic growth (Savitch, Kantor 2002). This multifaceted condition, and the critical relationship between its different dimensions, stand at the basis of the current discussion on the accessibility of urban spaces and resources for all urban inhabitants: the reflection on urban commons crosses the fields of policy-making, planning, development and growth strategies, urban restructuring, regenerating and revitalizing rules, questioning their capability to foster inclusive and equitable cities by transforming them. The issue is often framed in terms of "right to the city" (Harvey 2012), intertwining conflictuality and protest against commodification of urban spaces. Here the "*language of 'commons' is being invoked to lay claim to, and protect against the threat of 'enclosure' by economic elites, a host of urban resources and goods which might otherwise be more widely shared by a broader class of city inhabitants*" (Foster, Iaione 2015, p.3-4). This is particularly evident for those contexts in which, often after long term processes of urban restructuring, the global financial crisis and/or transitional socioeconomic dynamics have generated tangible effects on the urban balances – let us think for example to shrinkage processes and the disproportionate offer of out-of-the-market lands, or to the selling of public assets to contrast local authorities' liabilities.

The issue is assuming different connotations depending on the context, and a part of the Italian debate has developed a peculiar perspective that concentrates its attention on physical assets, identifying as commons vacant urban lands, open spaces and infrastructures, abandoned or underutilized public and private structures and buildings, intending them as "*common pools resources*" whose "*difficulty and cost of excluding competing users or uses of the resource render it an open access resource vulnerable to the tragic conditions of overexploitation and degradation*" (Foster, Iaione, 2015, p. 10). These kind of spaces are considered as commons according to the fact that they "*might otherwise be under exclusive private or public control*",

while the main urgency is to recognize the "*social value or utility that such access would generate or produce for the community*" (Foster, Iaione, 2015, p. 10). In the urban physical dimension "rivalry" in the accessibility of assets can be related to the issue of externalities resulting from proximate (and rather conflictual) functions and land uses (Crosta, 1990; Ferraro, 1991). Here a critical and crucial role is played by zoning regulations, whose purpose is, between others, to control consumption of city land, trying and manage negative externalities. At the same time though, city spaces are also made out of collective spaces, places where proximity breeds interaction among city inhabitants, facilitating a "*host of other goods that are made possible by the non-excludability of the space and, ironically, from its potential for congestion*" (Foster, Iaione 2015, p.13).

Scholars from different traditions underline how interaction/conflict among stakeholders by means of use and transformation of urban lands can generate rivalry, as much as offer opportunities to enhance the urban land's value to the community itself, fostering social positive outcomes. As already mentioned, this condition is particularly evident in those contexts where conflict about city spaces deals with the future use of open, abandoned or vacant lands. The rising concern insists on an enlargement of the possible treatments of properties and uses, suggesting to move from an exclusively private (or public) good to a communally held good, and then separating property issues by management issues. Calling into question the traditional real estate market dynamics, this positions underline how "*the basis for claimig the property for collective use or consumption is premised on the utility or value that these structures have for a broader group of users than exclusive ownership allows*" (Foster, Iaione, 2015, p.21). As Kornberger and Borch (2015) underline, the community and the relationship it institutes with the (vacant) property is essential, as urban commons are a function of the human activity and network in which the resources are embedded - *"value is the corollary of proximity and density which are both relational concepts"* (Kornberger, Borch 2015, p.7-8). In this riverbed stands also one of the roots of the italian movement for "beni comuni", whose conceptual crux is this shift of the debate from the property issue to the goods mamanegement issue: no matter wether the property is public or private, what matters here is its shared management, and its open accessibility. A strong democratic, participatory, relational and interactive dimension is underlined, as it concerns all involved parties in the direct performing of their citizenship rights (Rodotà 2015).

Openness, a great concentration of resources, and a redundancy of social, economic, physical, relational, cognitive factors capable to generate new commons (Donolo 1997) makes the way for cities to become vulnerable to conflict and rivalry in the use of city spaces, suggesting that how "*cities manage, or regulate, the potential for rivalry and tensions between competing claims to the commons is at the heart of the governance question*"(Foster, Iaione, 2015 p.38). This is a crucial matter, specially as far as it calls into question the role of the public actor as a regulator of such processes, and the very nature of the planning tools as means to mediate,

manage and govern the access to city commons. On the other hand this opens up a further reflection on the role of space as a means to foster a better involvement of local actors through governance-oriented policies. To explore the implications of this different perspective of work on cities, the vicissitudes of Turin can probably offer an interesting overview, specially if we consider public action as a field of analysis. Trying to better understand how spatial policies have been framed in the past and how at present time the “Urban Commons Regulation” is being performed could probably help outlining the reasoning on the role the discourse on urban commons could help reframing/reforming the city's planning tools.

3 SPACE MATTERS

During the last three decades Turin has been undergoing a broad and massive process of reorganization. This process of change was entrenched in the early Eighties, when the “company town model” started to collapse and was first called into question (Bagnasco, 1990). Accompanied by a long-term – some controversial - debate on the City's development trajectories, this process involved local society on many different levels, implicating a variety of policy areas (urban, cultural, economical, financial, etc.) in the strive for the definition of new shared metaphors and ideas for the future Turin. It was a fortunate season (Belligni 2008), in which the the public sector played an important role in promoting the *policy-making* process, expressing its capability to generate urban innovation (Dente, Bobbio, Spada 2005), acting as a financial promoter and as a coordinator of programs and projects, fostering new tools (i.e. The Strategic Plan) and new planning practices (Progetti Speciali), aggregating social, relational and cultural resources. This facilitated the strengthening of a coalition (quite a broad group of non-insititutional actors) that for a certain amount of time had been able to work beside the city government on the public agenda (Belligni 2008, Belligni, Ravazzi 2013), “tuning” its action on common and shared issues – such as the physical renovation of the city, the interest for knowledge-society-oriented interventions, the promotion of the city through big events.

The work on the built environment and the physical renovation of the urban system played a key and multifaceted role, affecting the big deindustrialized urban plots as much as the central districts and giving birth to almost ten million square meters of new gross floor area. Though raising many questions from architectural and urban design perspectives (Bianchetti 2008), the strategy of “urbanizing the urban” helped the city economically on a moment of uncertainty and need for growth. In this sense, one peculiar and specific character that needs to be underlined to fully understand this transition is the issue of land ownership. As a matter of fact, specially in the newly urbanized areas of the Spina Centrale districts, the vision for the future city outlined and promoted by the public authority has been realized transforming private lands, involving in the urban restructuring process many of those big industrial players that contributed to shape the city as a

production hub in the previous decades. A bunch of few local companies/developers combined real estates operations with wider economic restructuring strategies. Negotiation between private interests and collective outcomes was then the main (and more often the only disposable) pathway followed by the public authority to provide those services, facilities and new functions needed by the local system to move forward, maximizing the public effects of private initiatives. This attitude, at certain conditions, offered a stage for the development of integrated policies: urban changeover strategies in fact, in particular during the first phases, represented a complex set of actions over the city, where big market oriented programs were accompanied by lower scale urban regeneration programmes.

The critical relationship between these two different kinds of actions on the built environment, emerged in more recent years, when the weakening of the local investors forced the Municipality to search for new investors abroad, and a first rich season of Europe-led integrated programmes was completed. Besides a good number of virtuous experiences (i.e. the Parco Dora or some first realizations along the new Spina Centrale boulevard), in many cases big urban restructuring strategies moved on separated tracks than integrated projects and interventions on the most disadvantaged areas of the city, showing a complex (and some contradictory) concern for the discourse on the built environment. Big formerly industrial areas counterpose in this case to “mirco-interventions” in the very fabric of the neighbourhoods. It is just talking about the latter that we can reasonably recognize an attitude towards subsidiarity and an interest on actively involve local actors in making-sense of the changing urban condition. Here space and its transformation was more instrumentally used as a mean to generate new sociability and empowerment occasions, to connect to local society, to attract financial, relational and social resources, and finally to perform new ways of framing collective issues. Talking about urban change became in some cases a multilayered way to foster a dialogue between the local authority and the citizens, offering a new possible governance arena for the urban political process, and proving to be a field for common goods production (i.e. the experience of the “Case del Quartiere”). When it came to the big urban strategies and redevelopment plans (i.e. the strategic planning process) the inclusion issue shifted more towards communicative and informational actions devoted to explain the citizens what was happening in terms of urban change, providing interpretations and key-words by “storytelling city change”. Space and its transformation kept on being on focus but the issue in this sense was much more bound to the enlargement and deepening of the public debate, showing all the positions in the arena and trying to give the citizens the tools to understand what was going on in the city. Though participatory initiatives in this sense were lacking, scholars tend to underline how the expression of conflict and reaction towards this massive process of change was soothed (Belligni, Ravazzi 2008), with a general acceptance of its outcomes by local stakeholders and citizens in general.

The critical turning point represented by the global financial crisis contributed to make the ongoing exhaustion of this season clearer: from an economical point of view, there is not the same availability of resources and opportunities anymore, while the public has been losing its prominent innovative role, lacking both on urban and metropolitan level on leadership, inclusion and cooperation capability. In the bargain, a critical legacy of this recent urban and political cycle is represented by the weakening of that actors-network that contributed to make the change possible. Once "accompanied", involved and coordinated by the local authority – in the so called "society of contracts" (Lucchini 2015), these actors are now suffering its weakness, proving uncapable to take advantage of the social and relational capital assembled during the last twentyfive years, to foster innovation and to work cohesively in partnership "beside" (or "relating to") the public sector. Though tending to ascribe the public authority the responsibility of unsuccessful policies and programs, they keep on considering it the main political and economical interlocutor, the one player in the field capable to collect shared interests, resources, values, visions and metaphors.

In this sense the discourse on space itself has been shrinking its previous range, shifting on economic matters and increasing the competition between municipalities (even if they now politically belong to the same metropolitan system). These difficulties get more persuasive given the necessity for local authorities to cope with pressing "spending reviews", diminishing financial resources at national level, and the critical condition of local welfare systems. In terms of this perspective, the work on cityscape seems to be losing the capacity it previously had– almost for a period in some portions of the city-, to connect different issues and policy areas, to act as some sort of "translating device" between public and private instances, and it seems to be reducing to a mere, opaque, business transaction. Turin more recent vicissitudes, tell us about a local institutional system that tries to maintain its accountability, and still attempts to actively fuel the political process and the urban economic system. Lacking every day more of an integrated perspective over emerging and unknown issues, the local authority is not giving up its administrative and leading action, but it is more than ever overwhelmed by the necessity of selecting choices, building and prioritizing problems, and fostering a wide and open decision-making process. Some efforts emerge on different levels, though often confusing, performing an action oriented on the issues of internationalization and European competitiveness, insisting on knowledge-oriented policies (i.e. "Torino Città Universitaria" programme), and pursuing a policy of foreign capitals attraction. The stress on physical restructuring still has an important role in the rhetoric of change, presented as an essential engine for the future development of the urban system, and generally viewed as a possible stage for multi-scale integrated urban policies.

Another notable phenomenon is an urgent call for an assessment of the consequences and results of the significant efforts/major projects performed to implement such a demanding urban restructuring process. Its price is still

being paid nowadays, and represents a key issue besides the need for a shift towards new perspectives and strategies. It is becoming important to understand whether what has been done during the last decades worked, on which basis and on which policy fields it proved capable to generate development occasions; whether it was able to strengthen the local system – in terms of social restructuring effects, of asset-building, of human capital stabilizing and so on; whether the Turin urban system is nowadays adequately "equipped" to face the impressive changes that are globally affecting cities in the world. Although this evaluation would require resources to be seriously framed, an investigation of the present condition characters could serves as a possible initial basis to purposefully raise some reflections/criticalities questioning the legacy of the past season. As a start, the focuscould be placed on the role the public actor(s) played and will be able to to play in the next decades, and on the kind of framing it (they) will be conveying to urban policies and "physical matters" from a local and metropolitan perspective.

At the moment the outlined tactic highlights some key-interventions in the city, but what seems to be missing is a clear strategical spatial frame, capable to organize a new hierarchy and a new long-term vision. Big urban strategies (or what remains of them) struggle in including in their framework the dimension of social capital and local development, having great difficulties in changing the very scale of the discourse on space (which should be both metropolitan and local). While old strategies are applied, new issues are rising; big complex changeovers are constrained by economic and financial difficulties, while the city's socioeconomic balances stagger. Besides the few abandoned industrial sites still to be recovered, there is a growing number of abandoned, underutilized spaces and buildings which are slowly getting out of the market (including a part of the housing assets); by virtue of the global financial crisis the city presents high unemployment rates (more than 12% that rises up to 30% if we talk about youngsters aged between 15 and 24), with rising requests in terms of welfare services, and access to an obsolete and insufficient public housing stock. The general worsening of the financial availability of the city is starting to show its evident consequences in spatial terms, with a general (and somewhat unprecedented) decrease in the capability to maintain, care and manage the collective spaces (may they be cleaning problems in parks and squares, or maintenance issues in streets … specially when it comes to less central areas).

The transformed field of action, and the impossibility of playing a prominent role also from the economic point of view, could contribute to a shift in the attitude of the public. Although maintaining its leadership, and in order to reinforce it, the assumption of an "enabling" perspective and a growing interest in streghtening the local actors-network, could foster a new restructuring of the public-public and public-private relationship (partnership-oriented, but also interested in transferring the "public function"to a wider set of actors). In order to focus on intercepting the sphere of these actors, the development of programmes and strategies focused on the social and

relational capital growth should be considered. The call for new “operational” planning practices should intercept the pursue of a higher, more distributed and equal capability of innovation. In this sense the necessity to rethink tools and instruments of planning gets crucial, as much as an enlargement of the scope of spatial policies (Cottino, Zeppetella 2009), intended as an occasion to cross the physical dimension with local actors mobilization.

4 CONCLUSION

The “Urban Commons Regulations” developed by the city of Turin and still in its approval phase, is being presented by its promoters as the heritage (the one-more-step forward) of the long season of work on urban restructuring and regeneration brought on in the city along the last twenty years. Focused on spatial policies and urban transformation, this season has recently closed, and a number of consequences, implications an effects are in need to be treated to move the city forward and to overcome a general state of socioeconomical stagnation. In this framework the concern recently promoted by the Italian and international debate on urban commons, by outilining a “cooperational” practice of public-private relationship and by enlarging the concept of active citizenship as a tangible intervention (also) on city spaces, seem to offer useful elements for a discussion on a reform/reframing of spatial policies as more inclusive local development and governance tools.

The “Urban Commons Regulations” could make sense and be improved in Turin as an occasion to use the transformation of spaces (of underused, abandoned surplus areas and buildings in the city) as a generative common ground for integrated initiatives, capable to activate new governance networks involving public, private and non-profit sectors. The basic idea would be to imagine a strong relationship between material and immaterial actions, in order to use (re-use) the physical assets to give birth to new local services, new urban commons, new development opportunities for the local system. Suggesting a possible new field for the starting of new forms of partnerships and opening the way to new governance networks this framework could convey urban and regional spatial policies a brand new perspective, letting the discourse on space perform a crucial role in framing the local debate, offering a possible “trading zone” (Balducci, Mantysalo 2013) between different purposes and interests, between the physical and the social level, in order to get the urban political process going, and to foster a different relationship between spatial matters, social inclusion and local development strategies.

Though at its initial stages, the aim of this analysis of the Turin experience is to suggest some key critical points to be underlined and further explored on a spatial theory of urban commons: the first one is a reflection on the role of the public authority as an actor capable to build agreements and relate to the other parties in the city. A peculiarity of the Italian debate

on urban commons implies a strong orientation to coordination, cooperation and partnership instead of outsourcing, delegating and “rejecting” public functions. Crucial in this sense is the attitude towards local actors, as their capability to actively cooperate and contribute to the urban political process must be considered in relationship with the interest and the capability public authority has in fostering empowering policies. Coming to space and its regulation, the changing role of public and private property and the implications in terms of planning rules of the possibility to separate ownership and management of spaces will need to be treated. Setting aside the legal perspective, which is probably the most explored, and concentrating on operational issues, the urban commons contribution would for example be directed to a deep reinvention of the traditional administrative planning practices (i.e. General Regulatory Plans and similar documents). This could have direct implications on the planning tools and the rationalities that govern the intervention on the city, calling for a review of the scales of the urban project (more metropolitan in terms of development strategies, more local in terms of urban changeover, actors network, problem setting). This would imply a change in the approaches to planning, that should measure the consequences, effects and criticalities of a work on the city made out of projects for specific urban conditions, resources, actors, occasions.

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Chapter 2

The Right to the City Promising Concepts and Practices

Isabel Raposo

Marginal Urban Areas urban metamorphosis: A New Global Phenomenon Needs New Ways of Thinking and Intervening

ABSTRACT:

Marginal urban areas sprawling precariously, particularly visible in the cities of developing or emerging countries, express public alienation or the inability to accommodate a large number of poor people, many of them rural migrants or immigrants. This marginal city, diverse and multifaceted, and in close interaction with the consolidated city is, for its size and specificity, a 'global social phenomenon': to study it and the strategies to improving it requires 'new ways of thinking urbanism'. The present paper reviews the Athens Charters of 1933 and 1998-2003 and focuses on the concept of ‘Right to the City’ in line with the critical perspective of Lefebvre (1968). It aims to understand and discuss the new ways of thinking marginal urban areas that have emerged in recent decades, and to identify those which manage to reduce urban and housing exclusion. The empirical cases are drawn from programmes in Portugal, particularly in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, which are contributing to trying out alternative solutions to suburbs upgrading and to building a more inclusive, just and democratic city.

KEYWORDS: *marginal city; urban exclusion; alternative programmes, inclusive city; Lisbon Metropolitan Area*

1 INTRODUCTION

The present paper looks into the contributions, toward the construction of a more inclusive, just and democratic city made by the public housing programmes implemented in the new millennium in Portugal, with an emphasis on the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Consideration of the present rests on a brief historical review of the chief housing programmes in Portugal during the later half of the twentieth century. To aid reflection we shall challenge two international documents that marked thought on the city and on housing in the last century: the Athens Charter from 1933 focussing on the functionalism and rationalism of the industrial city, and the New Athens Charter from 1998-2003 directed to the coherence of post-industrial European cities. The Right to the City concept guides the entire discourse and it will be approached in line with the critical perspective of Henri Lefebvre (1968).

The aim is to understand and discuss the new roads and solutions that have emerged in recent decades and intend to contribute or indeed have contributed to reducing urban and housing exclusion. This reflection has been under development at Gestual[30], a study group that carries out research and local action in marginal urban and housing areas in Lisbon and in other cities in Portuguese-speaking countries.

In the second (II) section following this brief introduction we shall discuss, starting from a contextualisation of the expansion of the marginal city in general and of its specificities in Portugal, the reference concepts adduced to interpret the reach of the new housing programmes that have been tried out lately. In the third (III) section we shall proceed to a brief overview of the housing programmes that marked the later half of the twentieth century in Portugal: (i) first of all, we refer to the large-scale housing programmes of modernist inspiration, Olivais and Chelas, built in the 1960s, during the dictatorship; (ii) taking as a temporal turning point the year 1974, in which democracy was established through a revolutionary process that put an end to a 40-year-long dictatorship, we shall highlight the innovative, interactionist programme launched at the time, SAAL (*serviço de apoio ambulatório local* – local ambulatory support service), distinguishing it from the previous programmes; (iii) we finish this section, focusing on two main policies implemented in the 90s, in an emerging neoliberal context, concerning marginal urban areas - the mass rehousing programme PER (*Programa Especial de Realojamento* / Special Rehousing Programme) created in 1993, two years before the programme for regularisation of neighbourhoods of illegal genesis, launched alongside the AUGI Law in 1995.

In the fourth (IV) and last section, we shall analyse the change of paradigm in the form of intervention on housing, that occurs in the new millennium in

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[30] GESTUAL is a socio-territorial, urban and local action study group that I coordinate, which is integrated in the Research Centre for Architecture, Urbanism and Design at Lisbon University's Faculty of Architecture (www.gestual.fa.utl.pt and http://ciaud.fa.utl.pt/index.php/pt/grupos-de-investigacao/gestual)

Portugal, investing in qualification through different programmes. In two sub-sections, we will bring forward in greater detail, and in the light of the reference concepts adduced, two relevant programmes illustrated with two paradigmatic cases: *Iniciativa Bairros Críticos* (IBC – critical neighbourhoods initiative) with the case of the Cova da Moura neighbourhood; and *Bairros e Zonas de Intervenção Prioritária* (BIP-ZIP – priority intervention neighbourhoods and areas) with "2 de Maio" and Ajuda Project, as case studies. To round off this paper, we indicate some points that merit reflection.

2 MARGINAL URBAN AREAS AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

The marginal city, diverse and multifaceted, and in close interaction with the consolidated city, is in terms of size and specificity a 'global social phenomenon'. To study it and the strategies to improving it requires 'new ways of thinking urbanism', to paraphrase Le Corbusier's remark (1929) about the industrial city. In this section we shall review this phenomenon and challenge the basic concepts in order to better think about it.

2.1. The urban explosion and marginal urban areas

Let us look more closely into marginal urban areas. They are a recent phenomenon. They arose from the demographic and urban explosion taking place since the Industrial Revolution, intensified since the middle of last century in the context of capitalist economic globalisation. Within two centuries, the world population grew more than six-fold (from 1,000 million in 1805 to about 6,500 million in 2005) at the same rate as the rate of urbanisation (9% lived in cities in 1800 to about 50% in 2007)[31], which means that the urban population increased about 36 times over this period. From about 900 thousand in 1800, there are today about 3,500 million humans living in urban agglomerations of different configurations, which are growing at fast pace[32]: from small, medium and large cities to mega-cities with over 10 million inhabitants, and to giant conurbations and metropolitan areas that may have up to 50 million inhabitants, as in Mexico. Since the 1960s, this population and urban growth has been centred in the developing countries[33], where, contrary to what happened in industrialised countries, this accelerating urbanisation[34] is associated to poor economies, resulting in extensive urban precariousness. On the other hand, in a situation of neoliberal economic globalisation, social-spatial inequality and segregation are increasingly marked in this urban world, and also more visible in the

[31] See: www.worldometers.info; Jairoch (1985)
[32] www.economist.com/node/21642053?fsrc=scn/tw/te/dc/ed/brightlightsbigcities
[33] United Nations (2002) *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2001 Revision* (tables A.3 and A.4), cited by Davis 2006: 2-3
[34] In Jenckins et al (2007) they recognize, in the title of their book, the specificity of urban areas in the rapidly urbanizing world.

cities of the South: the processes of renovation, verticalisation and gentrification of central areas have multiplied, and there is increasing inequality between cities and within cities between the more affluent, central and urbanised areas and the poorer, peripheral and semiurbanised areas.

The immense semiurbanised urban peripheries, mostly self-produced, extend and diversify in a hybrid continuum between the rural and the urban. The generic names for them are usually negative or pejorative – slums; informal settlements; clandestine, illegal, spontaneous or undeveloped neighbourhoods – while national, vernacular names may refer to historic facts about their genesis – *favelas* (Brazil), *gecekondu* (Turkey) –, to material facts (construction or land) – *caniço* (Mozambique), *musseque* (Angola) – but also to their precariousness – *chabolas* (Spain), *quartiers précaires* (France), *bairros de barracas* or *bairros precários* (Portugal). Having more or less precarious characteristics, these peripheral areas occupy varying urban extensions, taking up a higher percentage in cities of developing countries – in some African cities they make up over 80% of the urban area – but they are present, too, in cities of southern Europe. In Portugal, in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 14% of the urbanised area is occupied by neighbourhoods of illegal genesis (Raposo coord. 2016), a category that does not include squatter precarious neighbourhoods[35].

Worldwide, nearly one-sixth of humankind lives in these semiurbanised peripheries, about 1,000 million people (Davis 2006), that is, more or less, the number of inhabitants of the planet back in 1800. They are an expression of the political powers' lack of interest and incapacity to accommodate the contingent of people of scarce means that continues to flock to the contemporary city, made up of migrants and immigrants – and of refugees, too, these days – coming from rural areas or from poor or war-torn urban areas. Yet, these peripheries are the depositories of the energy and resources of its inhabitants, the self-producers and weavers of a social and spatial reality under accelerating mutation. They harbours an immense mass of humans in a situation of transition between rural and urban realities, or between different urban and diferent cultural realities: their modes of production, their social relations, their ways of life compose and juxtapose, annul and recompose, influences and references from the various worlds they come from or arrive at, which are themselves undergoing transformation. They configure a new and complex, unique and diversified social and spatial phenomenon, which requires new instruments of reading, understanding and intervention.

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[35] There are diverse situations of housing precariousness in the urban peripheries of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, worsened by the present situation of economic crisis: besides neighbourhoods self-produced outside legal requirements yet having houses built with masonry of higher or lower quality, either on a legally owned though not legally urbanised plot, or on a squatted plot, there are also very precarious neighbourhoods made up of shanty houses put together from scrapped materials, from cardboard and cloth to planks and metal sheets. But inequality also marks the older central areas, where we may find ancient houses in a state of great precariousness. And when such houses are renovated their rents are hiked to prices most locals cannot afford, leading to processes of gentrification, touristification and peripherisation and increasing the number of homeless people.

The paradigms and models of public and private intervention in this marginal city continue to be dominated by those who serve the interests of the most privileged classes, which guide interventions in the central areas. The marginal city is tendentially regarded by the dominant political and technical powers as a disease, a cancer, an urban fabric to be demolished and reconverted according to the model(s) of the urbanised city. The present paper follows a line of critical thought that questions the rationales and vested interests that give rise to this dual and marginal city, as well as the *tabula rasa* interventions to which it is subjected. It searches, among the infinite procedures woven by multiple agents for the transforming, threads that may lead to a more inclusive city. In the following sub-section, to serve as reference to reflect on the social housing programmes in Portugal, we shall revisit urban theories, in order to understand which of them have contributed to create the dual city and which of them point to "a renewed urban life" (Lefebvre 1968).

2.2. Urban Athens Charter and the Right to the City

The Athens Charter of 1933 on modern urbanism is an inescapable reference. Grounding itself on a hygienist, rationalist, functionalist and prescriptive vision to resolve the problems of the capitalist industrial city and promote its development, the Charter defines a set of structuring principles that it assumes as universal – the zoning of the main functions, road prioritisation, high-rise construction, setting back buildings from the street, the demolition of insalubrious neighbourhoods even when they are historical (the case of Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin* for Paris)… These principles gained relevance in the period of great economic growth and reconstruction that followed the Second World War. They served also to justify multiple interventions of urban renovation that led to contentious processes of eviction, gentrification and peripherisation. Furthermore, the construction of large-scale, massified and segregated housing complexes created a desolate, homogenised and dehumanised landscape in the peripheries of the larger European cities that would become, in the wake of the 1970s recession, the seed-bed of grave social tensions. Despite the multiple criticisms levelled at this modern urban paradigm by social scientists and some urbanists, its principles persist to this day over academic teaching, urban by-laws in force and dominant models of the city. In various parts of the world, they continue to serve *tabula rasa* and renovation projects of the popular and self-produced urban neighbourhoods set in strategic locations, generating violent processes of eviction, relocation and peripherisation of populations of scarce means.

This modernist paradigm is clearly questioned by the new Athens Charter, drawn in 1998 by the European Council of Spatial Planners (ECTP-CEU) and updated in Lisbon in 2003, for planning European cities in the twenty first century, in the context of a global city forged by a global capitalistic economy, and news information and communication technologies. Being more interactionist overall (Raposo 2012), this Charter proposes a vision of the city which is coherent at the sociopolitical, economical, technological, environmental and urban levels, and it outlines

roads to a new urbanism that is more humanistic, democratic and flexible, as a way to reduce social conflicts and respond to the challenges of an increasingly global and competitive economy. This new charter banks on the resolution of conflicting interests through the search for consensus and through government systems involving citizens. With regard to urban problems, it banks on their resolution through strategic, intersectorial, multiscalar and multidisciplinary approaches, and technical and sustainable solutions. This document offers a new vocabulary to think about and intervene in cities that is no longer limited to its functions; it starts from the urban actors, and the inhabitants, pointing to techniques and good procedures for the resolution of conflicts.

The document has no answers, however, for the great antagonism of interests and rationales between actors of very unequal resources, nor for the great urban and regional, spatial and social asymmetries; it forgets, too, the vast, highly precarious periurban extensions, which, as we recalled, are particularly expressive in cities of the South but are also present in European cities. This new Charter ignores that it emerged already in a context of neoliberal globalisation and financialisation of the economy, a context marked by the indebtedness of persons and States, by the dependence on banking institutions, by strong real estate speculation and by the market-place valuation of strategic locations. This scenario worsened over the last decade with the deep recession that broke out worldwide and which worsened the past few years with the “austerity” policies imposed by the Troika, which triggered a deep social crisis in the countries of southern Europe.

According to Immanuel Wallerstein (2010), we are facing a “structural crisis of the capitalist world system” in which two political positions, antagonical and clearly with territorial expression, become more extreme and confront each other. On the one side, we see an increase in exploitation, hierarchy, and social and spatial polarisation. This position is expressed by top-down urbanism, reliance on public-private partnerships and big financial investments, and a strategy based on urban competitiviness, large-scale projects for new infrastructures, new centralities and new wealthy residential zones, of the private condominium type. It often resorts to the renovation of strategic locations, usually processed through making *tabula rasa* of the old fabric, leading to violent evictions, or to more or less forced mass relocations to the periphery, indifferent to the segregation and exclusion it causes.

On the other side, in the past few years multiple resistance and social struggle by diverse movements has broken out, demanding more democracy and equality, more social and spatial justice (Soja 2010; Harvey 2012). Such actions point to kinds of urbanism alternative to the dominant system, done with or set in motion by the locals. Mostly, these are small-scale projects, which prioritise socio-territorial cohesion, the reinforcement of local identities and solidarity, and the qualification of what exists.

Underlying them is the right to housing and to location, and the "Right to the City" for all, in the emancipatory and transforming sense given to it by the French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre. This is the structuring concept we bring to interpreting the housing programmes of the past few decades in Portugal and to identifying the transformation purposes that guide recent intervention procedures in marginal urban areas. Following the critical, visionary thought developped by Lefebvre in his pioneering book *Le droit à la ville* [The right to the city], published in 1968, before and foreboding the actions in May of that same year, we shall approach this concept from the three meanings the author proposes: (i) everybody's right to have access to urban services; (ii) everybody's right to a more human and democratic city ruled by use-value, and, more specifically, everybody's right to urban life and to a renewed centrality with places for meeting and exchanges (iii) and also everybody's right to the Works ("*droit à l'oeuvre*"), meaning the right to active participation in the city's transformation, as authors or co-authors of that transformation, and the right to appropriate it. This view of the democratisation of the right to the city and of the construction of a wider social movement for transformation of the city is emphasised by David Harvey (2008; 2012), who defends that it is in the city, where capital surpluses are concentrated, that the opportunity exists for democratic transformation.

Our critical reading of housing programmes in Portugal also draws on two other structuring concepts put forward by Lefebvre and taken up later by other authors: the hypothesis of complete urbanisation of society (in *La révolution urbaine*, 1970); and the understanding of space as a product of social relations (in *La production de l'espace*, 1974). The critical approach thus enunciated makes it possible to give an account, from a mobilising perspective, of the duality of paradigms mentioned above, which has been blurred by neoliberal, centrist thought. The scope of this approach is not limited to showing this dualistic vision; it encompasses the complexity and multiplicity of internal situations and contradictions existing within each of the fields, and running across them.

By crossing this critical reading with Wallerstein's vision, we may affirm that the construction of a more inclusive city, with quality of life for all, from the emancipatory point of view of constituting a society that is truly more democratic, just, and equal, implies: the co-creation of spaces for meeting others, for interaction and the creation of new forms of solidarity and urbanity; and gaining awareness of the power of the endless, dispersed procedures of struggle and resistance, through mutual reinforcement and the construction of multiple networks and alliances based on dialogue, mutual knowledge and the empowerment of each and every one.

3 STRATEGIES AND OBJECTIVES HOUSING PROGRAMMES IN PORTUGAL IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In order to understand the character of recent public housing programmes in Portugal, this section will offer a quick diachronic review of the most striking programmes that precede and inform those launched in the new millennium: the great modernist complexes of Olivais and Chelas, built in Lisbon at the end of the dictatorial regime; the SAAL programme launched with the April 1974 Revolution throughout the country; and, in the 1990s, in the emerging neoliberal period, the Rehousing Special Programme, also countrywide in scope, created in 1993, two years before the programme for regularisation of neighbouhoods of illegal genesis.

3.1. The dictatorship and the great modernist complexes of Olivais and Chelas (late 1950s and 1960s)

The social housing programmes launched in the *Estado Novo* period (dictatorship) were always planned top-down with no participation by the inhabitants. The first economic housing programmes were small in scale and were designed for specific groups of low to medium means, the employees and civil servants of the regime. They complied with the typology of family house and garden, configuring small-scale residential neighbourhoods, with a school and a church, with no provision for productive activities. Some of these low-density residential units, well inserted in the urban and well equipped, created a strong sociability network and their own identity – one case being the Restelo neighbourhood –, and they have been undergoing a slow process of gentrification.

Only in 1959, due to growing industrial development, two large-scale, public urbanistic operations were undertaken in Lisbon, Olivais e Chelas. The double goal was: to extend the city northward; and building social housing to settle the rural population then flocking to the city to work in the expanding industries. For this purpose a municipal Housing Technical Office was instituted and put in charge of buying land, elaborating an urbanisation plan and architectural projects, and supervising the works. Breaking away from the formal urbanistic paradigm that had guided a previous extension of the city (Alvalade, today fully integrated into the urban fabric), Olivais and Chelas were designed by progressive architects according to the modern functionalist and rationalist paradigm of the 1933 Athens Charter. Although each is distinct in terms of dimensions and design – Chelas is bigger and more massified –, and despite the premisses of integration and multifunctionality, both neighbourhoods are marked by zoning without continuity among its parts and the existing urban fabric (even though integration into the city was a goal). Both neighbourhoods are patently monofunctional residential areas, featuring high-rise construction, non-alignment with the street, separation of roads and pedestrian ways, prioritisation of roads with motorways as obstacles, leaving planned green areas unfinished or delaying their execution and that of the main road

network until the 1990s. Although the planners tried to take into account the criticism levelled in more industrialised countries such as France and Germany to the large post-war housing complexes (such as the *HLM* in France: *Habitation à Loyer Modéré*), and offered a wide diversity of housing types, these neighbourhoods reproduced a fragmented, segregated urban model, and, particularly in the case of Chelas, which took in a greater proportion of national or immigrant families rehoused from precarious neighbourhoods, this gave rise to social ghettoisation problems.

Olivais and Chelas offered a response to the right to housing of the populations then flocking to the city, they do not configure a city and even less do they come near to the Right to the City, which would be theorised only a decade later: the inhabitants are not the authors in the production of their neighbourhood and the urban design does not allow appropriation; the urban space that was created, particularly in the case of Chelas – discontinuous, massified, fragmented and dehumanised –, does not promote encounters or a renewed centrality: removed from the centre and almost devoid of productive activities, it is reduced to a dormitory zone that remains peripheral and ghettoised.

3.2 The April 1974 Revolution and the pioneering SAAL programme

The SAAL programme (*Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local* - Local ambulatory support service), created in August 1974 by the first provisional government after the April 1974 military coup – aimed to build decent housing for the population of scarce means that was piling up in shantytowns on the outskirts of the large cities, mostly around Lisbon and Porto. Protest marches for the right to housing were then parading through the streets of Lisbon, at a time when people sang of freedom and claimed the right to free speech and the right to have rights. The pioneering design of the SAAL programme inaugurates an emancipatory interactionist paradigm (Raposo 2012), which found fertile ground in the context of the post-revolutionary spirit. Its pioneering character owes much to the personal, professional and cosmopolitan character of architect Nuno Portas, its mentor and creator, who was then the National Director of Housing. He was well-informed about the theories and innovative intervention experiments on marginal cities in Europe and Latin America.

Contrary to preceding programmes, SAAL emphasised the process, which was to be interactive, horizontal, and diversified. The inhabitants, dwellers in precarious neighbourhoods, and their organisations (associations or cooperatives) were co-authors of the transformation of their milieu and dwellings, in close interaction with the remaining actors: technical personnel (architects, engineers, economists, lawyers, social scientists), the local and central administration services (*Fundo de Fomento da Habitação* - Housing promotion fund), political parties and the military of the April Revolution who had made popular action feasible (Nunes & Serra s/d). Such a colective enterprise constitutes one of the principal dimensions of Lefebvre's Right to

the City, the right *à l'oeuvre*. Architect Álvaro Siza Vieira, who coordinated one of the SAAL teams, put it thus: "control of the run-down areas must fall to the resident populations, in terms of their appropriation and recovery[36]„ (1976, in Lotus Internacional, 13, Milan).

SAAL constituted a rich social, urban and architectural laboratory for experimenting new relationships between architects and residents, and for trying out: new models of neighbourhood and housing types (low houses, patio houses, semi-detached and terraced houses, high-rises); construction systems (self-construction, contractors or mixed); construction technology (conventional and prefabricated). SAAL made it possible to "procéder à un rapprochement entre l'architect et l'habitant usager et d'envisager un nouveau type de pratique architecturale" (Hestnes Ferreira, in *AA* 185, 1976-06: 59) [37]

The housing and city model is discussed, the inhabitants have the right to choose the type of housing and the structure of the neighbourhood. The guiding principle was to rehouse inhabitants close to the place where they once resided, respecting the right to the place which guided the technical and political body over the two years during which SAAL was in force. In those two years, nearly 170 new neighbourhoods were implemented, or the bases were set to implement them.

With SAAL, the right to housing, to the place and to the city prevailed over the right to private property. However, negotiations for the expropriation or purchase of land were not always successful. The national scale SAAL achieved, with examples in the South, North and centre of the country, was possible in the revolutionary context of which it was part, and of which it is the clearest urbanistic manifestation, even becoming a reference worldwide. In October 1976, SAAL was terminated by ministerial order. The interactive methodology it applied, and the organic structure that gave it body, died with it. The revolucionary process in which the country had plunged was replaced by a process of so-called "moderate" constitutional democracy. The SAAL was the forerunner of a new outlook and approach to the marginal city that would only be applied again in Portugal, and only in a few instances, in the new millennium: prevaling over the dominant paradigms of previous formal urbanism or the modern rationalist and functionalist urbanism that served the capitalist city, it established the premisses of a more inclusive city.

We may question whether the right to renewed centrality was achieved in every SAAL operation, since one of the programme's weaknesses was that it did not integrate a territorialised approach. Nevertheless, SAAL did respond to the Right to the City, in terms of access to housing, services and infrastructures; moreover, through a participated and democratic process and project, it honoured everybody's right to appropriate their residential space and be co-authors of the colective work on the city where we live.

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[36] In Portuguese: "O controlo das zonas degradadas deverá caber às populações que as habitam, no sentido da sua apropriação e recuperação".

[37] [transl. note]: "to undertake a closer relation between the architect and the user-inhabitant, and to envision a new type of architectural practice."

3.3 The neoliberalism of the 1990s: once again the modern paradigm with PER, and a liberal law for illegal settlements

Throughout the 1980s, no nation-wide programmes of intervention in suburbanised neighbourhoods were launched in Portugal. After Portugal joined the EU (1986), the 1990s, in emergent neoliberal context, are marked by a great modernisation of the country's infrastructures: the incoming European funds are largely channeled to the construction of new motorways; under European pressure, every town hall is constrained into producing municipal master plans [PDM - *planos directores municipais*] (on pain of losing access to European funds); in 1993, in order to "do away with shantytowns," a nation-wide Special Rehousing Programme (PER - Programa Especial de Realojamento) is launched, directed particularly to residents in precarious neighbourhoods in the Lisbon and Porto Metropolitan Areas, as well as other cities; two years after the PER, in 1995, a new law is enacted to facilitate the urbanistic and juridical reconversion of illegal settlements, which were since then renamed Urban Areas of Illegal Genesis (AUGI - Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal), so long as they comply with the requirements provided for in the AUGI Law.

Let us look more closely into the last two measures ruling semiurbanised urban areas: the PER and the AUGI Law. The PER was directed to the so-called precarious neighbourhoods, set up on third-party land, private or public, occupied in a non-planned way by groups of scarce means, usually configuring a dense, organic fabric. The AUGI Law, in turn, was aimed at neighbourhoods set up on plots demarcated ilegally (without municipal approval), on which the owner of each parcel, usually having more means than the previously mentioned group, builds his house without a license (though in plain view of public powers). There was no articulation between these two measures, which might have prevented many of the problems generated with this intervention: the PER corresponds to an authoritarian measure to erradicate precarious settlements, promoted by the public powers with no involvement of the inhabitants, whereas the AUGI Law, with a neoliberal approach, starts by attributing to the owners the first responsibility for urbanistic reconversion and on the other hand do not specify the responsibility of the central government.

The PER bet on a massive, top-down intervention to erradicate all precarious neighbourhoods and move their inhabitants to massive high-rise housing complexes located in urban peripheries, far away from the city centre and their original neighbourhoods. The list of neighbourhoods to be demolished and the census of the resident families, carried out autocratically by municipal technicians, were concluded on the same year the programme was launched. Those lists remained in force during the next two decades, while the new rehousing complexes were under construction, with no updating of changes in the composition of the families or inclusion of the new families settled in the neighbourhoods listed for erradication. The new couples or new families present at the time of demolition were evicted and left homeless.

The programme responds to the right to housing for those people listed back in 1993, but it does not take into account the population dynamic since then. The right to the place was not considered. As for the right to the city, over and above the allocation of a home, the rehousing neighbourhoods do offer some equipment, although it is usually insufficient and ghettoised. But it is above all regarding the process and the model of city produced that the PER is furthest from the concept of the Right to the City as seen by Lefebvre: here, the residents are not authors of the process, their opinion is not taken into account, they are mere targets and beneficiaries; the type of building and of the urban space are created without considering the residents and its non-inclusive municipal management does not favour the appropriation of the neighbourhood. Instead, it promotes a segregated concentration of families of scarce means, highlighting their stigma and marginalisation; the massified, homogenised, dehumanised and segregated urban design does not articulate with the existing city, it does not promote meeting spaces, it does not enhance urban life and a renewed, emancipatory centrality. In this case, contrary to large scale housing programmes in the 1960s, twenty years have passed since the discussion of the Right to the city notion.

The grave social and urban impact of the PER programme was denounced by extensive academic literature, mostly from the field of social sciences (see Guerra 1994) but also by urbanists. Those critiques contributed to the outlining of alternative principles and strategies of intervention in such neighbourhoods, aiming to requalify the existing fabric and "build on what has been built."

It should be noted that the AUGI Law that aims at the urbanistic reconversion of illegal settlements is already in line with this requalification paradigm. The AUGI were accorded acknowledgement of the right to the place and existing housing. The right to urban services was also acknowledged: the urban infrastructures were assured, space was alloted for social equipment, and a democratic process has been promoted to discuss the settlement reconversion and the financing of necessary works. However, the process has revealed some frailties, among which the following stand out: the Law relieves the central administration of responsibility; the atomised urbanistic approach and the lack of a territorialised vision lead to difficulties in the creation of a renewed centrality; the participating procedures defined by law reproduce locally top-down practises and are too bureaucratic and slow[38].

[38] Fifteen years on, since the 1995 law, only 30% of situations delimited as AUGI had been granted reconversion entitlement (Raposo coord. 2016 fothcoming; Bógus, Raposo & Pasternak 2010).

4. PROJECT VIRTUES AND LIMITS OF SUBURB QUALIFICATION PROGRAMMES OF THE NEW MILLENIUM

In 2002, António Fonseca Ferreira sets the newly emerging paradigm in the title of the article he writes with Joana Lucas on the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, "Give life to the suburbos" (*Dar vida aos subúrbios*). The new millennium is marked by the launching of new programmes that aim to qualify the suburbs, at the material and immaterial level, instead of concentrating only on alloting houses.

About the same time, activist groups spread a slogan that puts in a nutshell the issue of housing in the country: "so many houses with no people, so many people with no home"[39]. This trend has been increasing. Indeed, according to the National Statistics Institute, in the thirty years between 1981 and 2011, the number of vacant houses in Portugal has quadrupled (IHRU 2015: 2), numbering 700,000, i.e. nearly 8% of the total of classic family housing. The offer of housing grew 116,8%, while the number of families grew only 72,4%. In Lisbon alone, 15.6% of dwellings were vacant in 2011 (INE 2011). The IHRU document (2015: 4) states that, from a situation of chronic deficit of available housing, which justified the decision to build anew for rehousing in the 1990s[40], the country has come to a situation of abundant housing offer. This new reality added strength to the paradigm of qualification of the suburbs which is perfectly in tune with the paradigm of rehabilitation of central areas[41] and of reusing unoccupied homes[42].

Contrary to top-down, technicist rehousing programmes, the suburb qualification programmes implemented in this new millennium in Portugal, take an interactive approach, focus on the location and on proximity urbanism: they call for participation by the population and for multidisciplinary partnerships; they rely on the creation of local executive structures and on adjusting action to local problems. One of the weaknesses pointed out to these programmes is the fact that they are *ad hoc* interventions, which has to do with their experimental nature and their interactive procedure, which requires the availability of greater resources. As

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[39] The document offered for public debate by the IHRU (2015: 3) on the National Housing Strategy acknowledges the pertinence of the slogan in a situation in which "in Portugal there is no longer a housing deficit, but rather difficulties in access to housing"by families with high rates of insolvency, dependent on State support to have access to accommodation and social reintegration.

[40] Several studies spoke in the 1990s of the need to build about half a million dwellings, in the face of a large number of precarious buildings. Over the following 20 years, the country built a million and a half new dwellings, eliminating, in technical terms, the housing deficit." (IHRU, 2015: 3).

[41] Note, however, that the number of existing dwellings for social housing is still insufficient to respond to the wants of families whose income does not allow them to have access to decent housing at current market prices (IHRU, 2015: 15).

[42] As mentioned by Craveiro *et al* (2011), the urgency to rehabilitate and reuse unoccupied homes, is expressed in "Strategy for urban rehabilitation" (Estratégia para a Reabilitação Urbana, ERUL) 2011-2024, elaborated by the municipality based on Decree-Law no. 307/2009, of October 23rd.

it happens, in a neoliberal context, such resources have been channelled to large projects in the central areas.

A brief reference must be made to the first two suburb qualification programmes implemented in Portugal, both of national scope: PROQUAL (Programa Integrado de Qualificação das Áreas Suburbanas da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa) [Integrated programme of qualification of suburban areas in the Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon], launched in 2002 and implemented in seven areas of LMA, of which the Brandoa Proqual, in Amadora, stands out; Urban II, an European Union Initiative launched in 2000-2006 and implemented in two zones of the Lisbon and Tagus Valley Region, of which the Amadora intervention also stands out.

It is relevant at this point to highlight two other suburb qualification programmes, launched more recently, because of the impact they have had on academic debate and on territorial dynamics, both of which drew inspiration and lessons from the earlier, pioneering qualification programmes: the first, also national in scope, is the *Iniciativa Operações de Requalificação e Reinserção Urbana de Bairros Críticos*, known as *Iniciativa Bairros Críticos* [the Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative] (IBC), created in 2005 and implemented only in three neighbourhoods; the second, of municipal scope, is the BIP-ZIP Programme, launched in 2009 and implemented in the Lisbon municipality, in which 67 neighbourhoods and zones were identified as indicated for intervention. In the two sub-sections below I shall talk about these two programmes, focusing on a synthetic, critical review of two cases that I followed in the field: the Cova da Moura and 2 de Maio neighbourhoods, the first one in Amadora and the second in the Lisbon municipality.

4.1 The Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative: Cova da Moura

The aim of Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative (IBC), created in 2005[43] was "to test innovative institutional, procedural and technological solutions" in areas it categorised as "critical". It was implemented in three pilot-scheme neighbourhoods, one in the north of the country (Lagarteiro neighbourhood) and two in the centre, in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Cova da Moura, in Amadora, and Ameixoeira, in Moita). The programme was inaugurated by a Secretary of State who was also a prestigious progressive urbanist and academic, João Ferrão. It rests on concepts of the interactionist paradigm:

(i) regarding the aims of the intervention, the programme wants to achieve the "qualification[44] and urban reintegration[45] of critical areas," this being

[43] Ministerial Order no. 143/2005 August 2th, published in Diário da República I Série – B de 07 de September 2005.

[44] Qualification is explained in the document as "housing, urban and environmental rehabilitation and qualification."

[45] In the document, urban reintegration is to be understood as "the functional and urbanistic reintegration of the neighbourhood into the city".

considered as one of the four pillars of the policy for cities[46], and one of the chief challenges will be to promote "active citizenship and social cohesion" in these areas;

(ii) regarding the methodology of the intervention, the programme will turn on two main axes – (a) "innovative forms of intervention", i.e. experimental forms, a coherent programme, sustainability and durability of the solutions, with no permanent dependence on public resources; (b) "a strong local commitment", "civic participation," and "training and empowerment [*capacitação*] of the population", as well as strategic coordination." This strategic coordination rested on participative engineering working on several organisational levels: an interministerial work group including representatives of central power (various ministries, coordination by the INH/IHRU[47]) and municipal power (City Hall and Local Council [Junta de Freguesia]); local technical support group; group of local partners; and also a group of consultants and financing partners.

The initiative was structured over two moments: (1) during the first, short moment lasting 6 months, the aim was to establish a participated diagnosis that should lead to the definition of a plan of local action and to the preparation of a partnership protocol; (2) the second moment, which was extended to seven years, should lead to the implementation of the set of actions defined in the first moment.

The Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative at Cova da Moura was marked by an iron arm between Municipal Power and the Neighbourhood Comission: (i) the municipality had in mind making *tabula rasa* of 80% of local constructions; (ii) while the Commission, which included four local associations highly committed for a long time to improving living conditions in the neighbourhood, defended qualification and keeping most of the buildings, invoking the intentions expressed in the document that instituted the Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative.

This difference was not well mediated by the IHRU state coordinator, and resulted in the failure of the Initiative in this neighbourhood. Indeed, the two chief strategic axes of the local action plan, to wit, legalisation of property and its urban regulation, were not implemented. This local action plan, which was accomplished in participated fashion by a wide conjugation of agents, politicians and municipal technicians, local associations and residents, included seven additional axes, six of them of immaterial nature. In this concrete case, the failure to prioritise the two fundamental issues for the neighbourhood's urban qualification – the legalisation of occupied land and its urbanistic reconversion – conditioned the success of the operation. The dispersal of resources over a set of actions that were already worked on

[46] Besides the "qualification and urban reintegration of critical areas," the other pillars of the new policy for cities outlined by João Ferrão are: quality of life, competitiveness, and rehabilitation.

[47] The organ coordinating IBC was the *Instituto Nacional de Habitação* (INH - National Housing Institute) called in 2007 *Instituto de Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana* (IHRU - Urban Housing and Rehabilitation Institute) (Decree-Law no 223/2007, May 30th).

daily by the associations diverted attention from the prioritary issues, those that demanded the public commitment promoted by the IBC. On the other hand, this dispersal of resources devalued the investment and capacity for action of the local associations, attributing to the IBC the responsibility for initiatives that had been locally developed until then.

In their turn, the associations committed themselves to the participative dynamic launched by the IBC, expecting to reach a resolution to the land property issues and the qualification of the neighbourhood. However, in the participative apparatus that was set up, conjoining a great diversity of agents not directly involved with the neighbourhood, under the institutional weight of the municipality and the strategic coordination of the IHRU, they became secondary agents. In this framework, their capacity to mobilise the residents was greatly diminished, and they became subsidiaries of the initiatives coordinated by the IBC.

At the same time, the IBC dynamic – although in the first two years it strengthened the interaction between the four associations that had joined forces in their common struggle for the right to the place and for qualification of the neighbourhood –, eventually helped to sharpen the internal ideological rifts (between a more critical and demanding attitude or a more moderate and collaborative one) and to competitiveness between them, as the specialisation of each association became diffused. Initially, only one of the associations, the most critical, Moinho da Juventude, was dedicated to social development, but under the IBC, another more moderate association, initially dedicated to sports, Clube Desportivo, was encouraged to turn more to social issues, also as a way to gain access to financing programmes.

In 2012, by decree of the new centre-right government, the entity coordinating the IHRU ceases activity and the IBC is suspended. The associations keep the pressure on the municipality to go on with qualification of the neighbourhood and in 2013 they organised, with the support of the Faculty of Architecture, a seminar for critical reflection on the IBC and the urbanistic and housing qualification of the neighbourhood, with a view to defining new avenues and instruments for qualification. The seminar was opened to a diversified set of technical agents and academics, and it should have included the municipal powers, too, but they sent no representative. One year later, the municipal powers confirm the demise of the IBC and the end to the plan for qualification of the neighbourhood - begun within the framework of the IBC against strong resistance from the residents because it rested on making *tabula rasa* of the neighbourhood. At the same time, the municipal powers grant small benefits or powers to each of the associations, rekindling their differences and contributing to the division of the neighbourhood commission: one of them is promised a public school equipment to be installed in a kindergarten, sharpening rivalries with others; while the other is put in charge of the small repairs on the local streets, and of the monitoring of underground works, becoming the city arm in the neighbourhood, under the critical eye of the population.

From the reflection on the weaknesses and virtues of this process, collectively carried out in several local and academic forums (Carolina & Raposo. Coords. 2016 forthcoming), the following questions stand out, that contribute to the argument of this text:

- Strong coordination by the central administration: who should lead these processes?
- Bureaucratic participatory process: what to do to change from participation as administrative structure to participation as an attitude?
- Contradiction between intervention and long- and short-term planning: how to articulate them?
- Contradiction between logical rhythms models of the public powers, of technical personnel, and of citizens: the need to link multi rationales and differentiated knowledge and how to use the logic of each one to provide more fruitful coordination and a better city for all.

4.2 The BIP/ZIP Programme: from the "*2 de Maio todos os dias*" Project to the *Ajuda* Project

Within the framework of the nation-wide Strategic Housing Plan (PLH - *Plano Estratégico de Habitação*), elaborated for the period 2008-2013[48], the City of Lisbon, through its then councilwoman for housing, architect Helena Roseta - a staunch defender of the right to housing[49] enshrined in Article 65 of the Constitution - and her team approve in 2009 the Local Housing Programme (*Programa Local de Habitação*). Its chief goal is to "(Re)House Lisbon", and its fundamental aim is to "give priority to rehabilitation" (see Craveiro *et al,* 2011). One of the programmed actions defined within the framework of the PLH, after intense public consultation, was the BIP/ZIP Programme, intending to redevelop and qualify neighbourhoods and zones identified as "priority interventions" in the city. Launched in 2011, it is presently in its 5th edition, and contemplated in the regulation of the Municipal Master Plan (*Plano Director Municipal*). The designation "priority intervention" arose in answer to a critical reflexion on the derogatory and reductive character of the name "Critical Neighbourhood" (*Bairro Critico*)[50], included in the initiative Critical Neighbourhoods. Out of a socio-territorial, in-depth and multidisciplinary diagnostic of the Lisbon Municipality, the Charter of the BIP/ZIP[51] is elaborated in 2010, based on a composite socioeconomic, urbanistic and environmental index, which delimits the "scar" of the city that

[48] *In*http://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/pt/ihru/estudos/plano_estrategico/documentos_plano_estrategico_habitacao.html

[49] Helena Roseta has collaborated in 1976 in the wording of Article 65 concerning the right to housing in the new Constitution of the Portuguese Republic; as President of the Architects Association, has founded in 2006 and supported the Platform Article 65 claiming for a social housing policy; and in 2007 she was elected councilor of the Movement of Citizens for Lisbon.

[50] Sylvie Tissot (2007) wove a similar critique to the similar designation of *quartiers sensibles* (sensitive neighbourhoods) used in France considering it corresponds to a world view "où s'effacent les rapports de domination et la question sociale, au profit d'une idéologie de la «proximité» conservatrice de l'ordre établi".

[51] *In* http://habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt/index.htm?no=2720001

is marked by major socio-territorial fragmentation. The Charter was discussed and adjusted in three participatory workshops, which included technical experts and local leaders.

The BIP/ZIP programme opens up a wide range of immaterial and material themes: from the promotion of active citizenship, capacity for self-organization and dialogue of the dwellers and different actors present in the territories, to the development of their competencies, and of the local entrepreneurship, as well as the improvement of life, the rehabilitation and redevelopment of the neighbourhoods, and the reinforcement of their integration in the city. For this purpose it bets on the accomplishment of small local interventions capable to "create viable answers to situations of social and urbanistic emergency"[52].

The principles of intervention of the BIP/ZIP aiming at the development and rehabilitation of the places and its interactive approach have affinities with the Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative (IBC). However, on the operational level there are two aspects that distinguish the Programme BIP/ZIP from the IBC in which interests to underline: (i) there doesn´t exists here the central strategical coordination figure assumed by the central administration (INH/IHRU) in the IBC, which circumscribed the action of the local agents and inscribed their participation in a bureaucratic costume designed by the coordinating entity; (ii) the neighbourhoods which had interventions in the BIP/ZIP are also not chosen by the central or municipal administration; they are choosen by a multidisciplinary and multi-sectoral jury, from candidatures submitted by the civil society, in frame of the comprehensive range of situations identified in the Charter of the BIP/ZIPs, favouring politics of closeness well articulated with the local. The approach of the BIP/ZIP Programme is thus more horizontal: it integrates the dynamics of base and the participation of the actors is less bureaucratized.

There is also a great opening on the level of the entities which can be promotors and/or formal partners in the candidatures, covering public organisms and institutions as well as civil society organisations; this opening has multiplying effects, having raised an ever larger number of candidatures. Moreover, after approval, the projects can integrate collaboration with other formal or informal, public, private and civil society organizations, which meet the suggested objectives, being proof of the institutional comprehensiveness of the Programme.

Another of its merits lies in the short span of the BIP/ZIP projects. They are of a yearly cycle, which contributes to streamline, accelerate and de-bureaucratize the processes, contrasting with the usual bureaucratic-administrative burden that characterizes long-term plans in the country. In the situation of crises in the country and in the neoliberal context, the main risk of the programme is that: an emphasis on the innovative character can lead to favoring projects that rather than addressing the right to housing, to place, and to the city of the most vulnerable, direct themselves to areas with

[52] *In* http://habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt/

a more strategic location according to logics of profitability of the involved financial investments (Rolnik 2015).

The Neighbourhood 2 de Maio, in Ajuda, classified as BIP/ZIP for presenting high indexes of social and urban fragmentations, benefitted already from three BIP/ZIP projects: (i) the two first were promoted by the Local Council (Junta de Fregesia da Ajuda), integrating local associations and also, in the second project, "2 de Maio todos os dias" (2nd May, all days), the Faculty of Architecture, specifically Gestual (our study group) and an informal group of recently graduate planners, u:iclc; (ii) the third project "d'Ajuda" (Locals Approach Coord. 2015) was promoted by the association Locals (ex-u:iclc) and integrate multiple local territorial associations, besides the Local Council and the Faculty of Architecture.

The engagement of the Faculty of Architecture and of the u:iclc informal group in the second project BIP/ZIP in the Neighbourhood 2 de Maio had three virtues: capitalizing interactive academic knowledge about the neighborhood developed at the Faculty by Gestual; extending the interest of the academic community on the reflection on the social housing issue nearby the university campus; favoring a participatory assessment of the Project, identifying strengths and limits, that created the conditions for the release of a third BIP/ZIP project in the territory. Coordinated by Locals Approach association (constituted from the informal group u:iclc of newly graduates planners), it continues the work developed by the faculty promoting student volunteering and career opportunities and rehearsing new approaches in the field of urban marginal areas. A new more comprehensive approach is implemented: at the territorial level, contrary to the previous piecemeal approach, it extends the territory of the project including two more neighbourhoods; and at the social level it includes a very wide range of socio-cultural and economic local partners, triggering a strong local and interactive dynamic.

In the collective reflexion on these projects, it is of interest to underline the following conclusions (Folgado *et al* 2013; Raposo 2013 and 2015): (i) the interventions in the neighbourhoods and zones of priority intervention should have starting points not only in their social and spatial weaknesses but also in their potentialities and opportunities identifying those that can be the motors of emancipatory transformation; (ii) the interactive and participative approach and the short duration of the BIP/ZIP programme tend to be disjointed from the long-term plans that exist over the same territory, given the hierarchical, bureaucratic and technocratic functioning that commands the institutional system; (iii) the speeding-up of the articulation between the short term approaches and the long-term plans could induce a larger public participation in planning and in city transformation; (v) the enlargement of the net of partners who intervene in a given territory requires a major effort of involvement from all but it constitute an additional asset because it extends the promotion of citizenship, and can be capitalized for a collective elaboration of a diagnostic and local action plan; (iv) sustainability and durability of the dynamic created by short-term BIP/ZIP projects, depends on its capacity to collaborate with long-term actors and dynamic;

(vi) the success and durability of the BIP/ZIP programme requires the evaluation and monitoring of each project.

On the perspective of the Right to the City understood by Lefebvre, we noticed that the Programme BIP/ZIP and specifically 2 de Maio and Ajuda Projects manage the following aspects: they promote access to small improvements in urban services (the objective of the Programme is not the massive investment in infrastructure or housing); they give a decisive contribution in the right of everyone to an renewed urban life and centrality, putting in the urban agenda these marginal areas; and in the right to a more democratic city, they promote citizenship and an active participation in the transformation of the city as authors or co-authors of its transformation. In this way, the programme introduces in the urban fabric new actors and more democratic procedures and rationalities, that intersect with the dominant market logic, creating new balance of power in city design.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In line with Lefebvre thinking that the space is a product of society, this reading of the housing programmes in Portugal shows that the change of socio-political contexts determines the change in the urbanistic paradigms underlying those programmes, in other words, the ways of thinking urbanism. In two situations in Portugal, in different contexts, but both with a strong political or economic power (dictatorship and industrial development in the 1960s and neoliberalism and European funds in the 1990s) the functionalist paradigm was claimed for solving the housing question: (i) expansion of the city in the large scale urbanistic operations of Chelas and Olivais in discontinuity with the existing city in the 1960s; (ii) eradication of precarious neighbourhoods and construction of large and peripheral housing ensembles for re-housing the population in the 1990s. In situations of democratic opening, an interactive approach was favoured and the right to place was defended: the SAAL programme in 1974-76 in a revolutionary context, betted on the re-accommodation in situ and in collaborative processes; the Critical Neighbourhoods Initiative in 2005 designed by a democratic Secretary of State, opened to an interactionist methodology turned towards the qualification of the place; and the BIP/ZIP Programme in 2010, in Lisbon, launched by a democratic councilwoman, supported by engaged collaborators and successors, throwed multiply small actions of promotion of citizenship and of qualification of places.

It is to be noted that this clear link - between the changes occurring in society and in the territory; theories and paradigms invoked to think social and territorial situation and intervene in it; and public intervention programmes design - is neither linear nor univocal. In the current period of accelerating change, its understanding requires an iterative approach between the three domains (socio-territorial transformation, theoretical paradigms and public policies) and greater reflexivity as invoked by sociologists (Anthony Giddens) and planners (François Ascher). It requests

detailed knowledge of the design and implementation processes of those public programmes, and of the balance of power between the various actors present, their rationalities, interests and capacity of action. For example, in the case of Cova de Moura, in spite of the favourable context resulting from the political behaviour of a Secretary of State, the neighbourhood suffered from an iron arm placed between the right to place, which the inhabitants aspired to, and the strategic localization of the neighbourhood advantageous for the real-state market, to which the municipal power was more favourable.

In addition to this, we should also emphasize two aspects: (i) the emergence of these more interactive programmes based on a more equal and democratic vision of the city, did not eliminate the persistence of the previous top-down programmes (such as PER) or the models and rationales that dictated them; (ii) urban and housing investment in Portugal, private and public, continues to focus on more central areas and upper classes, persisting urban and social duality. In the current times of crisis, this situation becomes more acute: while the middle and upper classes increased their wealth and their assets; many families of small means lost jobs and housing, and are unable to monthly pay rent or repay bank loans.

Although the housing stock in Portugal and particularly in LMA has grown – due to the large investment in real estate and in public social housing at the end of the millennium – there was also considerable increase in the number of empty homes as a growing number of households do not have, or loss, access to the private market housing. Thus, the issue of housing that is raised today in Portugal, and in Lisbon, is no longer related to the absolute lack of housing, but with the necessity to reuse unoccupied homes and to rehabilitate and qualify existing housing areas (central and peripheral). What is really at issue nowadays is the inequal distribution of the existing housing stock, mainly private, and the high number of low-income or insolvent families that cannot access it, due to unemployment and poor wages but also to high housing costs on the market, particularly of housing for rent.

With this increase of the housing stock, and as the question of its distribution requires a broader and socioeconomic approach, the interactionist paradigm of qualification of suburbs is not directed to the construction of new houses. Emerging in a context of democratic opening at the level of central (in the case of IBC) or local (in the case of BIP/ZIP) government, the interactionist paradigm invests in local qualification and development, in social inclusion and in citizenship. However, this paradigm is part of a neoliberal economic framework that favors the competitiveness and the real estate market and brings new actors to the political and urban scene. Thus, the final outcome of a suburban qualification programme is conditioned by the balance of power between the various actors involved, their rationales and worldviews, and between the relative weight of their cohesion and competitiveness objectives. As investment in these suburban programmes is reduced, their projects and actions are isolated, do not revert the dominant urban duality, and can be considered as mere short-term palliatives. The first claimed should be channelled for increased funding. Nonetheless, they have contributed to small improvements of suburban

services and to some renovation of suburban life, and they integrate a substantial number of inhabitants and other agents as (co)authors of the transformation of their living space. Thereby we can consider that they contribute to The Right to the City, in Lefebvre emancipatory vision.

On the other hand, such as the industrial city and the modern functionalist paradigm were closely associated with technological development forged with the Industrial Revolution, the new configuration of the contemporary city, post-industrial, post-Fordist or neo-liberal, and of the emerging interactionist paradigm is associate to changes triggered with the new information and communication technologies. These new ICT promote (inter)knowledge and new skills and are used to encourage urban competitiveness but also to strengthen urban and social cohesion. In this sense, they favored urban local development activities and the action of social movements fighting for the right to housing and to the city. The dynamics of active participation forged around these small and interactive housing programmes in LMA, has promoted the exchange of information and sharing with similares practices of other practitioners, academic, NGO agents and social movements, in the country and abroad. In this sense, they may be seen as the germ for a more inclusive city.

The interest of the co-creation of suburban spaces of encounter and of new forms of solidarity and urbanity thereby goes beyond a specific and local response and can lead to a democratic transformation of society and the city. We can thus conclude making the hypothesis that the change of scale of the impact of these small actions of suburban qualification and resistance requires critical thinking, collective assessment, the dissemination of knowledge about the different experiences, at local, national and transnational level, and mainly the construction of inter-knowledge networks fostering dialogue, mutual reinforcement and empowerment.

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Leonardo Ramondetti

Urban Interiors
Visions for a fragmented territory

ABSTRACT:

The crisis that is affecting much of the western world has a great impact in the South European cities. Urban *shrinking* is one of the main phenomenon. Over the fifty percent of the European cities are marked by significant demographic decline and progressive ageing of the population. Turin shows many features of these conditions, especially in the southern part of the city that was developed as *company town*.

In Turin, as in many other cities, the major initiatives to face these problems consist in *capabilities programs* (bottom-up initiatives) and actions of *abandonment*, *recycling* and *re-naturalization* (top-down strategies). Urban farming, new form of cohabitation, associations, occupation of public spaces with informal activities are some of the most practiced and sustainable initiatives that characterizes the public and private *urban surplus* in the city.

As result of this phenomena in the south of Turin is clearly visible that many portions of the city are becoming more and more *introverse*. The aim of this paper is to open a debate about this condition in order to reflect about how it is possible consider it as a resource and re-write this difficult situation as opportunity.

KEYWORDS: *shared spaces, participation, urban surplus, urban interior*

1 URBAN SURPLUS GENERATES INTERIORS

The crisis that is affecting much of the western world has a great impact in the south of Europe. In these areas over the fifty percent of the cities are characterized by a significant decline of their population and a progressive ageing of their inhabitants. Barcelona, Lisbon, Marseille, Athens are greatly affected by the *urban shrinking*; a phenomenon already discussed by different European and American authors. Turin shows many features of this condition, especially in the southern part of the city that was developed in the second half of the Twentieth century as *company town*.

In Turin, as elsewhere in Europe, the main initiatives in order to face this situation consist in *capabilities programs* and *bottom-up* actions. Urban farming, new forms of cohabitation, associations and occupations of public spaces are some typical operations that aim to transform the *urban surplus*.

However the results are different. It is possible to observe that the main implication of these actions is a progressive *introversion* of the urban spaces. In fact the parts of the city affected by this phenomenon turn into *cluster* where the inhabitants live separated from the rest of the city. As result the city itself is fragmented, at least compared to the consolidated figure of *continuous*, *porous* and totally *permeable* organism.

In Turin it is possible to observe how some areas are turning into *niches* only populated by similar people. Spaces where the inhabitants' cohesion is due to the poorness of the resources. This phenomenon is clearly visible in some working-class neighbourhoods now populated only by the elderly residents. Places that are now characterized by a *slow*, *contract*, and often *mechanical* way of living.

In these contexts, typical of the public neighbourhood heritage of the twentieth century, the administration is investing in *capabilities programs* in order to improve the inhabitants participation to the urban life. However an unexpected result is taking place: some areas are becoming less permeable and more independent from the rest of the city. In fact the improvement of living conditions and the lack of security are creating *closed spaces* where the inhabitants' practices are protected. For this reason it is necessary to discuss how to ensure social density inside these *niches* and also how it is possible open these *bubbles* to the rest of the city.

This paper does not aim to give an answer to these problematic questions, but to observe how these phenomena of redefinition and re-appropriation of urban spaces is changing these parts of the city. The reflections are based on three of ten case studies investigated by some students during the atelier of urban design lead by Prof. Angelo Sampieri (urban design) and Prof. Silvia Crivello (sociology) in the *cdl magistrale in architettura per il progetto sostenibile* at Polytechnic of Turin in the A.Y. 2014-2015 (Figure 1). The final conclusions should be consider as a start point in order to debate on the possibility of acting with stronger public initiative in order to improve and control the ongoing transformations.

Figure 1. Map of the urban surplus in Turin and the three study-cases

2 THREE EXPLORATIONS IN THE SOUTH OF TURIN

2.1 Shared Garden City, the construction of *membrane areas*

The colonization of the territory of Mirafiori Sud started at the beginning of the Twentieth century. At that time the city of Turin was subject to a weak urban expansion due to the first industrialization; nothing in comparison to the huge migrations that characterized the city only few decades later. During those years in Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, the theme of the *garden city* was hardly studied. A research that aim to find a solution to the unhealthy and busy cities of the modern age. For this reason in 1928 the National Authority for the Garden City decided to build a new urban pole in the south of Turin.

The territory of Mirafiori was selected because of his position: the site was close to different natural areas but not far away from the down town. The urban plan aimed to create an organic structure whose core present the form of an "hourglass". The buildings typology was the villa surrounded by a private garden. In 1929 the first phase of the urban project was implemented and the construction of the urban core composed by nineteen villas was completed. However, because of economic difficulties, only one year later the National Authority for the Garden City was decommissioned. The buildings passed under the the Institute for Public Housing administration, that rented the villas to the lower and the middle classes using contracts that provide the acquisition of the ownership after some years of payments.

In the following decades the FIAT factory was built and Mirafiori was hit by a great phenomenon of urbanization that provided to create the huge numbers of working-class neighbourhoods that characterize this part of

Turin. Step by step the small group of individual houses had been surrounded by the social neighbourhoods.

Today the condition is dramatically changed, however, the place preserve its dichotomous character: on one side the huge blocks of the public neighbourhoods in which the inhabitants are living together; on the other the small villas of the private garden city, where many families live independently one from the other. However both places are now characterized by strong problematic conditions due to the lack of facilities and a progressive abandon of the places.

The two urban reality are facing these problems in different ways, however the solutions promoted are based on a similar aspect: the *closure* of part of the neighbourhoods in order to create *inner spaces*. In spite of this the results are different. On one side the people of the social neighbourhoods are investing on *shared spaces* creating *interior* by closing part of the public ground. For example they are closing portions of the buildings' courtyards in order to ensure it and equip it for common activities. A form of appropriation and preservation of urban space. On the other side the inhabitants of the garden city are *barricading* themselves in the *inner space* of their villas. The gardens are invaded by shacks and urban farming that manifesting the residents' aspiration to be independent from the rest of the city.

Starting from these conditions it is necessary to indicate how these two different parts of the city could cooperate to ensure a better quality of life for the inhabitants. It is necessary working in order to create some *membrane areas* that could improve the *sharing actions* between the inhabitants of the garden city and those of the social housing. Therefore a new type of space, different from the public one, has been required. An *interior*, less permeable and more flexible, in which the various actors could meet together and cooperate.

An space created by the erosion of the public areas that at present are impossible to preserve or improve. A *membrane* that should be designed in cooperation between the administration, the associations and the private owner who are now taking care of these places. Only in this way these *inner spaces* could become a strong support to the social programs and an instrument to create major cooperation between a larger number of actors.

Figure 2. Inner space of the Garden City

Figure 3. Shared Garden City, the construction of membrane areas

2.2 Mirafiori Sud, living inside a *village*

Mirafiori is the district with the highest number of social housing in Italy. For this reasons it could be consider a huge laboratory of urban programs and integrations policies. Starting from the Fifties this aspect had strongly influenced this part of the city symbol of the *economic boom*. In that *heroic period* the municipality was hardly affected by the housing problem. In order to solve it a lots of public buildings were constructed in Mirafiori to provide a house to the large number of immigrants who arrived in Turin from all over Italy. Starting from the first national project INA-Casa in 1949 a lot of social neighbourhood were built by the municipalities, the cooperatives and state administrators.

The ones most representative of this period is “INA-Casa Mirafiori Sud”, a huge social housing for 12.000 people organized in fifteen buildings blocks. A total of 798 apartments (4.494 rooms) designed by architects Mario Federico Roggero, Emilio Giay and Ugo Mesturino and realized by the enterprise Borini in three years, from 1962 to 1965. The urban complex, built using a prefabricated concrete system, is characterized by an extremely rigid composition of the apartments and a completely anonymous design of the external public spaces.

The final result is a neighbourhood composed by a series of *machine-à-habiter* disposed into a neutral carpet of public spaces. However suddenly after the construction the district was overcrowded, marked by a lots of informal relations and characterized by a strong participation to the urban life.

Fifty years later the *machine-à-habiter,* emblem of industrial growth, is became something different. Most of the buildings are now empty and the district has been hit by a gradual decline of population. As shown in the movie *Mirafiori Lunapark* by Stefano di Polito, inside the ruins of the *fordist city* the inhabitants grow old abandoned to themselves.

This scenario show a radical change in the actual way of living Mirafiori Sud. The great *machine-à-habiter* turn into a *village.* A small place where people live a slowly routine inside some punctual and minimal spaces: the private gardens, the apartment, the church and the small market area. The inhabitants live in their personal *cells* of the great *hive*.

Today in order to contrast the heavy decline of the building and the progressive abandonment of the place by the population the administrations promoted some capabilities programs as “AlloggiaMI” or “Miraorti”. However also this initiatives are acting only inside the private spaces. Even if this strategy could be a starting point in order to reconfigure some parts of the neighbourhood, it should be also necessary to create *shared spaces* in which people could meet together inside a protected areas. A way to fight against the extreme isolation of this part of the city.

The final goal should be turn Mirafiori Sud into a *village*. A small place characterized by strong relationship with the nearest elements of the urban environment. The inhabitants are already acting in this way, however they had to be supported by the municipality. Strong architectural and spatial actions are required in order to create cohesion inside the *hive* and prevent the complete exclusion of Mirafiori Sud from the rest of the city.

Figure 4. Social housing Ina-casa, Mirafiori Sud

Figure 5. Mirafiori Village, working on urban farming

2.3 Boschetto, working on a *satellite*

Situated in the city of Nichelino, not far away from Mirafiori, the neighborhood Boschetto has a different story.During the Sixties as result of the great migrations caused by the *economic boom*, also the peripheral cities near Turin abruptly grew. In less than ten years the municipalities of Collegno, Rivoli, Grugliasco and Moncalieri doubled their population. Beinasco tripled it. Most of the town were totally inadequate to absorb this huge number of people coming from all over Italy.

Nichelino was a little town in the middle of a wide demographic expansion. The population passed from six thousand to forty thousand of inhabitants in less than twenty years. A huge growth due to the proximity of the city to the factories of FIAT Mirafiori and FIAT Lingotto. An unexpected increase of population that generates dramatic tensions between the municipalities and the new immigrants. The *right to housing* becomes a central issue, but the answer to this problem given by the administration was totally wrong in many aspects.

In this context the municipality of Nichelino decided to built the social neighborhood Boschetto. The center of the town was inadequate to absorb the huge number of people coming to the city. For this reason the town hall and the administrations decided to build a *satellite neighbourhoods*. The area selected was chosen because of the low price of the land, suddenly turned from agricultural field into building plot. The social neighborhood was built inside a territory close to the highway and the river park call Boschetto, but far away from the center of the town. A new part of the city that worked as a *castle* surrounded by the field: link by highway to the factories but totally separated by the rest of the city. An *island* for the poor people. A neighborhood characterized by huge squares and wide public spaces that tries to dignify the places. A misguided effort of public representation.

As Mirafiori even the *satellite* Boschetto is now radically changed. The crisis of the *company town* has had a huge impact in these places. At present the neighborhood is isolated from the other part of the city and only inhabited by elderly and poor families. People affected by economic problems, mostly due to the past lease with the municipality that had forced them to built their apartments.

Nothing changed even after 1995 when another housing complex was built near the old one. Buildings unable to increase the quality of the urban spaces and inappropriate to form a new centrality or to connect Boschetto to the center of Nichelino. After these operations it was clearly visible the impossibility to reconnect or repair the *satellite* Boschetto. After all it remains an *island*.

Starting from this considerations it is necessary to operate in other terms. For example building *public interiors* that do not aim to establish a connection with the surroundings elements, but that configure *inner space*s of the “right size” for the inhabitants. For example three levels of *introspection* can be recognized inside Boschetto: the public spaces of the courtyards, the ground floor of the buildings and the private space of the apartments.

Working on these *three* problematic layers means create a net of cooperation between different actors. For sure in order to transform the private spaces, but also in order to change the public ones. For example the municipality has to take care of the courtyards and redevelop this spaces that at present are characterized by a lack of services and adequate equipment. At the same time it is necessary to involve the population in

order to take care of this spaces. Currently the inhabitants are strongly defending an “abusive” social center, fighting against the decision of the town hall to destroy it. It means that the people who lives in Boschetto is ready to be involved in operations that aims to preserve the neighborhood. Also in this study case it is necessary a cooperation between the different stakeholders.

Figure 6. Boschetto, central courtyards

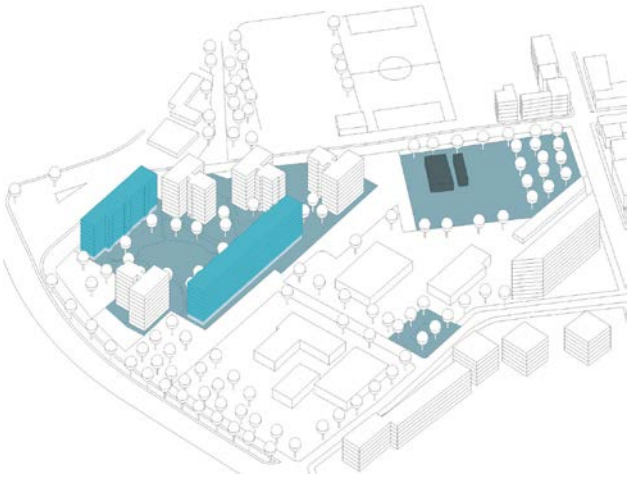

Figure 7. Boschetto, three levels of introversion

3 URBAN INTERIOR: SHARED SPACES FOR THE COOPERATION

The phenomena described in the three study-cases highlight how much some part of Turin affecting by the crisis are now empty and poor. This status, due to the absence of an adequate social protection, is totally changing the ways of living of the inhabitants. The main characteristic is a progressive *introversion* of the spaces.

However this condition rarely is able to ensure some strong spatial action of re-appropriation and re-colonization. Most of the times these part of the city are marked by a *mechanical* use of the spaces in which the actions are essential and repetitive. These conditions forces us to rethink about the imagine of the city as *fluid body* connected in all of its parts.

This paper aims to open a debate about the character of *introversion* that is clearly visible in many part of our cities. We have to face this condition and reflect about how it is possible consider it as a resource. It is necessary wonder how it is possible to design *interiors* through processes of *decomposition* of part of the cities that seem to totally *fixed*. "The goal is to operate through processes of dissolution (...) and ri-densification around some *inner spaces* designed as *introverts*, *inner spaces* able to divided and densify the spatial experience" (di Campli, 2010).

Finally it is necessary to ask ourselves how it is possible to involve the different stakeholders in order to use our poor resources in a punctual and effective way. The *capabilities programs* should act in order to preserve and decrease the public spaces currently unmanageable by the administrations. Operations of *subtraction* should be experimented in order to create an urban landscape similar to the ones of the Arabic town in which the public *squares* disappear and the cities are composed by a sequences of *inner spaces*. A dramatic operation that is necessary to explore.

Figure 8. Scene from the movie Mirafiori Lunapark by Stefano di Polito

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The figure used in these paper are picture and drawing of students of the urban design unit. In particular:

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- figure 4 and 5: picture and drawing by Silvia Pallai, Cecilia Viarengo, Ludovica Viarengo, Vito Sorino and Davide Poggio

- figure 6 and 7: picture and drawing by Arianna Baldoncini, Alberto Barbero, Giulia Barbero and Angela Bramato

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Implementation of Creative Cities concept for greater inclusion: Case study Belgrade

ABSTRACT:

We are witnessing the transition from managerial toward entrepreneurial activities in cities, with the goal of finding new forms of competitive capitalism (Harvey 1989). As a consequence of economies of a globalized world, competitiveness of cities has a huge importance for realizing a better position of cities in the region and in the global network of cities. One possible and successful development scenario under mentioned circumstances is the implementation of a city development strategy based on knowledge and creativity. In accordance with the nature of the profession, the process of architectural and urban design is always under the influence of current economic, political, social and cultural events. Creative city could be defined as a place of diverse and inclusive arts and culture, as well as the place of economic innovation, creative talents and creative industries. Although such a concept could produce an exclusive place for living, it involves the application of inclusive design of a city, based on economic, social, environmental and cultural sensitive policies that allow everyone to improve economically.
In the spirit of thus listed process characteristics, the development concept of the creative city becomes a very useful instrument. This paper presents a review of research done at the Faculty of Architecture, University in Belgrade (in the period from 2008 to 2015). The research task pertained to establishing spatial and functional potentials of various sites within the territory of Belgrade.

KEYWORDS: *Creative city, City branding, Inclusive city, Creative cluster, Creative points network, Belgrade*

1 INTRODUCTION

There are many contemporary urban concepts for development of the cities which combine factors for achieving “successful city” that could be competitive in a globalized world and develop a better position in the regional network of cities. Smart city (Komnios, 2008; Townsend, 2013), Digital city (Mitchell, 2000), Resilient city (Vale & Campanella, 2005), Cognitive city (Novak, 1997; Tusnovics, 2007), Happy city (Montgomery, 2013) as well as Inclusive, Creative (Landry, 2000), Sustainable (Jenks & Jones, 2009), Eco (Roseland, 1997) and Entrepreneurial city (Hall & Hubbard, 1998) concepts have similar aims in their strategies – to achieve better conditions for living, through more jobs opportunities, leisure activities, healthier environment, culture promotion, social security and incisiveness of their citizens in the city strategies and everyday life.

According to the Final Report to Core Cities Working group about competitiveness of European cities (Parkinson at. all, 2003), European cities have substantial economic, social and cultural potentials and advantages. The city still has the strong influence on the factors which attract investment and people to particular places - the quality of labour, education and training, the cultural, residential and physical environment, the planning and fiscal regimes, the communication and transportation infrastructure. On the other hand, modern concepts of the site marketing process are directed toward the creation of a positive image of a site, in the mind of the onlooker, but above all in the mind of the local population. Accordingly, marketing experts are setting up new analogies, viewing the city not as a product, but as an enterprise. In this manner, the implementation of the very techniques of place marketing are not based exclusively on a marketing mix, but rather on a whole series of other, much more important, but abstract characteristics pertaining to identity, image, performance, etc. These changes have resulted applying the branding process to cities. In addition to the above, the focus of branding (if we have in mind the implementation of the concepts of the corporate brand) moves from the product to people, i.e. users, in this case the inhabitants of a place and its visitors. Under such circumstances the concept of the creative city, with all its formations can form a good basis for creating a new brand or upgrading the existing (Djukic, Vukmirovic, 2011).

This paper deals with presenting the concepts of the creative and the inclusive city. The question we address in the paper is what role creative city concept can play in making cities more inclusive, are they become more exclusive by implementation of that concept and what kind of tools can be used to stimulate inclusiveness.. Accordingly, various forms of applying the concept of creative and inclusive city on the polygon of the city of Belgrade will be presented: creative city, creative cluster and network of creative points, with their strategies for inclusive neighbourhoods and communities. The paper contains three sections. Section one deals with creative city concepts. Section two presents approaches to creating a creative city, and presents results of six years of research implemented at the University in Belgrade - Faculty of Architecture. The final section is formed as general recommendations, which can be applied to other sites.

In recent decades, activities in the field of culture, as well as art, play an important role in processes of urban planning, while urban creative clusters are becoming new and efficient tools for developing creative cities and encouraging development in the direction of creativity. Most frequently, the formation of these clusters is a consequence of political decisions and planning priorities. In addition, the forming of creative cultural clusters is also linked with the policy to develop tourism, i.e. with efforts of certain cities to improve their position within the urban tourism hierarchy. Creative cultural clusters can differ by form, topic or spatial characteristics (Mommas 2004). They often become competitive boundaries of numerous cities on the road to their better positioning within the hierarchy of global cities, representing the beginning of planning and implementation of the branding strategy.

2 CREATIVE CITIES VS. INCLUSIVE CITIES

The concept of Creative city has been developing since 1990`s. Richard Florida (2002, 2005, 2008) and Charles Landry (1995, 2000, 2006) are the most important authors who developed the idea of creative class and creative cities and have significant influence on academic debate and political actions in cities and Municipalities. Creative city is a dynamic concept, focusing on creativity, community development and for achieving a vibrant, lively and comfortable city, attractive for its citizens, visitors and tourists. According to Landry creative city is defined as a place with dominant qualities such as: will and leadership, human diversity and access to varied talent, personal qualities, organizational culture, local identity, high quality urban spaces and facilities, networking dynamics (Landry, 2000). All the mentioned indicators are important for development of creativity, somehow the essential are political will and appropriate organizational culture. However, this means that both governmental and stakeholders should recognize the need for creative city, as well to have knowledge on its concept and its preconditions (Mrdjenovic, Ralevic, Djukic, 2015). Furthermore, the important aspect is identity - developing unique and meaningful places within the city, with sense of local cultural history and memory (Varbanova, 2007). Creative cities most frequently imply cities with a successful combination of “culture and economics, or art and commerce as a relationship which has been central to a number of recent developments in social theory and other academic areas” (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005, p.2). Considering the context of urban regeneration, Pratt (2009, p.3) identified two dimensions that could be recognised in the broader literature: the first concerns the construction of mainly high culture facilities to make a city ‘attractive’ or simply ‘well known’ and the second concerns what has been termed the ‘experience economy’ where visitors and investors are drawn into unique place-based experiences either of heritage or retail variety. Initiators of their creative development are most frequently creative clusters, with an intensive trend of creation in recent years, and visible in cities throughout the world (Djukic, Vukmirovic, 2011). Creativity and creative city are further implemented from supranational institutions, such as the European Commission, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization), OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) (Costa et al, 2007: 122-3).

Many urban theoreticians and authors, such as Jane Jacobs, Patrick Geddes, Lewis Mumford, Bill Hillier, Sharon Zukin and Jan Gehl were focused not only to a physical characteristics of cities but were also emphasized the importance of improving the conditions and environment of cities and people`s lived experience of cities. From the perspective of the creative city concept, these kinds of improved urban environments "could be seen as a 'honey pots' that attract mobile labor, in particular educated mobile labor that will be attractive to high-tech industries" (Pratt, 2009, p.4) which coincides with the Florida's concept of creative class.

Inclusive city concept is defined by UN habitat as a city that promotes growth with equity. "It is a place where everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity or religion, is enabled and empowered to fully participate in the social, economic and political opportunities that cities have to offer" (UN habitat, 2001, p.3). According to this definition social equity is seen as one of the main and vital element of sustainability. However, the participatory planning and decision-making which should be the instruments for achieving the goals. Furthermore, inclusive urban governance can reduces inequality and social tension; incorporates the knowledge, productivity, social and physical capital of the poor and disadvantaged in city development (UN-Habitat, 2001, p.3).

In this segment, creative and inclusive city concept stress that the human capital is the core for city development. Both concepts insist on incorporation of knowledge productivity, and citizens as the milestone and leader of development, and both need constant feedback for its citizens. On the other hand, Goltsman and Iacofano (2007) argue that inclusive city planning is based on economic, social, environmental and culturally policies that allow everyone to improve economically as the area improves and provide equal possibilities for involvement in the development process of their environment and community. It is very important that the most vulnerable groups in society are involved in participative processes. Furthermore, it means that inclusive city concept relays on whole society as the driver of city development, including the people with lack of skills, knowledge and information, while the creative city concept is more focused on creative class.

In order to achieve successful inclusive design for planners, elected officials and community members, define an inclusive policy framework that contains seven focus points was propose:

1. Economic development: participation in the economy of the city, with access to a variety of quality jobs;
2. Housing and neighbourhoods: secure and safe, healthy neighbourhoods with a range of housing types and price levels:
3. Education: full access to quality education for all residents:

4. Access and mobility: multimodal and interconnected public transit systems that are friendly and inclusive of everyone:

5. Habitat protection and a safe public realm: providing connected, safe, healthy, functional and green connections with pedestrian- and bike-friendly streets;

6. Community facilities and gathering spaces: designing well-maintained and liveable open spaces;

7. Cultural meaning: designing and creating social and cultural rituals and symbols that have meaning for all residents - retain a distinctive sense of place and neighbourhood (Goltsman and Iacofano, 2007, pp. 10-12).

The aim of inclusive design for sustainable cities is to create synergy between spatial, environmental, social and cultural qualities, especially providing job opportunities and stimulate competitiveness. Successful inclusive design projects support physical, social, cultural and economic needs with clear philosophies, strategies and tactics. These projects aim for inclusiveness in all phases and push the boundaries of creativity and innovation, energizing and regenerating a community. They result in functional, high-quality and aesthetically pleasing environments that manage impacts and add value to cities, providing residents with opportunities and choices to thrive and reach their full potential (de Vries at all., 2012).

If we speak about inclusive and creative city, one concept favours the notion of equality among different groups, while the other puts the spotlight on one group (members of the creative class) and the changing nature of city economy and the shift over time to a workforce that requires more creative skill than has been previously demanded. Keeping this in mind it is necessary to deal with the other occupational groups that also live in creative cities.

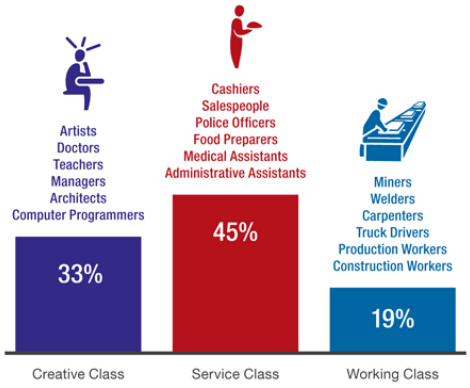

Figure 1. Creative, service and working class. Source: Martin Prosperity Institute, http://martinprosperity.org/tag/service-class/, accessed on March, 8th, 2016

Research indicates the existence of three groups - classes of "the new postmodern, post-industrial economic order": creative, service and working (Figure 1). If viewed in relation to the specificity of their work, "creative jobs have high levels of cognitive and social engagement skills, while service work is based on more routine-oriented physical skills" (Florida and Mellander, 2013, p. 311). But, Florida and Mellander (2014) argues that adding a cognitive and social engagement skills to service work leads to higher wages.. If the situation is considered in this way, an upgrade of the spatial and physical settings of the particular area in an appropriate manner could support and extend creativity to greater group of occupations, classes and workers.

3 METHOD AND MATERIAL

In regard to the nature of the creative city and the needs of its inhabitants, with respect to specificity of spatial interventions, can be concluded, "that the size of the polygon does not matter. What is important is the power of idea on which that spatial intervention is based" (Vukmirovic and Vanista Lazarevic, 2014, p. 208). Given the above, we can distinguish five types of final products – urban interventions that are the result of different design processes and disciplines and the character of the intervention is compatible with the size of the area in which the intervention take place. They include:

1. Creative point as product of industrial design or/and architectural design

2. Creative place as product of architectural design or/and urban design

3. Creative points/places network as product of industrial, architectural or/and urban design

4. Creative district as product of architectural and urban design and

5. Creative city as product of architectural and urban design, urban planning, development scenarios (Vukmirovic and Vanista Lazarevic, 2014, p. 208)

The research pertained to establish spatial and functional potentials in the territory of the City of Belgrade and creating a scenario prompting development, as well as transformation of sites, as a function of creating creative clusters, creative points, and a creative "city" i.e. urban entity. Research encompassed sites in the territory of the city of Belgrade, which differed according to: area, position within the city matrix, level of construction development, infrastructural equipment, and planning determinants (valid higher level planning documents). In regards to the distinguished types of final products and the character of the selected location, different approaches were used for different locations:

- Creative city – in the territory of Ovca, Borča, Krnjača – the "Third Belgrade" project and in the territory of Sremcica;

- Creative cluster – in the territory of Ada Huja, Višnjički boulevard and Sava's Amphitheatre and
- Network of creative points – at Belgrade Underground stations (under construction).

4 CREATIVE BELGRADE DEVELOPMENT SCENARIOS

Depending on site characteristics, research results have different types of the final products in the implementation of the creative city development concept.

4.1 Creative city - the "Third Belgrade" project

The research task pertained to the possibility of transforming Belgrade suburbs of Borča, Ovca and Krnjača (Figure 2) built without a plan into a new city centre, which would, thus transformed, have all the attributes of a creative city (implying creative culture + creative industries). In addition to central and historic part of Belgrade, Novi Beograd and Zemun, these spontaneously built suburbs would over time become a Third Belgrade (creative city).

The new city would be able to function fully independently (mixed functions, maximum infrastructural equipment, reconstruction of existing tissue and addition of new), and would become a new Belgrade brand.

Figure 2. Territory of Ovca, Borča and Krnjača in Belgrade. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course "Studio project - Urbanism", school year 2012/2013. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic

Researched issues pertained to shaping of structure and of public city spaces that should satisfy criteria of vitality, attractiveness, flow ability, pleasantness, and potential to inspire; providing population heterogeneity – retaining existing and attracting new population, and establishing mechanisms which would enable the realization of the plan.

The investigation of the potential of the territory consisted of several phases. Every phase was present in the next phase, as a sort of database

for forming a potential development scenario for this area. The first phase encompassed analyses that resulted in a selection of the adequate creative city concept used to base the defining of primary contents and environmental entities, communication with the population and field research in the territory focusing on the specificity of the site. The second phase is the establishing of a hybrid concept and program: creative city and its contents, population and physical structure. The third and final phase is at the same time the design solution phase, which encompasses the defining of a strategy and phases for site development.

The development scenario – project, encompassed a presentation of the possible new urban matrix (Figure 3), the forming of the main destinations of the new city, a network of roads and traffic hubs, distribution of contents with a focus on contents of the creative city, and a suggestion for the physical structure.

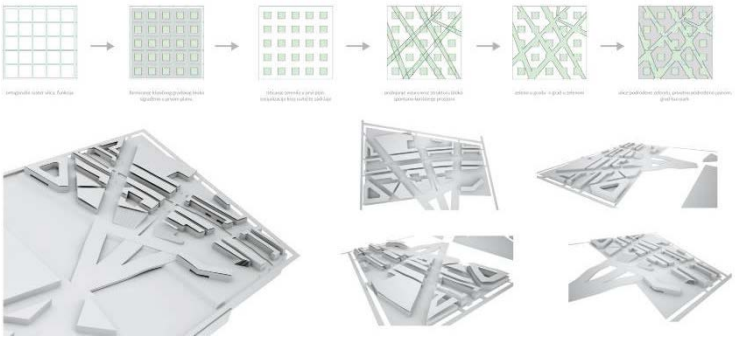

Figure 3. Defining the new urban matrix. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course "Studio project - Urbanism", school year 2012/2013. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic

Parallel to defining of the scenario for the development of the territory, phases of implementation were also defined. The result of this section of research was the forming of a flexible framework for the future creative city as one of the possible development layers for this territory. The contribution of this research is reflected also in the fact that the reinvestigated potentials of this territory were represented in the form of one of the possible ways to activate this territory.

4.2 Creative city - Sremčica: City within the city

Sremčica is a suburban settlement of Belgrade, located at its south part and has a population around 20,000 people (Figure 4). It is developed as a typical road settlement stretched along the central street with many side streets. The central part of this suburban area is situated about 20 km from the centre of Belgrade.

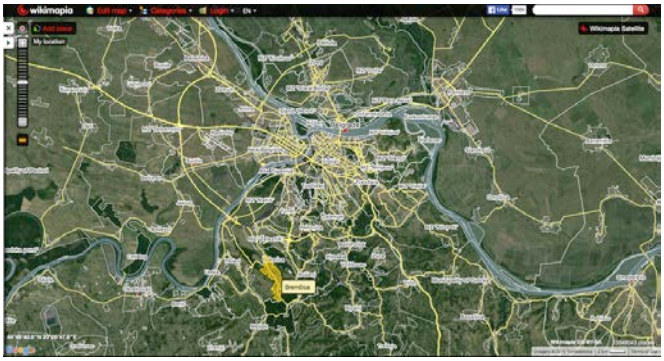

Figure 3. Location of Sremcica. Source: Wikimapia, 2015

The main research task for this area was to define the future development scenario in relation to the question does Sremčica would continue to develop itself as independent area or it will be develop as a part of the City of Belgrade. Because of its geographical position within the territory of the defined by the administrative border of the City of Belgrade Metropolitan area, the development scenario for this part of the city was “City within the city”. It could function independently, but to be formed as an authentic area of the City of Belgrade.

Figure 5. Sremčica - Four new centers along the existing corridor. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course “Studio project - Urbanism”, school year 2014/2015. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic, assistant Dr Milena Vukmirovic

In accordance with that, the concept of creative city was carefully applied in order not to undermined existing habits and lifestyle of inhabitants, but at the same time to create an attractive environment that would be interesting and inviting for the members of the creative class. One of the scenarios was offered the formation of four new centres along the current corridor (Figure 5) and the special attention was given to the natural characteristics of the area and opportunities for introduction innovation in agricultural activities and production.

Figure 6. Creative, urban environment with nature, creative urban farms and agricultural areas. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course "Studio project - Urbanism", academic year 2014/2015. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic, assistant Dr Milena Vukmirovic

In this way would create a creative, urban environment with the penetrations of nature, creative urban farms and agricultural areas (Figure 6).

4.3 Creative cluster - Višnjički Bulevard

The research task pertained to investigating the possibility to transform Višnjički Boulevard, which runs parallel to the Danube river in the municipality of Palilula, into a vibrating creative cluster which would represent a link between the old urban tissue of Karaburma and the Danube bank, as well as the new planned business centre on Ada Huja. The boulevard, which is the border/barrier in the morphological sense, was to be transformed into connective tissue between different entities.

Researched issues pertained to attract a creative class to the new planned cluster; make attitude toward industrial heritage; to form relationship between the constructed and the unconstructed, to influence of the new planned structure on the environment, and to solve problems related to the elitism of planning solutions suggested by the city.

Like previously presented research, this research also had three key phases: analytical phase, concept and program defining phase, and designing phase. One of the research results was the forming of creative epicentres, which would influence the rest of the territory. Depending on their distribution and characteristics related to creative contents, this influence would vary pertaining to the development of the territory in its immediate vicinity.

Figure 4. Urban block matrix and diversity of contents. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course "Studio project - Urbanism", academic year 2013/2014. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic

The suggested development scenario for this territory does not pertain solely to the course of Višnjički boulevard, but also to its broader zone spreading to the bank of the Danube. The suggestion for the distribution of creative epicentres also entailed the defining of the potential urban matrix (Figure 7). This led to the formation of blocks. Each block should acquire its own identity, both relevant to the dominant content, and relevant to the physical structure.

The contribution of this research is reflected in the reinvestigation of potentials of the given territory and the establishing of the possible development scenario.

4.4 Creative cluster/districts - Sava's Amphitheatre

Sava Amphitheatre's location is one of Belgrade's strategic development areas. It is situated on the left and right banks of Sava River, in the extended central area of the city. Having in mind the importance of this area to the city as whole, the main task of the research was in finding the ways to integrate it into the existing urban fabric, but in the same time to give it a new, authentic character.

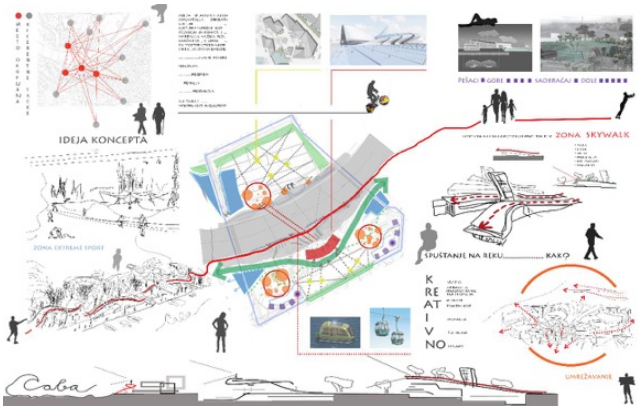

Figure 5. Likelihood - the cluster with open possibilities for all. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course "Studio project - Urbanism", school year 2011/2012. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic

One of the scenarios has defined the solution in the form of network of creative places evenly distributed over the entire territory. Each area has been designed in that way to have its own specific character, the dominant purpose and target groups. This principle has enabled the formation of the mix of different creative spaces, richness of contents and opportunities for various groups of users and visitors (Figure 8).

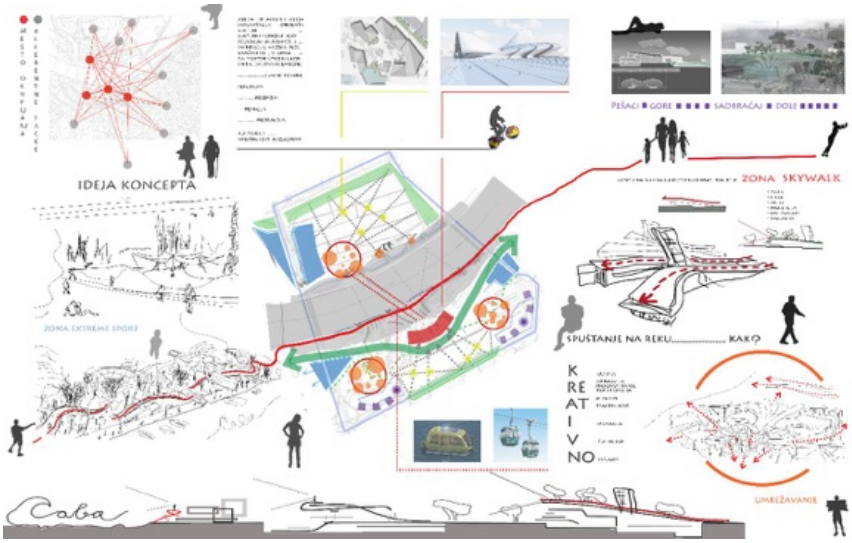

Figure 6. Likelihood - the cluster with open possibilities for all. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course "Studio project - Urbanism", academic year 2011/2012. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic

4.5 Network of creative points –Belgrade`s underground stations

The research task pertained to establishing a model of fashionable metro stations, as points or linear creative systems, which would simultaneously be engines of development of cultural creative points. Over time, these points would become creative clusters, and could subsequently also becomes a creative city.

With the goal of setting up a creative route, the focus of this research was on individual points – stations of the Belgrade Underground, which has a clearly established line (Figure 9). The observed line starts in Zemun (Tvornička station), and ends on Zvazdara (Ustanička station). The task encompassed five locations, with different urban characteristics. In accordance with the specific context of the location, each station had to be processed in detail and taken through all three phases of the research process. In addition, the whole, i.e. the suggestion for the creative route, had to be considered at all times.

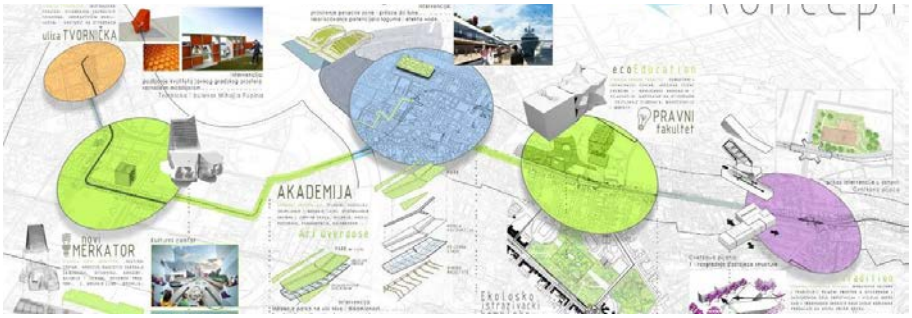

Figure 7. Creative points. Source: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Bachelor course "Studio project - Urbanism", academic year 2010/2011. Chair of the course Assoc. Prof. Dr Aleksandra Djukic, assistant Dr Milena Vukmirovic

In accordance with its specificities pertaining to micro location, for each destination, a possible thematic framework was established, on which the potential development scenario was based. In addition to the metro station itself, research encompassed the broader location. The development scenario encompassed the defining of dominant and secondary contents, movement flows, and suggestion for the future physical structure or renewal of the existing constructed fund.

The contribution of this section of research is reflected in investigating the potentials and possibilities of individual locations (micro locations) to become creative points, and in defining their space of influence, as creative epicentres, with the goal of forming a creative route along the given metro line. In addition, the contribution is reflected also in an insight into various scenarios of influence of newly planned points on the broader urban zone.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Among other things, creative cities emphasize the importance of a specific constructed environment and quality of open spaces, different possibilities for relaxation, entertainment and individual development, which contribute to individual creativity, as well as adequate traffic infrastructure. According to Landry (2000), creative cities/sites should be viewed as ecosystems in which cultural and symbolic values act as catalysts speeding up the overall development.

This paper presents three possible concepts of creating a creative city – through creative city as a whole, creative cluster/district, and network of creative points. Application and testing of these concepts in various territorial polygons of the city of Belgrade, established that each of them could have an effect both on an individual location, and on the city as a whole. This effect can be seen in the stimulation exerted by the local environment on development, but also as one of the possible platforms that can be used to create a positive image of a city.

According the survey a several points for creating the creative inclusive city are:

- Plan new creative cluster and district as the connections between city and suburban area;
- Regeneration of the devastated historical areas towards creative districts;
- Develop the network of creative points as initial mile-stones for further development of the city;
- Promote a healthy, active and involved civic society;
- Developing a kind of social network where each person can re-create identity;
- Design the city where everyone is engaged in activities that are best in;
- Use all available technologies for faster efficient and effective development;
- Build on and create a city environment that promotes participation in, and the expression of the city's various cultures and
- Create a city environment where the community feels safe and comfortable and that stimulates cultural activity and vibrancy.

These recommendations would also contribute in development of the creative city, because they represent the foundations of the quality environment that would stimulate the creative ones to choose them as their future places for living and working in.

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‘Green Projects’ in Participatory Budgets
inclusive initiatives for creating city’s top quality public spaces. Warsaw case study

ABSTRACT:

The notion of participatory budgeting is still a fresh idea in Poland, but it quickly gains attention from one year to another. Participatory budget is a complex process, and at the same time, the most effective mechanism involving multifarious actors into city-making practice. It is aimed at increasing a local awareness and promoting the idea of self-government. The paper studies and discusses this concept's phenomenon on the example of Warsaw, capitol city of Poland, where it has been introduced in 2014. In order to identify and assess potential of participatory budget proposals for enhancement of public urban spaces, including green infrastructure, the authors performed a detailed analysis of proposed and finally selected projects of Warsaw Participatory Budget 2015 (n=2333). The survey revealed a great popularity of the so-called "green projects" among Varsovians, as 39,7% of accepted for voting and almost 50% of selected proposals aimed at improvement of public spaces by means of green infrastructure solutions. Promoted ideas and activities, actualised through projects submitted by residents, clearly reveal that these "green projects" bring open for everybody and exclusive, in term of high quality, spaces. At the same time, the inclusive character of participatory budget process, marks a new direction in citizens' involvement in governance - from participation to co-creation.

KEYWORDS: *public participation, city co-creation, green infrastructure, ‘green projects’, urban green spaces*

1 INTRODUCTION

Participatory budgeting, which is a part of a larger notion of democratic innovations, has been perceived as one of the most thriving participatory instruments of last decades (Sintomer, Herzberg, & Röcke, 2008). Introduced for the first time in 1989 in Porto Alegre (Brazil), it spread first in Latin America and further around the world (Gret & Sintomer, 2005; Novy & Leubolt, 2005; Wampler, 2007). Now, it is introduced by more than 1500 municipalities all over the world (Krześ, 2014; The Participatory Project, 2015). In Europe, the process is successfully implemented in Spain, Belgium, Italy, Germany, France, Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland, the Netherland or UK (The Participatory Budget, 2015). The notion of participatory budgeting is still a fresh idea in Poland, but it quickly gains more attention from one year to another, as following cities implement this concept in their governance strategies. Up till now, there are more than 80 Polish cities and municipalities that have incorporated participatory budgets in their management practice (Kębłowski, 2013; Kębłowski, 2014).

The participatory budget aims at increasing the local awareness and promoting the idea of self-government. It is a complex process, and at the same time, the most effective mechanism involving multifarious actors into city-making practice. The inclusive character of that process invite societies to decide on local, as well as city investment priorities of the city long-term development (Lerner, 2011; Kuriata, 2013). As emphasised by Shah (2007), the participatory budgeting represents a direct democracy advance to budgeting. It offers general public an opportunity to find out local authorities intentions related to future development, and to discuss and to influence the distribution of public resources.

In this paper, the authors aim to study and discuss this concept's phenomenon on the example of Warsaw city. The main objective was to identify inclusive activities and initiatives of citizens and local government related to increase the quality of urban public spaces and green spaces in Warsaw. The participatory budgeting processes is seen as a tool to deepen democracy, build stronger communities, and make public budgets more equitable and effective (The Participatory Budgeting, 2015). While accepting these statements, the main authors' research interest was to find out what are the types of proposals submitted by residents, in order to understand their needs and expectations. Among all types of proposals, we were mostly interested in all ideas related to urban public spaces, mainly in terms of improvement of quality of space with application of green infrastructure solutions (the so-called "green projects"). The paper presents research results from analysis of 2333 proposals submitted by city dwellers for Warsaw participatory budget 2015.

2 WARSAW PARTICIPATORY BUDGETS (PB)

2.1 General overview

The participatory budgets have been introduced for the first time in Poland in 2011 in the city of Sopot. After two years, the idea was implemented in over 40 cities (Kębłowski, 2013), and at present it is estimated that over 80 Polish municipalities and towns have implemented PB in the governance policy (Kębłowski, 2014). Moreover, from 2013, the participatory budgets have been officially supported by Ministry of Digital Affairs (https://mac.gov.pl).

Sopot experiences had widely re-echoed in Polish media, and however some organisational decisions on the way the procedure was performed had been criticised, the overall success was unquestionable. In 2014, Warsaw has followed Sopot's example and has also introduced the participatory budget, applying similar principles. Both, first (2014) and second (2015), Warsaw editions of PB have been widely campaigned in public open spaces (bus stops and tram stops), but also in social media, TV and press. The leitmotif of 2014 campaign were the images of Polish kings from banknotes of 20 PLN, 50 PLN and 100 PLN and the slogan: "You decide how the money is spent". The next year's main keynote or motto of the campaign was "You decide on millions of PLN, so decide wisely". By this statement, the organisers wanted to emphasise the importance of decisions made by single individuals, and on the other hand, to encourage Warsaw residents to play active role in public participation.

In the main Warsaw PB assumptions, it was underlined that participatory budgeting is a process, which allows residents for discussion and direct influence on decisions concerning the purpose of a specific part of the public budget. The primary goal of Warsaw PB was to increase social participation in decision-making process related to public affairs, as well as to develop the local awareness, to disseminate the idea of self-governance and to strengthen local community identity. The inclusive character of the whole process has actualised through the fact that all Warsaw residents can take active part, both in proposals' submission and their voting. Moreover, there is no sophisticated verification and control of citizenship status of people taking part in the participatory budget process. The whole system is based on a trust and a simple declaration of residents, without any selection of "real" Warsaw residents, who hold residence permit, and others. This straightforward rule has resulted in encouraging also foreigners to take part in Warsaw participatory budget. Furthermore, since there is no age limit for voting, Warsaw participatory budget is a great lesson of citizenship for all children. Figure 1 shows a division of Warsaw participatory budget 2015 voters according to their age categories.

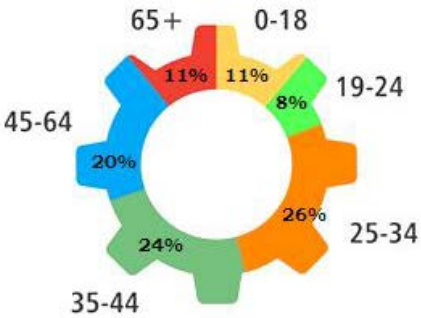


Figure 1. Division of Warsaw participatory budget 2015 voters according to their age categories. Source: Final Evaluation Report of Warsaw Participatory Budget 2015.

In the first year of Warsaw participatory budget, 2236 proposals had been submitted, and this number has increased in the second year to 2333. Furthermore, the total value of participatory budget 2014 was slightly over 26 million PLN (which is approximately 6 million EUR), and in the second year this amount has been almost doubled and reached over 51 million PLN (approx. 12 million EUR). These data show the increasing popularity of participatory budget, equally for Warsaw residents and the local government. Besides, for the purposes of the Final Evaluation Report of Warsaw Participatory Budget 2015 (2015), the was an on-line poll among Warsaw PB voters organised. According to this report, Warsaw dwellers declare enthusiastically that the PB is important for them (95% of respondents), and that it gives them a sense of shared responsibility for the place they live, and also an opportunity to influence the quality of their neighbourhood. Table 1 gives further details published in this final evaluation.

Table. 1. Summary of statements, with which the voting residents identify. Source: Final Evaluation Report of Warsaw Participatory Budget 2015 (2015).

Statement	Index value
I believe that Warsaw participatory budget is important.	95
Participatory budget gives me the opportunity to influence quality of place where I live.	81
Participatory budget gives me a sense of shared responsibility for the area where I live.	81
Participatory budget gives me a sense of shared responsibility for Warsaw.	71
Participatory budget gives me the opportunity to influence the city.	69
Participatory budget has increased my knowledge about the activities of the city.	63

2.2 Rules and Procedures

The complete procedure of Warsaw participatory budgeting includes several steps. A model and the 2015 agenda is shown in Figure 2. The process

starts with "an idea", which is any concept of activity that could be realised through the participatory budget. Next, the priorities for future development are discussed in open public debates. This step is crucial for a decision-making on categories, for which prospective proposal could be submitted in all Warsaw districts.

Figure 2. Model and Agenda of the Warsaw Participatory Budget 2015 edition; Source: http://twojbudzet.um.warszawa.pl; 2015.

At the stage of proposals submission, each Warsaw resident could work out and submit only one proposal, specifying information such as: proposal's objectives and goals, target group of users, estimated costs of project's realisation, etc. Moreover, each application has to be supported by at least 30 other Warsaw dwellers (which is confirmed by necessary signatures). After preliminary verification of proposals, which is a sort of a technical check, public consultations are organised. Before the final voting, all proposals are double checked by officers of the Team for Participatory Budget of Warsaw City Hall, and in addition promotional meetings with applicants are organised. Finally, during the time for voting, Warsaw residents, regardless their age or nationality, can choose preferred projects. The only rule is not to exceed dedicated amount of money for participatory budget. Several means of proposals' selection are possible, including on-line voting, paper voting in Warsaw City and District Halls and paper voting in public institutions, such as cultural centres.

In the Warsaw participatory budget 2015, 172 395 residents took part in the selection of winning proposals. This number equals 10% of all city dwellers. In total, 663 winning projects have been accepted for realisation in 2016,

and their overall costs are 50.441.840,00 PLN, which equals to 1-2% of each Warsaw district budget.

3 "GREEN PROJECTS" - INCLUSIVE INITIATIVES FOR URBAN PUBLIC SPACES

3.1 Research methodology

The performed research included survey of all 2333 proposals submitted by citizens for the second edition of Warsaw Participatory Budget 2015 (as the BP has been first introduced in Warsaw a year before). Each proposal has been characterised by submitting city dweller, and description deals with specified above parameters. The residents classified their projects according to categories provided by organisers of PB procedure (Warsaw local authorities). The predefined list of categories included: education, transport/roads, culture, environmental protection, social service, public spaces, sport, health, greenery and others. This typology of projects was introduced in the PB procedure in order to facilitate the voting process, as each voting resident could easily choose between projects related to his/her priorities.

As the main research objective was to identify inclusive initiatives and activities related to enhancement of urban public spaces and green spaces, we were primarily interested only in the projects introducing green infrastructure solutions. As the so-called "green projects", we understand all undertaken activities related to improving of urban green infrastructure. Thus, the "green projects" were usually included in four predefined categories: greenery, public spaces, environmental protection and sport. Nevertheless, for a precise analysis, all proposals have been checked.

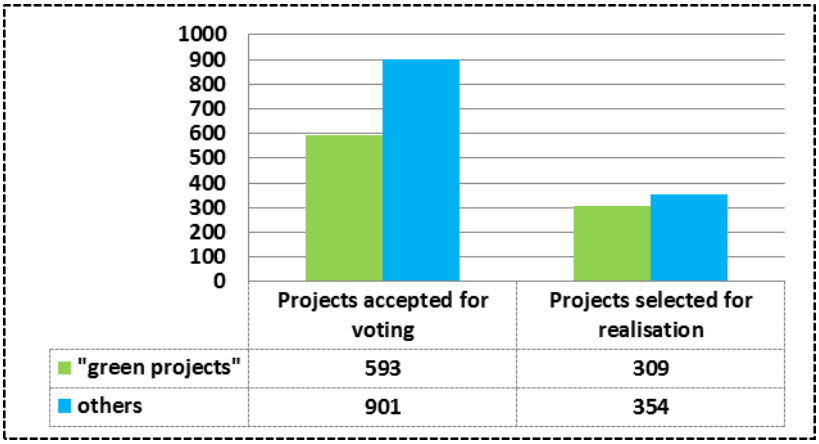
Identification of the "green projects" and preparation of a checklist of their characteristics, has been followed by the next step of the analysis, which was elaboration of the "green projects" typology. Undertaken research let us identify four different groups of "green projects", which vary in scale (e.g. site, local or district), objective or timeframe.

It is important to emphasise that procedure of selection of the "green projects" and their classification into four different categories has been repeated three times in a row - first, for all submitted proposals (n=2333), second, for all proposals accepted for voting (n=1494), and third, for all selected for realisation in 2016 (n=663). However, presented research results deal only with the last two groups, as we haven't considered proposals not accepted for public voting as relevant for further study.

3.2 Results

The study revealed that amongst all, both accepted for voting and selected for realisation projects, the so-called "green projects" make an important group (Figure 3). Out of a total number of 1494 accepted for voting

proposals, 39,7% deal with issues that enabled them to be classified as "green projects" (n=593 proposals). This number shows a great popularity of "green issues" amongst active Warsaw dwellers, who have taken a chance and submitted their ideas for participatory budget. The further analysis of proposals selected for realisation in 2016 shows that the number of "green projects" selected for realisation has even increased in comparison to previous test. Out of a total number of selected for realisation proposals (n=663), 47,37% are the "green projects" (n=309). These results clearly reveal that Warsaw city dwellers vote more eagerly for projects addressing issues of a better quality of public spaces or improvement of green spaces in neighbourhoods.



	Projects accepted for voting	Projects selected for realisation
"green projects"	593	309
others	901	354

Figure 3. The "green projects" in Warsaw participatory budget 2015 - accepted for voting and selected for realisation proposals.

The checklist of proposals' characteristics allowed for identification of those four "green projects" sub-groups, which are as follows:

1) simple "mini activities", such as a plantation of a single tree, a group of trees or shrubs, a plantation of urban flower meadows in neglected spaces, etc.

2) linear projects related to protection of vegetation in conflict areas (e.g. along streets) or related to construction of bicycle paths,

3) development of formal green spaces (e.g. design and construction of district parks, neighbourhood parks, pocket parks, community gardens),

4) temporary activities or events to be organised in public green spaces (e.g. yoga classes in parks or open-air seasonal events, such as concert, movies or excursions with guide).

Table 2 presents a wider selection of projects examples.

Table 2. Typology of 'green projects' examples.

GROUP 1 - simple "mini activities"	GROUP 2 - linear projects related to protection of vegetation in conflict areas
Interventions in urban greenery/urban public spaces including: - plantation of single tree - plantation of groups of trees or shrubs - plantation of urban flower meadows (also in neglected areas) - lawns or small flower beds - hotels for insects, houses and towers for birds - single elements of recreational equipment in public greenery, e.g. benches, street lamps, waste bins, etc. - single sport equipment for open-air gyms, climbing walls and towers, table tennis, seasonal sport fields (volleyball fields), etc.	- plantation of street greenery - construction of pedestrian transit routes accompanied by street greenery - construction of bicycle paths
GROUP 3 - design and development of public green spaces at various scales	**GROUP 4 - temporary events and activities in public green spaces**
- design and development of pocket parks / green plazas - design and development of neighbourhood parks (residential gardens) - design and development of community gardens - creation of open-air libraries in parks/ green plazas - redesign/revitalization of existing green spaces (including parks, community gardens, green plazas, estate greenery, pocket parks, etc.) - design of educational flower gardens and experimental school gardens, etc. - parks for dogs - organization of sport grounds and playgrounds in public greenery, preschools and schools, etc. - creation and redevelopment of playgrounds	- yoga, tai-chi classes, Nordic-walking for seniors, - outdoor art galleries (exhibitions of paintings, sculptures) - open-air seasonal events (concerts, movies, markets, city games, geo-caching, quests, etc.)

Further statistical analysis of the "green projects" was performed in order to check how many proposals relate to each of the four previously identified categories. The study exposed that the most popular category, both in accepted for voting and selected for realisation proposals is Group 1, the "mini activities" (Figure 3). Out of total number of accepted for voting "green projects", 39,6% are the "mini activities" (n=229), and second very popular category is the Group 3 - green spaces (35,4% and n=210). The

attractiveness of "mini activities" in voting (49,5% of all selected for realisation in 2016 projects) shows that even small interventions, such as plantation of a single tree or construction of a few benches are crucial for residents. Moreover, lower implementation costs of such "mini activities" enabled them to be chosen more eagerly. It is a very common practice that while voting, the residents try to use the dedicated money the most efficiently. So, whenever after selecting more expensive projects, any change is left, they spend it on cheaper proposals, e.g. a flower meadow.

The issue of costs links closely with the probability of project's selection. It can be exemplified by projects from Group 3 - green spaces. The average cost of a project from this category was the highest from all four categories, and that is mainly why the amount of selected for realisation projects from this category reaches only 28,8% of all selected "green projects".

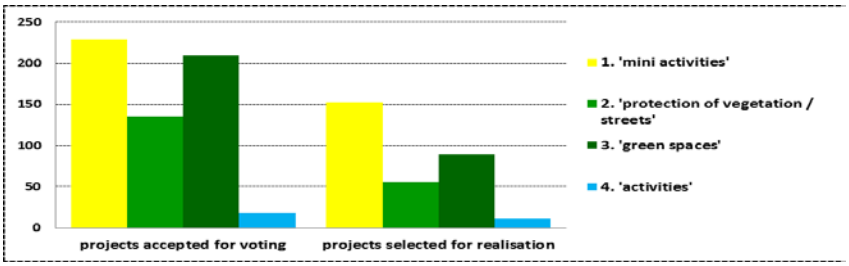


Figure 3. The identification of "green projects" categories in accepted for voting and selected for realisation proposals of Warsaw participatory budget 2015.

4 EXAMPLES OF ‘GREEN PROJECTS’

The winning proposals of Warsaw participatory budget 2015 show a diversity of types of projects and scope of activities proposed for the general enhancement of urban public spaces and urban greenery. The survey of examples includes selected "green projects" of the Warsaw participatory budget 2015, in relation to all four previously identified groups. The projects illustrate different approaches to creation top quality public spaces, as well as green infrastructure objects.

4.1 Simple "mini activities" and interventions in the urban greenery and the urban public spaces

The most often selected for realisation proposals from the "mini activities" category were various types of "flower meadows". In fact, such proposals have won in 17 out of 18 Warsaw districts, and next year there will be 39 flower meadows planted in Warsaw. The example described below is called an "Urban Meadow" (Figure 4), and it will be realised in Warsaw downtown - Śródmieście district. The concept involves removal of unattractive artificial pavement and big plastic planters from one the central plazas and their replacement by a natural flower meadow. This ecological action refers to the

history of this place, which is very dynamic. The character of the place has changed several times in the past. At first, this area had been a green pocket park, later for many years it was transformed to a parking lot, and recently in 2013, it has been redesigned as an urban plaza. However, the new development has been criticised a lot by the Warsaw public opinion, mainly because the concept design (which had been discussed and agreed with residents) differs significantly from the realisation. Originally, the plaza was supposed to be 'green', and in a reality it appeared to consist only of concrete. A dissatisfaction of the Warsaw inhabitants resulted immediately, and few months later they have submitted and selected the "Urban Meadow" proposal in Warsaw participatory budget 2015.

The rearranged area will give many profits, both in terms of sustaining of natural processes and providing a place for integration and recreation of local dwellers. Urban flower meadows require less maintenance, and are also alternatives for more expensive lawns, so the project will give also economic benefits in the future.

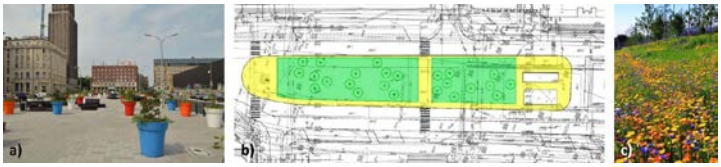


Figure 4. "Urban Meadow" project - Removal of concrete pavement and artificial planters and introduction of flower meadows, Śródmieście district. a) present situation, b) concept, c) idea visualisation. Source: Warsaw participatory budget 2015 – Description of projects selected for realisation in 2016; https://bp2016warszawa.zetwibo.pl/taskPropose/3777.

The second presented example of a small intervention in the urban greenery or urban public space, is the "Common benches" project, submitted also in Śródmieście district (Figure 5). The project is aimed at organisation of miniature recreational spaces equipped with a special urban furniture. The furniture is designed for the public open spaces and accessible for all types of users (youth and elderly people). The innovative character of these items rely on the fact that they are equipped with sockets enabling charging of mobiles or other ICT devices. The design concept introduces a concentric arrangement of benches and tables. Such layout will facilitate an organisation of local community meetings, open public debates, table-games competitions, workshops, etc. The place is designed also as a resting place for bicyclists. Additionally, authors of the proposal want to set up a book-crossing idea that could take place here.

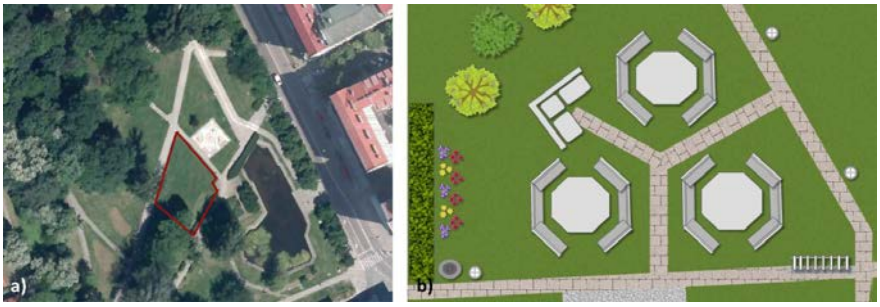


Figure 5. "Common benches" project, Śródmieście district. a) location, b) concept. Source: Warsaw participatory budget 2015 – Description of projects selected for realisation in 2016; https://bp2016warszawa.zetwibo.pl/taskPropose/1903.

4.2 Linear projects

The linear projects proposed in Warsaw participatory budget 2015, these are mainly plantations along streets and bicycle paths, a creation of new representative alleys along streets and pedestrian paths, and also design of new bicycle connections. The system of bicycle routes in Warsaw is planned in Warsaw Spatial Policy (an official spatial planning document), however there are still quite many gaps in the system. The presented exemplar project has been selected in Żoliborz district, and it was the most popular proposal in this district (Figure 6).

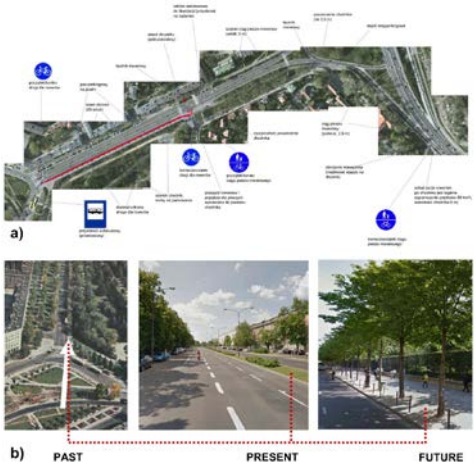


Figure 6. Bicycle connection to Vistula River Bicycle Route, Żoliborz district. a) concept design, b) visualisations of past, present and future. Source: Warsaw participatory budget 2015 – Description of projects selected for realisation in 2016; https://bp2016warszawa.zetwibo.pl/taskPropose/1875.

The idea is a creation of a safe bicycle connection between existing Vistula River Bicycle Route and the residential and recreational areas of Żoliborz district. New planned bicycle path will be accompanied by street greenery and alleys of trees. Thanks to this design solution, the new route

will be an important link between other objects of city green infrastructure. Moreover, the project is aimed at setting a trend for "green transport", which is not so popular now in Warsaw (as people rather use bicycles for recreation not for commuting). The realisation of the project will result in a better usage of Vistula waterfront zone.

Another "green project" addressing the issues of a lack of existing connections between elements of urban green infrastructure is called "90 trees for Ursynów district" (Figure 7). Again, this proposal was the most popular project from all selected ideas in voting in Ursynów district. The project introduces new trees that will be planted along main streets. The general concept complements existing alleys' layouts and changes "concrete deserts", as described by projects' authors, into "green oasis". Due to new plantations, the unattractive streets will change into the representative alleys, so vegetation will enhance the visual qualities. The new plants can become asylums for birds, and also will minimize the noise caused by cars, and will help to purify air.

Figure 7.The 90 trees for Ursynów district – past (left photo) and future (right photo). Source: Warsaw participatory budget 2015 – Description of projects selected for realisation in 2016; https://bp2016warszawa.zetwibo.pl/taskPropose/1752.

4.3 Design and development of public green spaces

The survey of "green projects" selected in Warsaw participatory budget 2015 show the diversity of projects related to design and construction of public green spaces, from small pocket parks, to full-size green spaces. Warsaw is perceived as a green city thanks to vast estate greenery in neighbourhoods built after the World War II. However, in some residential areas the public spaces are neglected and their social and visual qualities have decreased. This process is mainly caused by economic factors, as older estates were built in a more sparse manner than today's new developments, and costs of maintenance of vast greenery are very high. On the other hand, these green areas are of a great importance for the quality of life.

For the purpose of this paper, two examples of projects that have been selected in Żoliborz district are presented. The first one, it is a concept for modernisation of backyards, including new plantations and creation of small recreational places (Figure 8). Small interiors located at the entrances to the building will be redesigned and fitted with low ornamental plants, new furniture and pavement. The objective of this proposal is to improve visual and aesthetic qualities of the estate greenery, and to develop its social values. The building is located by one of the main streets in this districts, so in fact the backyard is often used as a transit route by pedestrians, who

prefer walking through described estate rather than along a noisy street. The new layout of backyard gives the opportunity also for those passers to take a walk in an attractive and safe space, so in fact the project gives benefits to a wider group of users.

Figure 8. Modernisation of residential greenery – front gardens, Żoliborz district. a) location, b), c) present situation, d) redevelopment plan. Source: Warsaw participatory budget 2015 – Description of projects selected for realisation in 2016; https://bp2016warszawa.zetwibo.pl/taskPropose/2723.

Another project dealing with modernisation of neglected green spaces is called the "New life for Żywiciela Park" (Figure 9). The referred park is a pocket park, which has a great potential as a recreational space, however today's layout deepens conflicts between various groups of users (e.g. elderly people, teenagers, transit passers and cyclists). The space also lacks quality, as greenery is rather unkempt and furniture is old and in a bad technical state. The project's main idea is to create an accessible for all people-friendly park. The design requires rearrangement of walking and bicycle paths, renovation of pavement and installation of new street lights. In addition, the proposal's authors underlined the need for making this park open for people with walking disabilities and parents with young children in pushchairs. Crucial changes relate also to new design of plantations, allowing for formation of visually and functionally attractive surroundings. Besides, the designed pocket park is a link between other green spaces in Żoliborz district. This connectivity issue gives even higher priority for this proposal, as this enhanced space will add value to district level of green infrastructure.

Figure 9. The New Life of Żywiciela Park – revitalisation of neglected pocket park, Żoliborz district - a) plan, b) visualisation. Source: Warsaw participatory budget 2015 – Description of projects selected for realisation in 2016; https://bp2016warszawa.zetwibo.pl/taskPropose/1877.

4.4 Temporary events and activities in public green spaces

Another group of proposals submitted to Warsaw participatory budget 2015 are ideas related to activities or events organised in green spaces. These projects are not aimed at creation of new spaces or modernisation of existing areas. However, without the green spaces, it will not be possible to organise them. These temporary events and activities give another value to existing recreational spaces. Nowadays, free exercises organised in public parks are becoming very popular in Warsaw. The project called "Yoga for all in Bemowo district parks" is one of such examples (Figure 10). The open-air yoga classes taught by well-qualified instructors will be organised once a week since May to September 2016. The project is addressed for users of all ages. It develops participants' health, integrates residents and is a way to spend free time.

Figure 10. Yoga in Górczewska Park and Fort Bema Park in Bemowo district. a) places of meetings,
b) visualisation. Source: Warsaw participatory budget 2015 – Description of projects selected for realisation in 2016;
https://bp2016warszawa.zetwibo.pl/taskPropose/2433.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The popularity of the "green projects", amongst ideas accepted for voting and selected for realisation in Warsaw participatory budget 2015, show the importance of green public spaces, and vegetation in general, for city dwellers. The performed research exposed that the "green projects" represent priority interest in participatory budget in Warsaw.

Since the "the green projects" are more eagerly voted than other proposals dealing for example with transport or education issues, we can conclude that the high quality of public spaces, located in the vicinity of home, is one of central needs and expectations of city dwellers. At the same time, the prominence of the "mini activities" prove that not only big, lavish projects are of great attention. Small interventions might also be engines of positive changes in the quality of neighbourhood public space.

On the other hand, the undertaken study confirmed that participatory budgeting is an inclusive process. The growing awareness of local authorities, who find the participatory budget attractive for residents, and increasing responsiveness of city dwellers, who play an active role in participatory budgets (by submitting and voting proposals) mark a new direction of changes in governance in Poland. This new trend can be described "from public participation to co-creation", where city residents are not only informed, but play a real and active role in their city.

For final statement it should be underlined, that promoted ideas and activities, actualised through projects submitted by residents in the Warsaw participatory budget 2015, plainly reveal that the "green projects" bring exclusive, in term of high quality, spaces that are open and inviting for everybody.

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Contemporary Urban Planning Models in Skopje and their impact on the Urban Green Spaces

ABSTRACT:

Providing urban green spaces is of a great importance for development of cities and providing high-quality living environment. The uncoordinated expansion of urban areas and construction sites in urban green spaces are identified as a major problem in the development of modern cities. Therefore, citizens, aware of loosing greenery and green spaces within the city, are reacting more often and very strong against that.

The policies of urban development and intense construction activity in Skopje in the last years have an important impact on the urban green spaces. The urban green spaces are being lost due to the poor planning and weak and shortsighted policy of the municipalities. The civil society and the non-governmental sector are especially active with their efforts to protect the existing and to provide new urban green spaces. Their activity is not properly appreciated and they are not being recognized as a factor that can contribute in the decision making an planning of the spaces that will be used by themselves.

The research concludes that there is need of serious treatment of this subject and the recommended actions to be taken are: adoption of special laws and by-laws, development of standards, regulations, guidelines instructiions, both on the issue of urban green spaces and civic participation.

KEYWORDS: *urban green space, urban planning, civic inclusion*

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the issue of the urban green spaces and concerns about their provision and preservation while taking into account the change of planning models adopted in the transformation of the socio-political system in the Republic of Macedonia. On a daily basis, cities in Macedonia, and especially the city of Skopje, are facing neglecting, decreasing, occupation and conversion of public green spaces, which in turn raises strong civil reactions. Such reactions are a relatively new phenomenon in our country, but their increasing frequency and massiveness, especially when it comes to providing high quality living space, makes it necessary to research the causes of the occurrence of this situation.

The most complex problems that cities are facing are related to the quality of the environment. Hence, the key activity for city management and development should be the adoption and implementation of strategies for improvement of the quality of life. This should be accomplished by including environmental principles into city development planning, as well as protecting existing ecosystems and creating new open and green spaces.

Democratic development and increased public awareness contribute for citizens to become more and more aware of the declining quality of life caused by intense densification and building in the cities, which in turn provokes them to act in response. Citizens use different ways to express their position and indignation, for instance coming out to protest, forming self-organised groups to protect the environment in their immediate neighbourhoods, social networks activities, directly confronting the mayors, etc.

This imposes several key questions:

- How contemporary tendencies (urban policies, urban planning and interest of the investors) are reflected on the prevalence and use of green spaces and what is their impact on the quality of the environment?
- How and to what extent are citizens involved in making decisions about the future development of the city and their neighbourhoods?
- How do citizens perceive detailed urban plans and the prevalence of open public green space in the plans?
- What are the reactions of citizens about the public space?

2 URBAN GREEN SPACES: DEFINITION

The starting point is the position of the Study “Development of Urban Green Spaces to Improve the Quality of Life in Cities and Urban Regions” (URGE, 2004) according which “Urban green spaces are understood as public green

spaces located in urban areas, mainly covered by vegetation (as opposed to other open spaces) which are directly used for active or passive recreation, or indirectly used by virtue of their positive influence on the urban environment, accessible to citizens, serving the diverse needs of citizens and thus enhancing the quality of life in cities or urban regions."

In this paper, the term "urban green space" is used for all the areas that are not built, used for recreation, leisure, for nature protection, protection of ecosystems, habitats, reclamation of the eroded areas, of high underground waters or another kind of influence.

According to the Study "Development of Urban Green Spaces to Improve the Quality of Life in Cities and Urban Regions"(URGE, 2004), urban green spaces are crucial elements of the urban environment providing a wide range of outputs and accomplishing ecological functions, benefits for healthy citizens, societal wellbeing and economic benefits. They have a central role in the development and delivery of sustainable ideas.

In Macedonia the urban green space is identified with the term "free, open space" and is linked to greening activity. In housing zones, the term "free area" is identified with the term "public green space / area", while, in urban plans free, open spaces in residential complexes are referred to as "residential blocks greenery" or "plantation". (Hadji Pecova et al, 2015)

Problems with the naming of the green areas, their categorisation and (un)existing set of standards to providing urban green spaces are evident and therefore it is hard to track planning, design, implementation, management and maintenance of the greenery in Skopje, through planning and other related documents.

3. METHODOLOGY

The subject of this paper is the urban green space in Skopje and the main goal of the research is to detect the problems of planning, provision and protection of urban green spaces, and to estimate the involvement of citizens in the planning and decision-making process on urban green spaces.

The survey was conducted through review of:

- the conditions of green areas in the city;
- planned and achieved standards of green areas;
- public green spaces in residential units (neighbourhoods);
- change of urban models (paradigms),

and rearview of:

- legal basis for citizens' partipation in planning and decision-making process;

- citizens' role;
- citizens' reactions and activism.

4. CONSIDERATIONS

One-quarter of the country population lives in Skopje, the capital and largest city in Macedonia with a constant pressure for further increase of inhabitants. Hence, the main problems that the city is facing are the increasing number of residents, intensive building and densification, reduction of free urban areas and green spaces, as well as problems with increasing pollution and decreasing of the quality of life.

All strategic and development documents and urban plans have sole determination, which is "Provision of environmental quality and life quality that can be achieved with adequate representation of urban public green / open spaces". (GUP Skopje 2012; NSSDRM, 2010; LEAP2 Skopje, 2011; Hadji Pecova, 2015).

4.1 Conditions

Observation of the situation in Skopje could allocate few characteristics (GUP Skopje 2012; LEAP2 Skopje, 2011; Hadji Pecova, 2015):

- Increase of the number of residents;
- Intensive building activity;
- The guidelines from the urban plans developed in the second half of the 20-th century, for provision and increase of the urban green areas are not completely realized;
- Intensive decrease of existing public green spaces;
- Extremely high air pollution;
- Increase of citizens' reaction on changed urban policies regarding city greenery, etc.

Issues that arise from such situation are:

- Lack of research on any aspect of the functions of urban green spaces and their meaning;
- In the current legislation, the category of urban green spaces is not appropriately elaborated;
- Instruments for citizens' involvement in the whole planning process are not completely elaborated;
- The needs and reactions of citizens are not surveyed;

Figure 10. Plans and UrbanFaçades,Architectural Project, Roseta VazMonteiro Arquitectos (2015)

Figure 11. Proposal, plan and urbanfaçades, Roseta VazMonteiro Arquitectos (2015

- Opinions, requirements, and needs of the citizens are not implemented, etc.

4.1.1 Area of urban greenery and representation of green areas

Total urban green area in Skopje in 2012 was 529 ha (GUP Skopje 2012-2020) (Figure 1), of which:

- Areas defined as urban greenery - 388 ha;
- Areas of Zajchev Rid, Gazi-Baba and Francuski grobishta, and Recreational Center Saraj (the areas defined as suburban greenery, although they are settled within the city and e functionally directly connected with urban activities) – 141ha.

Urban green areas are structured as:

- City parks – 39.8 ha;
- Green areas and local parks within neighbourhood units – 284 ha;
- Green areas in the hills (Zajcev rid, Klae, Gazi Baba, Francuski grobista) and Recreational Center Saraj – 141 ha;
- Street's green areas – 99 ha.

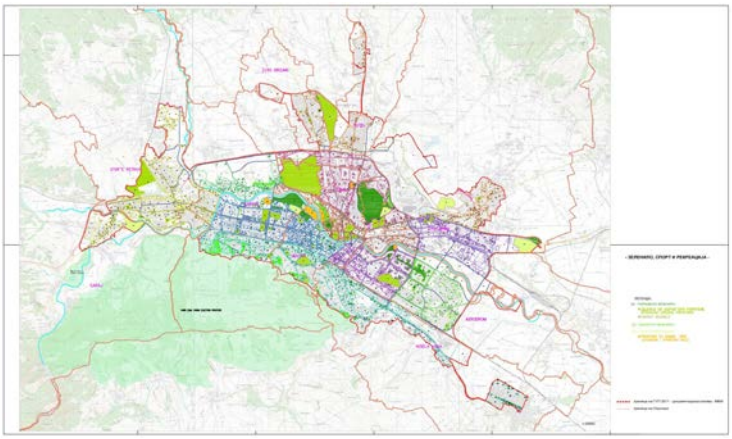


Figure 1. Greenery, sport and recreation. Source: Hadji Pecova, S. et al. (2015) Study for greening and reforestation of the City of Skopje. City of Skopje, Skopje.

Table1. Areas of urban greenery 1964-2011

	Condition 1964 (ha)	Condition 1985 (ha)	Condition 1998 (ha)	Condition 2011 (ha)
Urban greenery according to the analyzes of Master plans	211,8	426,2	392,9 + 183,2*	388 + 141*
TOTAL	**211,8**	**462,2**	**576,1**	**529**

*The land of greenery within urban areas categorized as suburban, previously categorized as protective greenery.

The largest areas of public greenery were in 1998 - 576.1 ha,

- By 2011 about 47 ha of the green areas have decreased :
  - In Gazi-Baba from 130 ha to 105 ha (-25 ha)
  - In Francuski grobishta from 21,2 ha to 7 ha (-14,2h);
  - In Zajchev rid from 7 ha to 5 ha (-2ha);
  - In Recreational Center Saraj from 25 ha to 24 ha (-1 ha);

4.1.2 Planned and achieved standards of green areas

Each of the planning documents, especially the urban plans set high standards for provision of green spaces in the city. However, we are to compared the planned and realised land and standards for urban greenery, it can be seen that they have not been achieved in any of the planning periods (Table 2). Particularly alarming is the situation in 1998, when the downward tendency began, and is still continuing today.

Table 2. Planned and realized land and standards for urban greenery 1964-2011

1964				**1985**				**1998 (GUP 2001)**			
Condition		Plane's goals		Condition		Plane's goals		Condition		Plane's goals	
m^2	m^2/inh.	m^2	m^2/inh.	m^2	m^2/inh.	m^2	m^2/inh.	m^2	m^2/inh	m^2	m^2/inh.
2.118.420	**10,7**	8.750.000	**25,0**	4.262.200	**11,01**	11.530.400	**21,6**	3.929.200	**9.64**	14.761.800	**25,0**

*Comments on the standard achieved by 2012 are not possible. (GUP of 2012 does not operate with data on the situation or the number of residents in 2010/2011 - reference year of analysis of the situation).

The set of standards for greenery that continue to declare the necessary areas for greenery and sports and recreation as a one category are also problematic. By their nature, these contents can be combined and placed alongside each other, but they are separate and distinct. The problem increases when in the calculations of space that needs to be provided (or is already provided), these contents are jointly planned and provided. (Table 3)

Table 3. Standards for urban green areas. GUP Skopje 2012-2020

(Distribution of green areas – city park, district park, square, tree row, green corridors, forest, children playgrounds, sport and recreation)

City	District (Neighbourhood) Up to 5.000 inh.	Up to 15.000 inh.	More than 15.000 inh.	More than 50.000 inh.	More than 100.000 inh.
19, 0 m^2/inh.	Children playground 2, 0 m^2/inh.	Sport and recreation 4, 0 m^2/inh. District park 5, 0 m^2/inh.	City park 4, 0 m^2/inh.	Squares, tree rows, green corridors, waterfront greenery 7, 0 m^2/inh.	Forest 2, 5 m^2/inh.

4.1.3 Public green spaces in residential units (neighbourhoods)

Special categories, when talking about urban green spaces, are the areas under greenery in the large residential units (neighbourhoods) (Table 4). There are several types of residential units: residential units with plots (house-garden), i.e. traditional urban blocks, and residential units without plots (residential buildings – residential blocks greenery), i.e. urban blocks modelled on the concept of modernists - residential buildings in greenery. Consequently, the situation with the greenery in various parts of Skopje is different.

The residential units of Karposh 3 and 4, Skopje Sever (Topaansko Pole and Chair), and “11 Oktomvri”, are in a much better position, as they were created following the modernists’ urban forms and their image is inseparable from the greenery (Figure 3). Special case are the units of “Aerodrom”, “Novo Lisiche”, and “Kapishtec”, planned in the ’80, with large green spaces between the buildings. The situation in the units of “Debar Maalo”, “Buljakovec”, “Kisela Voda”, etc is the most concerning, as the urban blocks are with small plots, there is an intensive building and densification and they are under constant pressure of losing both public green spaces and garden greenery. Some parts of Kisela Voda, Vodno and Gjorche Petrov, where houses with gardens still prevail, manage to meet the environmental conditions, but they lack public green areas.

Unfortunately, there is a general tendency of reduction of the green areas and construction of new housing and even commercial buildings. Because of the new more rigorous standards for providing an adequate number of parking spaces and the approach of giving priority to traffic, green areas often are perceived as a free land for building or providing parking lots.

Table 4. Residential blocks greenery under jurisdiction of the municipalities in Skopje. 248, 6 ha. GUP Skopje 2012-2020

	Municipality	Area m^2
1.	Center	195.484
2.	Karposh	610.063
3.	Gjorche Petrov	92.235

4.	Kisela Voda	208.327
5.	Aerodrom	804.519
6.	Gazi Baba	186.365
7.	Chair	297.700
8.	Butel	74.946
9.	Shuto Orizari	16.340
	Total:	**2.485.979**

Residential settlement Karposh 3

Residential settlement Topansko Pole

Figure 2. Residential blocks greenery in neighbourhoods in Skopje according to modernists' concept. Source: Google maps, 2015.

Residential settlement Bunjakovec

Residential settlement Vodno

Figure 3. Residential blocks greenery in traditional neighbourhoods in Skopje. Source: Google maps, 2015

4.1.4 Change of urban models / paradigms

The category "*residential greenery in residential communities*" is directly dependent on the societal commitments and policies for urban development and land-use planning. For a certain period (GUP from 1965, 1985 and 2002.) as a guideline for provision of green spaces in residential units the following standards were used:

- 2 to 5 m2 per capita for a park in a residential units;
- 10 to 16 m2 per capita for residential (blocks) greenery (density: from 200 to 300 inhabitants / ha);
- 2 m2 per child for playgrounds;
- 2.5 m2 per capita for recreational spaces.

If we compare the standards in the previous General Urban Plans with those in the latest one (Table 3) it will show us that part of the earlier requested green areas such as parks in a residential units, residential blocks greenery, etc are missing. By excluding the areas needed for greenery the hierarchy for providing green areas, starting from the plot as a basic cell of the city to the city as a whole has been changed.

As a result of the changed policy for efficient land use and increasing population density., current planning documentation (DUPs) do not provide new green spaces in the residential neighbourhoods / blocks. On account of the garden and block greenery, the building coverage ratio is increased and provision of parking is planned. (Figure 4)

What is evident is the reduction of green areas in the plots where there are facilities of public interest (kindergartens, schools, universities, municipal buildings, etc.). It is interesting to note that the previous plans were providing a substantial percentage of free, open and green spaces

Figure 4. DUP Debar Maalo. Draft. 2015

A particular problem is the lack of control of the implementation of the General Urban Plan's guidelines for the provision of land for local parks and blocks greenery into Detailed Urban plans. Directions taken by the GUP can

not be read in the plans of lower level (DUP). In addition, there are no clearly defined goals for planning and provision of green spaces.

The problem is additionally amplified by the insufficient regulation of this issue in the urban planning legislation. The Law on Spatial and Urban Planning (Official Gazette of RM, no. 199/2014) does not cover this issue, and its treatment is prescribed by the Ordinance on standards and norms for urban planning and the Ordinance on detailed content, form and manner of processing of GUP, DUP, ... (Official Gazette of RM, no.142/2015).

The Ordinance on standards and norms for urban planning covers only a small portion of this matter, defining it as a class of purpose D: greenery, sports, recreation, and memorial spaces (Article 28). In section 14 “Urban greenery and greening ", Article 81 regulates the arrangement of parks and possibility of conversion of this land only in the GUP. This Ordinance also prescribes that urban plans should determine the percentage of greening within a construction plot, block or district. (Figure 5).

The Ordinance on detailed content, size and manner of graphic processing of urban plans (Official Gazette of RM, no. 78/2006), in section "Contents of urban plans" (Article 5, part 4: Textual part, line 9) under “special requirements for construction, development and land use and buildings " proscribes a requirement for provision of explanation of “the extent and manner of processing the greenery. Further in part 6: Graphic part, the legislator has stated that there should be a “plan for greenery to a disposition of low, medium and high vegetation."

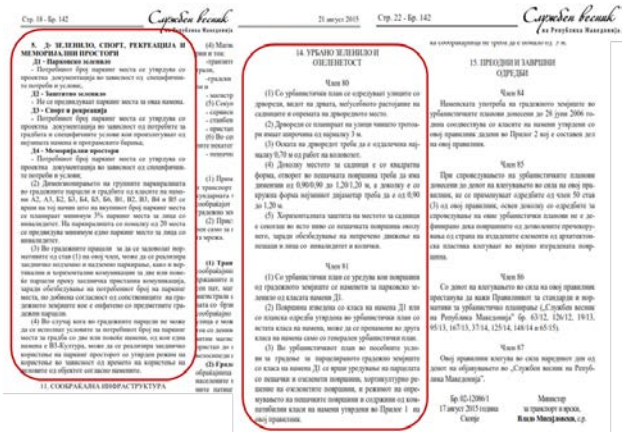


Figure 5. Excerpt from the Ordinance on standards and norms for urban planning, pertaining to prescribed norms and standards for greenery. (Official Gazette of RM, no. 142/2015).

Consequences of this situation are:

- Existing green spaces in residential areas almost everywhere in the city are decreasing, and in the central area they are rapidly disappearing. (Grcheva et al., 2013);

- The priorities in urban plans are focused on conquering new land or building sites and public green spaces are not preserved or new land for that purpose is not provided;
- The category of the residential block greenery is converted into a construction site;
- Environmental and social aspects that can and should be achieved through public green and open spaces are not subject to analysis in the preparation of urban plans;
- Current commitments for urban development (like increasing density and creating a coherent system of public green open spaces and providing quality of environment) create new conflicts, offering solutions only for new building;
- Land regulated or provided for park areas or residential blocks greenery is seen as an empty space that can be built, especially in restitution or for providing new parking space.

Realizing the problems with urban green spaces the city administration of Skopje in 2015 prepared a Study for greening and forestation of the City of Skopje (Hadji Pecova et al., 2015) with an aim to investigate the problems and to solve them accordingly. This is a first serious step towards recognition of the urban green spaces as important urban category.

4.2 Citizens' participation in reviewing the urban plans and decision-making

Citizens' participation is defined as a "two-way interaction between citizens and governments that involve citizens in the process of decision-making to improve development outcomes" (Manroth, A. et al. (2014).

There are 5 levels of interaction (IAP2, 2007):

1. Information: providing citizens with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and solutions.

2. Consultation: obtaining citizens feedback on analyses, alternatives, decisions.

3. Involvement: working directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.

4. Collaboration: partnering with citizens in decision making.

5. Empowerment: placing final decision making in citizen's hands with a final result being a full engagement of citizens in the decision-making process.

4.2.1 Legal basis for public participation in decision-making process pertaining to urban development

In almost all our laws the issue of public participation in decision-making processes is more or less anticipated. However, no matter how well or detailed are the legal provisions that regulate this issue, if it is not regarded and recognised by all sides (governments – general public) as a two-way process, that is, if any of the parties concerned (involved) does not contribute to or demonstrates no interest in the matter, it will not be successful.

Therefore, it is very important for the citizens to be aware of their rights to access information and to participate in public debates and meetings in order to actively play a part in decision-making processes that affect or may affect in future the environment and the community where they live.

The term “public” denotes one or more natural or legal persons, and in compliance with the national legislation or practice, it refers to their associations, organisations and / or groups. There is another term “public concerned” which refers to citizens that are affected or are likely to be affected, or have an interest in environmental or other decision-making and to non-governmental organisations and associations that represent their interests.

Involving the public to participate in decision-making on proposed development projects and planning documents, regardless to whether it is only a standard consultation process or direct participation in decision-making, especially in the initial/early stage of planning, results in numerous benefits. With the aim to approve, or even improve proposed projects and planning documents from both environmental and social aspect, public participation in decision-making makes the whole process open and more transparent and decisions are better accepted in the forthcoming stage of their implementation.

Such approach on one hand gives the authorities an opportunity to take into account all possible alternatives to prevent potential negative impacts of the proposed projects and programmes on the environment, and generally on the quality of people’s lives. On the other, it guarantees that citizens and the public concerned, in general, affected by the implementation of these projects and programmes, have the role of “co-implementing party”, thereby contributing to the betterment of the social and economic character of the proposed projects and programmes.

4.2.2 When are citizens informed and consulted?

Under the positive laws, local governments are under obligation to inform the citizens about a public presentation of detailed urban plans. However, too often the publication of this information is without a clear criterion on the selection of the media channels, and while the municipality has a legal obligation to hear citizens’ suggestions they are not under obligation to take them into consideration in any way. Their suggestions can be dismissed on

the ground of “experts’ opinion”, even though they may represent the interest of numerous citizens affected by the changes proposed for that specific urban area. This problem is noted by both the urban planners and the citizens. In practice, the public questionnaire as an instrument is both the only and under-used mechanism of communication between the local governments’ urban departments and citizens.

Urban planners agree that citizens are usually informed or consulted at the very late phase before the municipal council adopts the draft plan for a given urban block. At this stage, their contribution is minimal, if at all possible to speak of a contribution. Citizens are only asked whether they like the proposed solution or not. Their intervention is minimal because the possibilities for changes in this phase of the plan development are limited. Time and resources have been invested in making the plan and municipal departments are not willing to give it up. In this case, urban planners’ approach is to negotiate extreme dissatisfaction and minimize civil disagreement. Internal and external bodies composed of persons employed in the administration review the proposals and decide on the validity of the reactions and comments and whether they should be taken into account. After this, the citizens have no other instrument to react against the already adopted proposals, but to organize a public protest and a social pressure. Competent municipal departments rarely carry out surveys to identify and analyse citizens’ needs and priorities before drafting the plans. Also, municipalities do not have sufficient financial and human resources to make such analysis, nor are motivated to increase their workload. What they are trying to do is to achieve a maximum result by meeting the minimum foreseen by the legislator. (City-making practises, 2014)

4.2.3 Citizens’ role

The role of citizens and civil society organisations (CSOs) is of essential importance. As issues related to sustainable development of urban areas encompass number of problems from various areas of the community life, cross-sectoral collaboration and unified operations are more that needed in order to put more serious pressure on governments to include “the voice of the people” in all stages of planning and decision-making processes for matters that are of interest and can affect the quality of life in their local communities.

In recent years, citizens of Skopje react daily on the numerous activities undertaken by the city administration, related to the urban greenery. Explicitly, in the name of "maintenance" of the greenery, there is an intensive logging of three rows over 80 years old, especially in the city centre (Figure 6). Citizens also reacted when because of the redevelopment of the main square "Macedonia", the familiar old chestnuts were cut, but then it was qualified as "nostalgia" and new trees of better quality were promised (2002.). Today we are witnessing an unprecedented destruction of everything that is urban green spaces and natural landscape, like the riverbank of Vardar (especially in the central city area), the City Park, and

the block greenery in almost all larger residential neighbourhoods, like Karposh, Aerodrom, Avtokomanda, and Kisela Voda.

Figure 6. June 8, 2011, 5h in the morning. Logging of the over 80-year-old tree rows at the bull. St. Clement Ohridski, shaped in 1929 by the example of the Boulevard "Unter den Linden ("Under the linden trees") in Berlin

4.2.4 Citizens' reactions and activism

Citizens organise themselves in groups and become involved in community affairs only when certain conditions are present or deficiencies are noted (Wade 1989, Christensen and Robinson 1980).

Over the past years, and especially in the last 4, citizens' response is becoming louder and more organised. After being faced with enormous air pollution, dust and dirt, to which no one could stay indifferent, citizens are becoming more and more aware of the importance of green spaces in the city. Skopje is currently in the top ten most polluted cities in the world, which nobody even in their worst possible prognosis would expect to happen. City officials do not deal with this problem in any acceptable manner and arrogantly reject all complaints and objections of the citizens. This creates a chain reaction: citizens begin to organise themselves in informal civic groups and to seriously research the issue and react.

Citizens today are self-conscious and verbally respond to almost every action by the city authorities that results in losses of tree rows, important pieces of greenery in the neighbourhood, when open space is converted into a building plot or is usurped and paved because of the problem with parking. Unfortunately, most of the citizens' protests and actions have been crushed and disrespected by the authorities, or the authorities remain deaf and undertake no actions for the benefit of citizens and their demands to preserve the precious green wealth of the city. (Figure 7)

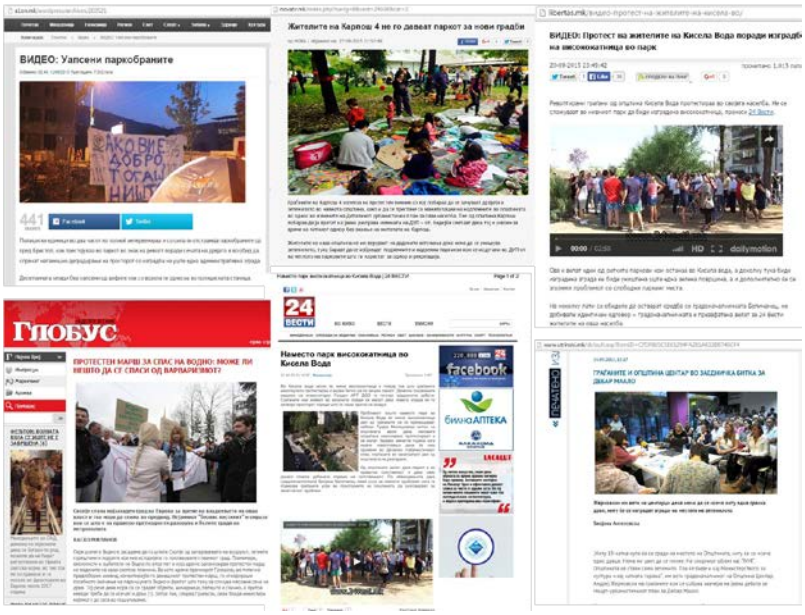


Figure 7. Citizens' protests against the destruction of the greenery in Skopje. Source: Daily newspapers.

The only positive reaction was by the Mayor of Chair, in 2013, when at the request of citizens to preserve the park in Chair, he stopped the realisation of the DUP, which envisaged construction of new buildings in the park (City-making practises, 2014).

We could say that the first seriously organized civic response was the defence of the park in front of the famous Hotel Bristol (Figure 8). In a very orderly arranged urban area the aggressive state government decided to legalise a construction of several huge, and for the given space inadequate, government buildings (Ministry and the Agency for Electronic Communications), as part of the project "Skopje 2014" (Grcheva, 2012). Here, for the first time, citizens were faced with a strong police action and were forcibly expelled on several occasions.

Figure 8. Park in front of the hotel Bristol. Police action against "The Defenders".

The next step of the groups of citizens who became united in the defense of the green spaces in Skopje were volunteer and NGO projects that addressed the inventory of green spaces, tree alleys, small parks, and other

urban greenery in the city. The result of these activates is a study on the disappearance of green spaces in the central core of Skopje, the so called Small Ring, prepared by the NGO Ploshtad Sloboda, a group young architects and other young people (Grcheva et al., 2013) (Figure 9). Another interesting project is the one carried out by a group of young architects who besides the analyzes of densification of Debar Maalo and Bunjakovec, put great emphasis on the loss of greenery and green spaces in these two urban districts (Skopje Grows, 2013) (Figure 10).

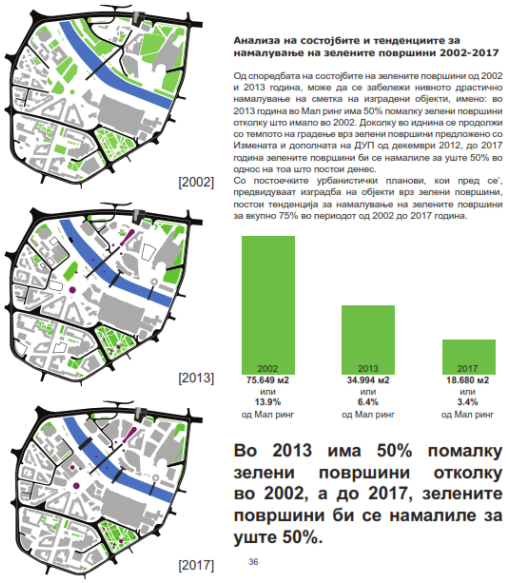
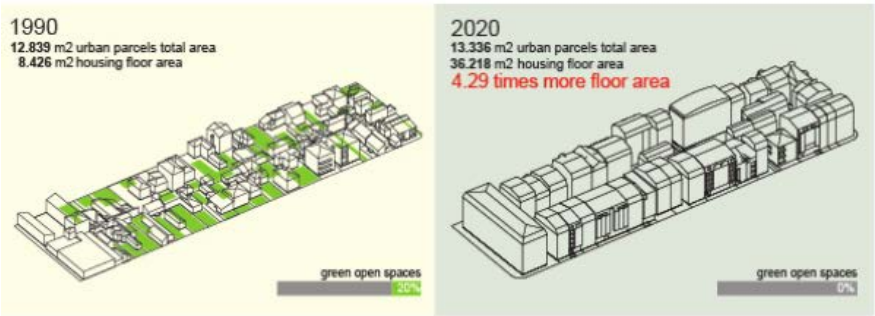
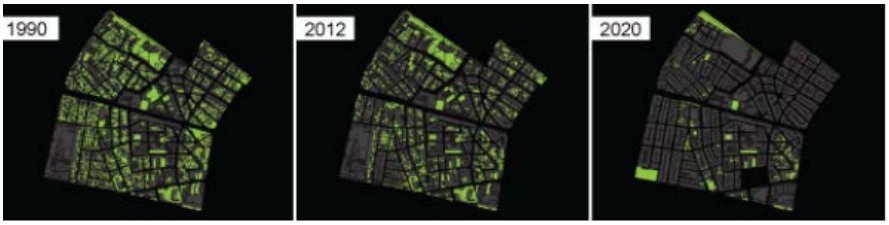


Figure 9. Our trees are disappearing! Conditions and tendencies for reducing urban greenery (urban green areas) in "Small Ring" (Mal Ring) in Skopje, 2002 - 2017, Ploshtad Sloboda. (Grcheva et al., 2013)





The decrease of the green spaces / **21.6**% (1990) > **13.8%** (2012) > **4.5%** (2020)

Figure 10. Skopje Grows: Policy study on the effects of the urban planning methodology and practice in Skopje: case studies of Debar maalo and Bunjakovec. A Joint Project by Reactor – Research in Action and Arhitektri, Skopje. 2013

5. CONCLUSION

Frequent and massive reactions and activism by citizens regarding the protection of the urban green spaces in Skopje expose serious problems in the process of planning and future development of the city.

The reduction of these spaces at the expense of new buildings, their usurpation and destruction, the altering of microclimate and the higher temperatures, the enormous pollution, encourage increased awareness about the importance of protection of the existing and demand for provision of new green spaces.

The problem with provision and protection of the urban green spaces in Skopje, among other things, can be detected in the adopted planning models and the existing legislation regulating this issue.

The review shows that there are serious problems in the definition of the term urban green spaces, their structure, the planned and achieved standards, the incomprehensible implementation through planning and construction, the protection of the urban green spaces etc. The review of the citizens' reactions shows that citizens and the city administration do not recognize the legal was of reacting in regard to the urban green spaces, nor there is well established legal framework for a link between the aforementioned. Possibility for citizens to participate in the planning and decision making, before the completion of a plan, does not exist.

Hence, it can be concluded that this matter should be treated in detail, through adoption of special laws and by-laws, development of standards, regulations, guidelines instructiions, both on the issue of urban green spaces and civic participation.

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Post-socialist City in Transition: Emergence of Inclusiveness in Housing Design

ABSTRACT:

The aim of this paper is to contribute to discussions on post-socialist transformation of cities, investigating how the political, economic and social changes have been affecting the production and the design of housing. The paper's specific aim is to investigate and describe the recent housing outcomes, exploring the case of the city of Skopje, the capital of Republic of Macedonia. The emerging role of the private interest in the housing construction after the 1990s gave rise to previously unfamiliar design and spatial practices. Many housing examples prove that architecture no longer comes as result of the exclusive design decisions of the architects, but it is the spontaneous unplanned practices of the inhabitants that bring about many decisions in the final spatial outcome. On one hand, this contradictory and conflicting practice could be seen as a negative phenomenon leading towards the decrease of the - previously exclusive - role of the architects in the design process; on the other, by adopting the perspective to view the architectural design as a more inclusive design process, we the architects could potentially benefit, but only in case we manage to redefine not only our role but also the role of the occupants.

KEYWORDS: *post-socialist transition, housing, spontaneous practices, participation*

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper is a contribution towards research of the process of post-socialist transition. It explores the process of transformation of the architectural and urban form influenced by the political transition from state socialism to liberal democracy, exploring the city of Skopje - the capital of Republic of Macedonia, as a case study. The paper's aim is to contribute to discussions on post-socialist transformation of cities, discovering how political, economic and social changes have been affecting the production of housing.

Housing construction has been subjected to remarkable transformation since the political and economic reforms that stared at the beginning of 1990s. The beginning of transition represents the historical end of the social(ist) concept of housing. As a consequence of the shift of the political course towards democracy, the state lost its powers to maintain the control over its development; to be the planner, the investor, the contractor and the distributor of the housing supply. From instrument of political ideology and basic social right, the housing was soon transformed into (only) a commodity of the market economy. In that sense, the paper's specific aim is to discover, investigate and describe the specific architectural outcomes, focusing on the role of private interest parties (mostly private developers and housing occupants) in the transformation of the existing and the new housing stock.

The paper argues that the emerging role of the private interests in the housing construction after the 1990s gave rise to previously unfamiliar design and spatial practices, resulting with hybrid architectural outcomes. Many housing examples prove that architecture no longer comes as result of the exclusive design decisions of the architects, but it is the spontaneous unplanned practices of the occupants that bring about many decisions in the final spatial outcome. In that sense, our investigation aims to open up a path for a wider consideration of these usually neglected spatial manifestations within the built environment.

On one hand, this contradictory and conflicting practice could be seen as a negative phenomenon leading towards the decrease of the - previously exclusive - role of the architects in the design process; on the other, by adopting the perspective to view the architectural design as a more inclusive design process, we, the architects could potentially benefit from this circumstances, but only in case we manage to redefine not only our role but also the role of the occupants. Thus, one of paper's key arguments is that the current trends of production of housing emphasize the role of the occupants, which is important, and which should be potentially formalized as part of the decision-making process of the architects. Accordingly, architects of future should develop housing designs that are based on flexibility, participation and qualification of users of such spaces.

Having in mind all of the above said, the article is structured around three key sub-themes;

- At first, we explore the overall context of the process of post-socialist transition that has consequently led to the transformation of the cities and (as a chain reaction) has affected the production of city's most dominant substance – housing;
- Secondly, we focus on the physical manifestations of the housing paradigm shift, studying the specific pattern of housing transformation that provide us an insight into emergent modes of urban and architectural developments, responsible for the (d)evolution of the post-socialist urban landscape of Skopje;
- Thirdly, we explore several theoretical and practical concepts of architecture design with the notion of participation of occupants, all in order to project a different viewpoint over the current practices of housing design.

The three sections of the paper address three different aspects of the already listed research question, illuminating thus a comprehensive overview over the theme of the investigation – the subject of inclusiveness in the design of housing.

2 POST-SOCIALIST URBAN LANDSCAPE

2.1 Post-socialist transition: the background

Post-socialist transition is commonly explained as simultaneous transformation of country's political, economic and social system (Harloe, 1996; Enyedi, 1998; Tosics, 2005; Tsenkova, 2008). It is a gradual process as it requires establishing of new institutions, new organizations, new laws and new forms of behavior of the various participants in the system. Political system undergoes transformation which is constitutional and institutional corresponding to the economic transformation that leads to the introduction of new property regime and new criteria of distribution of the value (Tosics, 2005).

Establishment of market oriented economy is considered the leading societal transformation. Being interpreted as a more efficient way of organizing the production and exchange of goods it is to substitute the previous system of central planning and the new legal framework is about (re)establishing the principle of private property. Processes of privatization and restitution are to lead towards massive transfer of assets and re-evaluation of property by the rules of emerging market (Pickvance, 2002).

However, in their transition, the former socialist countries followed neither a same "path", nor a single dynamic in their economic transformation. According to Tsenkova (2008), "progress in economic terms has been uneven, and the pursuit of private sector-driven growth as well as macroeconomic and social reforms has delivered mixed results with respect to economic performance, provision of basic services, and the effectiveness of social safety nets." (p.2).

2.1 City in transition

The political, economic and social reforms have brought significant changes in the outlook of post-socialist cities. The process of post-socialist transition introduced completely new frame for the urban and architectural development. The introduction of the private property, the emergence of market relations, the decentralization of central government powers etc. has lead towards dramatic decrease of the role of state in the development of the city. (Tosics, 2005) By changing the spatial planning system and the emergence of previously nonexistent partakers in this process (first and foremost – the private developers), new pre-conditions for urban development have occurred. According to Tosics, in cities, "the most visible changes are the products of market forces: foreign investors, domestic entrepreneurs, and private persons acting as developers. The public sector does not play a major role in development, but its indirect role in making private investment possible and shaping its outcome is crucial." (p.60)

In the early 1990's, it was believed that the process of transition will affect the realm of the cities rather uniformly and along a linear trajectory, resulting in their gradual transformation through time and towards the characteristics of Western European cities. However, more than two decades of transition proved that transformation of cities is a "path-dependent" process, dependent of at least three different layers of influence: 1. the historical legacy of the cities prior to the socialist period of development, 2. the patterns of development in the period of socialism relative to the countries various "paths to socialism", and 3. degree of "openness" of the cities to wider global forces and market-oriented principles in the last years of socialist ruling (Hamilton, Pichler-Milanović, and Dimitrowska Andrews, 2005).

In regards to the distinctive features of transition of the former Yugoslav cities (Skopje, the case of this investigation being one of them), Petrović (2005) argues that they differ from the cities in other Balkan countries, namely Romanian and Bulgarian cities, and particularly from Albanian cities, "because they have a better socialist legacy in terms of city infrastructure and diversities, but resemble them in the slow pace of post-socialist restructuring and establishment of new types of public control, and respective elements of the Third World development. (p. 20)"

Combination of several factors such as: the absence of effective new regulation over the spatial development (because of blocked institutional transformation), the economic crisis that cause very small amounts of public capital investments, the weak public control of urban development… propelled dramatic illegal practices. Most of them, reasonably, were in the form of substantial population investments into illegal housing construction ("wild development"), a practice which very soon caused and emergence of parallel property market.

Macedonian cities have been affected by additional influences, from the break-up of Yugoslavia and the isolation form Greece on political level, by

the UN embargo on trade with Serbia on economic level, to the challenges related to refugees and ethnic problems on the level of state security; an environment of instability that fostered specific conditions of city transformation, especially in Skopje, the capital Macedonian city (Hamilton, Pichler-Milanović, and Dimitrowska Andrews, 2005).

Huge disparity in incomes between the “formal” and “informal” sectors gave rise to a very slow establishment of new type of public control over the land market, planning, and building processes. As result, parallel processes of densification and sprawl through unregulated development emerged, characterized with some elements of the “third world” type of city development” (Tosics, 2005).

2.2 Housing in transition

Housing construction has been subjected to remarkable transformation since the reforms that stared taking place at the beginning of 1990s. (Dimitrowska-Andrews, 2005; Stanilov, 2007). For housing, the beginning of transition represents the historical end of the social(ist) concept of housing construction. For the former socialist state, the housing construction was considered a political priority because of two reasons; on one hand, the state supported housing supply was one of the main activities of the centrally planned economy, on the other, housing represented the basics of the social distribution. Being an economic as well as ideological imperative of the socialist state, the housing construction was basically a state objective, and consequently the state was in almost total control of its development. As a consequence of the shift of the political course towards democracy, the state basically lost its power to be the planner, the investor, the contractor and the distributor of the housing supply.

As Dimitrowska-Andrews (2005) points out, “while the changes introduced in the political and economic systems of former socialist countries have had profound effects on the social and economic situation of their populations, the provision of housing has become one of the spheres to which little or no serious attention has been given in the majority of post-socialist countries. With regard to housing, the most important changes include the withdrawal of direct state financing for new housing construction, the privatization of the previous public housing stock, and the restitution of housing to private owners that had been nationalized during communist rule” (p. 167).

The Macedonian case demonstrates well the above said. The level of state subsidies allocated to housing sector dropped significantly after 1991. From the total number of completed housing apartments ever since, only small portions (of approximately 3-5 percent) are constructed by public funding (mostly special housing programs such as one that is managed by the Public Enterprise for Housing, company responsible for the execution of government programs). The absence of state financing or partial support for new housing construction caused a fast establishment of a private housing

production sector, that has very quickly established a considerable market presence.

Profit-driven housing construction projects targeting only the consumers represent the core of the activity of the private housing developers. With no idealistic interest whatsoever in improving the life of people and interested only in following the demands of the newly established housing market, the private developers begin to have crucial role in shaping the new housing developments and their spatial outcomes. Contrary to the programme of the socialist state, the private developer's agenda of housing is not rooted in any kind of universal idea or narrative based on certain system of values upon which a certain consensus over the question of public interest or collective good could be formed. As result, from an instrument of political ideology and basic social right, the housing was transformed into (only) a commodity of the market economy.

3 TRANSITIONAL PATTERNS OF HOUSING TRANSFORMATION – THE CASE OF RASADNIK

3.1 Invading the periphery

Within the patterns of post-socialist transformation of Macedonian cities, the capital city of Skopje should be observed as a single case. First, following the violent disintegration of SFRJ (Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia), Republic of Macedonia emerged as an independent state in 1991. Likewise all other largest cities of the former Yugoslav republics, Skopje was upgraded from center of semi-autonomous republic into a state capital city. In the dramatic theater of the re-born Balkan nation states, it immediately became symbol of country's political and economic power. Second, due to its rapid growth of population, the city is still in the center of a very intensive process of urbanization of its territory; Nowdays, Skopje is a city that grows in its center, in its periphery, in its voids, even on top of itself.

Housing settlement Rasadnik from Skopje was chosen to be our referential example which will be used to explore the transformation of the transitional city and its architecture. The area we are going to examine is located on the eastern fringes of the city and belongs to the municipality of Kisela Voda. The area is bordered by the streets "Narodni Heroi" from the northern side, and the street "Sava Kovachevich" from the western side. On the southern side the area borders the premises of the agricultural association "Karadzica" and on the eastern side there is a field of agricultural land that extends until the street "Prvomajska" on the far north-eastern side.

In the socialism time this territory was mostly an agricultural land (which in the 1950's was subject of nationalization and the utilization right was given to the Faculty of Agriculture in Skopje to develop a fruit gardening area). In the year 2000, after the new Law on Denationalization became effective, the

ownership over the land was given back to its previous owners. Parallel to that, the Municipality of Kisela Voda (one out of ten local municipalities that constitute the complex local government of Skopje), realizing the possibilities as well as pressure for new housing developments on its territory, on the basis of directives of the General Urban Plan (GUP) of the City of Skopje, initiated development of a new Detailed Urban Plan (DUP) for the area.

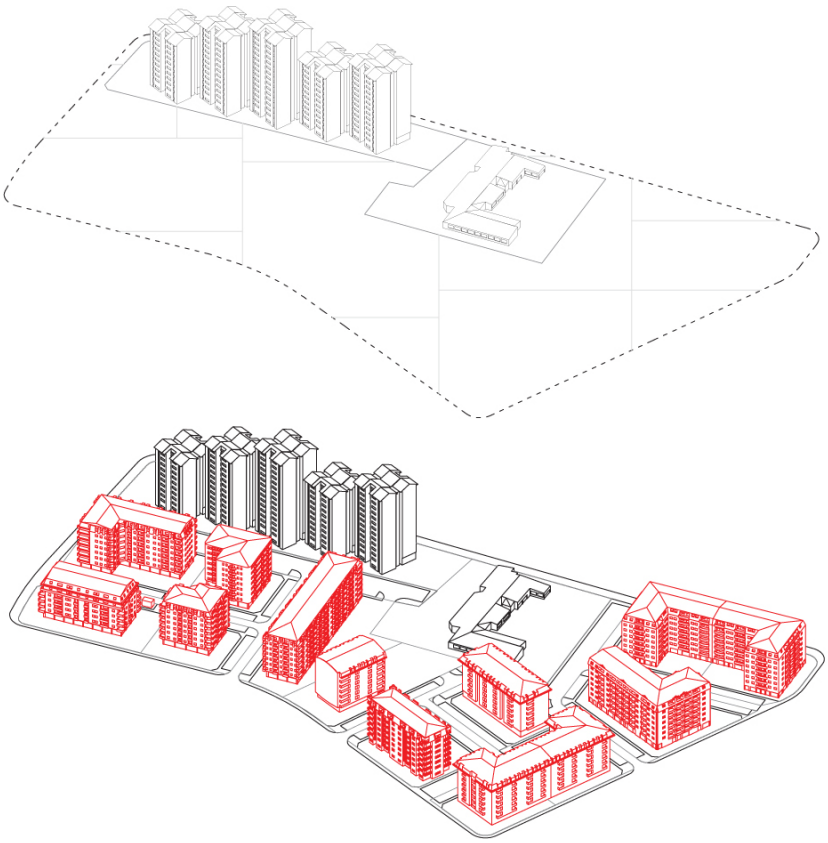

Figure 1. Housing settlement Rasadnik, Urban block 5, expansion of the city into the landscape; 2000 - 2010

In terms of planning, the first DUP for the area, including its “updates” some years on, “heroically” contributed to the dramatic spatial transformation of the area. The main tool for expansion of housing program into the adjoining countryside is the single-standing multifamily housing block, multiplied over a pattern of newly planned traffic infrastructure. Each building plot was carefully situated within the re-established land parcelation, whichpotential private developers considered as major advantage since the ownership right has to be negotiated, hypothetically, with a single owner. (Figure 1)

The total area of development is 4.7 hectares (46.749m2), gained by conversion of agricultural land into building parcels. The housing building footprints are predicted on as much as 17.535m2, bringing 75.969m2 of total gross floor area, surface equivalent to little more than 10 soccer fields. The urban pattern of the new urban development is based on the logic of open perimeter blocks, in this occasion appropriated to the misleading system of newly planned streets and parking lots. Individual buildings are limited by the height of 21 meters, which together with floor area ratio that is 2 (FAR=2), defines some quite massive volumes.

Figure 2. Housing settlement Rasadnik - emerging panorama of Skopje's urban periphery

Related to the city's urban expansion processes, the recent housing developments in the area are representing the unique challenges of the development of the city, its architecture as well as the housing in the state of transition.

3.2 Housing development patterns: the "expected"

One way of illustrating the transformations of the post-socialist city is by describing the product of architecture. To do so, we first need to make an attempt in identifying a prototypical urban and architectural outcome. In Rasadnik housing area, this task is, however, an easy assignment.

A typical housing block is a singular self standing object surrounded by streets, parking lots and a bit of, mostly concrete paved, public space. In a structural sense, typical building is a realization of the Corbusian domino system: a structural frame cast in concrete, staircase(s) and one to two elevator shafts. Such building is easy to design, simple to construct, fairly cheep to build and not so hard to maintain. It is a mass-produced prototype to be repeated to infinity, and it is the basis of the vernacular landscapes of the transitional city (Figure 2 & 3).

Just a quick look over the construction drawings (blueprints) of the buildings that have been or are still under construction in the Rasadnik area makes us realize that the main design task of architects of such buildings was maximizing the profit of the private developer. The overall impression is that the floor plans have been intentionally “compressed” in order to achieve as much as possible “sellable space”.

The general programme of the typical housing building is mixture of apartments on the upper floors and commercial space on the ground floor. Architectural design provides variety of sizes of apartments, although the “smaller” apartments are dominating the layout as the greatest interest of the buyers are in the apartments that are not larger than 55m^2 of size. Smaller in size apartments are well demanded as most of the clients financially rely on mortgage loans, which in the in the current conditions of the Macedonian economy have a very high interest rate.

The profit oriented typology leads to an architectural result that is nothing more than simply predictable. As the building is only an island in the territory and it is understood solely as an object, there is almost never an architectural response to the context. Completely indifferent to the character of the emergent streetscape and completely ignorant to any consideration such as preferable solar side or visual reference, profit based typology of the housing block based on simple multiplication of housing units is endlessly repeated in the landscape.

Figure 3. Housing settlement Rasadnik - architectural anonymity of a typical residential building

In terms of their spatial and esthetic composition, there are no surprises either. Exploiting double symmetry as the main compositional principle, with more less same proportions, the blocks distinguish from one another by their vivid colours. The photogenic effect based on colourful hegemony is the main competing tool with the neighbouring “contenders.” This principle of difference, however, establishes interesting visual heterogeneity that is

confronting with any silhouette of the city that is in the background. Only by their colour, buildings are “showed off” to the public in the struggling effort to achieve some form of identity. As in this case architecture is a tool too expensive, building’s envelope surface becomes the aesthetic competitive filed, which unfortunately hosts only the decorative contest. (Figure 3).

3.3 Housing development patterns: the “un-expected”

There is, though, an unexpected, hidden layer which puts new light into this seemingly monotonous “architecture” of endlessly repeated composition of the simplest architectural elements. Namely, focusing deeper on the “transitional archeology” of the new housing developments in Skopje’s Rasadnik area, the investigation discovers previously unfamiliar spatial and build practices.

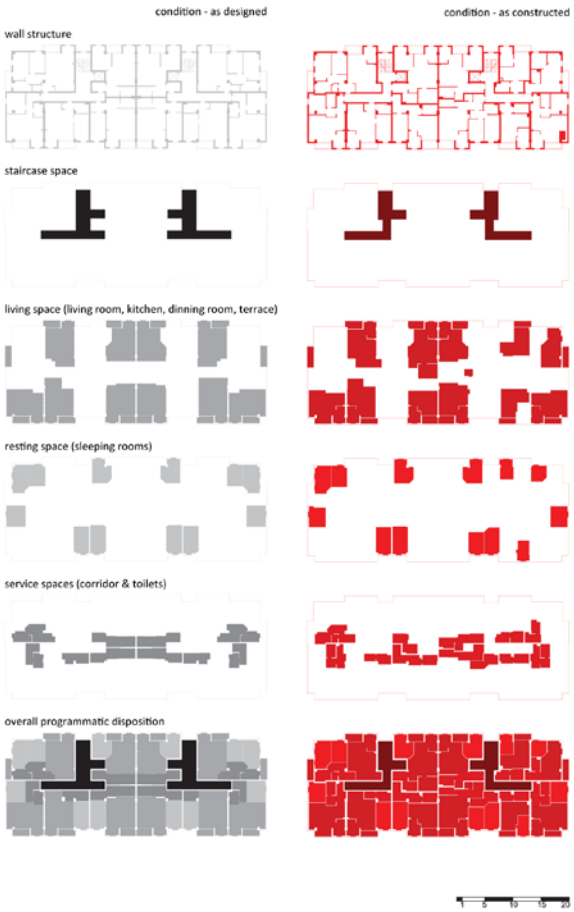

Figure 4. Spatial and programmatic decomposition of the second floor plan of the analyzed residential building in housing settlement Rasadnik; representation of the designed and the constructed condition

Deeper investigation into the construction documents reveals an interesting phenomenon, existence of parallel construction blueprints. By simple overlaying of both sets of drawings, the old ones - upon which the construction permit was issued, and the new ones - upon which the building is actually being constructed, reveal a significant difference in the internal wall structure of the building. The new construction plans are obviously a result of some kind of (formal, semi-formal or informal) appropriation of built space. In that's sense, our main *in situ* discovery is that the recent housing texture is generated as result of the friction between two opposite practices (and processes), those of the planned and those of the spontaneous development. As result, a number of new housing typologies are found, within which many different housing textures are being generated. (Figure 5).

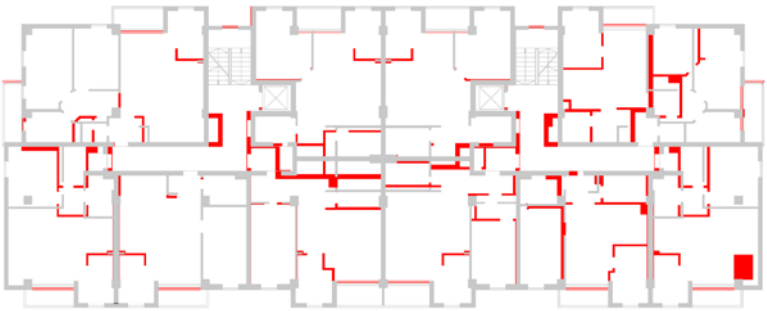

Figure 5. Wall structure of the second floor plan of the analyzed residential building in housing settlement Rasadnik; representation of the superimposed condition (planned + spontaneous) build practices

Building's floor plan is turned into a collage of the patterns of spatial desires of the occupants constructed over period of time, and in the form of private (com)modifications of the previously rigid architectural layout. The newly assembled typological compositions of the building are no longer following the exclusive logic of the "collective". The building now incorporates its own, spontaneous development since it is, at the same time, the process and the result. Previous order is gradually substituted with disorder of individual appropriations, as the transformation of the habitual space is considered to be an improvement of the standards of living. However, the dynamics of the interior structure however does not affect the buildings façade (skin), which becomes an instrument of isolation of the "private world" from the surrounding context of collectiveness.

After interviewing the occupants in the investigated building, it became clear that the involvement of architects in the process of housing "improvement" is sometimes preferred, but in many cases they are completely excluded from the process as they reject to be involved in the process of individualization of their previously imagined "best solution". This means that, in many cases, the occupant's "wish list" is directly negotiated

with the developer or with the construction workers themselves, and so the final outcome derives directly from that process.

4 POSSIBILITIES OF INCLUSIVENESS IN HOUSING DESIGN

4.1 Concept of “tactic” in housing design

Is it possible to develop new pragmatic housing design concepts based on the discovered emerging spatial practices? We speculate that this could be the case; that the interests of the collective and the individual could overlap; public and the private too.

The informal (unplanned, spontaneous…) transformation of the housing texture evidenced in the case study building should be considered as spontaneous “bottom up” experiment that emerged out of the necessity of alternative interpretation of the formal housing design. Behind the idea of spontaneous spatial development one finds the need of the inhabitants to adapt and to adjust the space in accordance to their own needs. This approach could easily be associated with the term “tactic” (as opposite to “strategy”), meaning an action or strategy carefully planned to achieve a specific goal.

In the contemporary philosophical and cultural discourse, the term “tactic” was notably developed by the French scholar Michel de Certeau (whose work combined history, psychoanalysis, philosophy, and the social sciences), and who related the term to the practices of the everyday life. Examining the ways in which people are able to individualise mass culture in the process of altering things and make them “their own”, de Certeau argues that the (human) activity of re-using offers plenty of opportunities for subversion of the rituals and procedures that are imposed upon them (de Certau, 1984). In the important chapter of the book named "Walking in the City", Certeau uses the viewpoint from the World Trade Center in New York in order to illustrate the idea of a unified view over the city (strategic way). As opposite to that experience, de Certau introduces the experience of pedestrian (walker) that moves around the city at the street level. His approach in discovering the city is tactical, taking advantage of the shortcuts that are irregular to the regular streets grid.

In that sense, architects could perhaps try to liberate themselves from the well established, authoritarian model of designing buildings. Perhaps there is some room for rethinking the architectural design itself in a way that it becomes more open and more flexible to the individual interpretations of the living space. Perhaps there is a room for being inclusive to the experiences, and therefore to the ideas of “others”. If so, the new approach to housing design should be much more than fulfilling the program, the norms and the standards… It should be much more tolerant to the unpredictability of the everyday life, both in program and in space.

4.2 Towards “tactegic” (tactic + strategic) approach in housing design

The overlap between the planned and spontaneous processes of housing design, as in the Rasadnik’s housing block case study, represents a hybrid condition between two approaches – strategic and tactic. The planned design represents the strategic approach, the spontaneous - the tactic. The strategic approach represents a superior position (“top to bottom”), where the tactical approach is a reaction to that position (“bottom to top”).

The possible new concept for a more inclusive housing design might come out of the need to unite the strategic and the tactic approach. The transitional phenomenon of parallel existence of the opposites (planned-unplanned, formal-informal, legal-illegal…) could potentially evolve into a new concept – *tactegic* (tactic + strategic; intentionally hybridized in a single word), where the opposites are coming together. Where the spontaneously created “actuality” could be transformed into a newly planned reality and so the opposing paradigms united into a single one. It is a potential model of housing design that will help plan housing units appropriated to individual household preferences and addressing primarily the critical need to achieve autonomy of the individual dwelling within the collective building.

One of the benefits of such a concept is that it brings back the “control” over the immediate living space in the hands of the occupants. In a world more and more dominated by the industries of mass production and prefabrication, the aspect of citizen participation and control in some aspect of the design could become an added value in the process. As a critique to the current conditions, Mike Davis stresses that (Davis, 1999) “In the ‘developed’ world, for example, both expertise and control of the building process have been taken away from ordinary citizens. Most people have been reduced to consumers, buying or renting products over which they have little control. In these places, developers for whom the bottom line is profit, and planners, who work within systems of bureaucracy, control the shape of cities and houses, and prevent the ‘from the ground up’ kinds of processes that might lead to more human results” (p. 232). The housing design should therefore be more open to the ground-up (bottom-up) initiatives in order to make an alternative to the mechanically produced habitual space.

These concepts of thinking are not new in the architectural discourse. The “ground up” design processes have already been exploited in theory mainly by the SAR (Stichting Architecten Research), movement that was very popular in the 1960’s (closed down in 1992, with the subsequent creation of a new organization called Open Building). Nevertheless, the “open building” (open design) principles of housing design were first articulated by the Dutch architect, educator and theorist - John Habraken, whose theoretical contributions came as a critique to the architecture of mass housing, and who was pioneering the idea of the integration of users and residents into the housing design process.

In his seminal book “Supports: an alternative to mass housing” (Habraken, 1962), he calls for a paradigm shift as to how mass housing is conceived, produced, built and occupied. Analysing the traditional/typical behaviour of housing occupants, Habraken (Habraken, 1972) wrote: “Each generation, each occupant, changed what he found. That is why in restorations more than one ceiling is found, or why panelling hides earlier, often more beautiful, wall decorations, why conservatories are added, doors blocked up and others formed, balconies removed or added, mullioned windows replaced by sash windows, window bars removed, gables replaced by cornices. These iterations were not always done for functional purposes. They were done to keep up with the times or because notions about living changed, because one could not identify with what one took over or because it belonged to a different generation” (p.14).

Referring to ideas previously formulated by Martin Heidegger, who was actually the first one to give a new dimension to the concept of dwelling by making a distinction between the housing - considered to be a technical problem to be solved by technical means, and dwelling - perceived as a condition of man “being” in the world, Habraken directly relates (the act of) *dwelling* with *building*. This relationship therefore is the basis for all that has to be done in the matter of human habitation, as it is the outcome of the human nature itself. Interpreting the concept of dwelling as a relationship, Habraken actually defined the house as a constantly unfinished object. Accordingly, dwelling is something that can not be designed, neither could be made; it is a constantly changing outcome of the housing process.

Seen in the light of the aforementioned theoretical paradigms, one can argue that the occupants “subjectivity” could not only find its place in the practice of formal housing design, but could be the beginning point of the future concepts of housing design based on inclusiveness of ideas. In that sense, the future of housing design should, apart from following the necessary design norms and standards, be more sensitive to the practices of everyday life, exploring further the possibilities of programmed, semi-programmed and un-programmed housing space. That is the way to achieve a greater flexibility and adaptability, and of space open to different interpretations.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The disintegration of the socialist political system in the Eastern European countries that begin in the 1990s led into a new period, called post-socialism. As the term itself refers, post-socialism is a condition of transition from the characteristics of the previous – socialist system (by its dissolution), into a new system of political, economic and social relations.

The transformation of the post-socialist cities is closely related to the structural reforms (in political, economic and social system) caused by the process of post-socialist transition. The effects of those changes are strongly

noticeable on the transformation of the built environment. Introduction of land and housing markets is the main element of the urban transition in post-socialist cities.

In the transformation of housing, the most significant changes were caused by housing privatization reforms such as privatization of formerly public rented housing, restitution of land and housing stock, emergence of new – developer based – housing provision system etc. As result, the housing sector has been subject to a significant deregulation where a dwelling has become a costly economic commodity. Residential real estate market has become considerably active following the increased construction of new housing. Domination of the private, developer-built housing supply followed by the privatization of the construction sector has contributed to the dramatic reorganization of the housing industry. Simultaneously, alternative strategies of housing (re)design emerged, which in the architectural discourse are particularly exciting as they produce diversity of spatial experiences with interesting typological outcomes.

The unplanned, spontaneous and informal transformation of the housing texture evidenced in the case study Rasadnik in Skopje should be considered a semi-spontaneous “bottom-up” experiment that has emerged out of the necessity of alternative interpretation of the formal housing design. The results from the investigation proves that the need of adaptability of the space is result of several factors: reduced residential mobility of the occupants (as of economic reasons), emergence of new ways of utilizing the housing space (tactics of “building in”), multiplication of the lifestyles of inhabitants, rise of the consumerism, unstable structure of the families etc. Behind the idea of spontaneous spatial development one finds the need of the inhabitants to adapt and to adjust the space in accordance to their own needs.

Regardless of the fact that the discovered spatial practices are far from being recognized as valuable spatial experiences capable of providing effective housing design solutions, the quantity of those practices certainly suggests certain tendencies in housing production processes. The diversity of informal (architectural) “answers” to the formal housing design based on rigid typological models (of constructive and economic origin) indicates an eminent crisis in such an approach.

The discovered overlap of planned and spontaneous spatial practices in housing design could evolve into a new pragmatic concept for the housing design where collective and private interests could merge. The new strategy for housing design is based on overlapping the strategic and the tactical approach to solving housing challenges, thus hybridizing the formal and informal intentions in housing design. The core of the new paradigm of housing design is to be found in the new role and meaning of the occupant. He/she is no longer an anonymous modernist “human”, but a concrete person with its desires and its own lifestyle. Housing in the contemporary context is no longer related only to the practical aspects of living; new housing should be much more than a “shelter” for man. The existential

(intimate) space could no longer be framed by universal architectural assumptions that are formalized through an “optimal” architectural plan. As an anti-thesis to the modernist (Le Corbusian) “machine for living”, the new goal of housing design is about building *homes*, not housing units. Bearing in mind the fact that home represents a dwelling within which its resident manages to establish an emotional and psychological relation to the space, the aspect of complicity in the process of housing design must be considered an utmost priority. In that sense, it is only the housing design based on adaptability and flexibility that could be a possible answer to the axiomatic variability of living and the life itself.

In the light of the abovementioned remarks, once can conclude that architects, in their future work on housing design challenges, need a greater conscientious (and more inventive use of their creative intelligence) in order to establish the necessary dialog among all participants in the housing production processes. The incorporation of ideas of the occupants can not only lead to a more open and inclusive design process, but could lead to a development of new conceptual tool for architecture design.

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Inclusiveness as Urban and Architectural Concept The case of the post-earthquake renewal of Skopje

ABSTRACT:

The city of Skopje is a specific spatial phenomenon consisted of series of urban fragments, dating from different periods of its existence. Within this complex tissue, the architectural product from the period after the 1963 earthquake is undoubtedly the most powerful segment of the recent urban history.

The specific condition after the earthquake required immediate and complex measures and activities. Aware of the complexity and scope of the undertaking, the city administration representatives as well as other experts and political decision makers, requested UN involvement, strongly emphasizing the importance of inclusiveness of not only local but international multidisciplinary expertize. In the years to come, as a result of dramatic efforts of the local authorities supported by UN expert network, Skopje become “symbol of the world solidarity” as well as a built monument of this joint effort.

In a short time-span of only few years a framework for the future practice was envisioned – visions and decisions leading towards the kind of city Skopje “should” became. During approximately 15 years that followed, due to the high level of cultural freedom, the city renewal gained international character that introduced multitude of different influences and pluralism of architectural languages resulting in high quality architectural output.

KEYWORDS: *architecture, urban, post-earthquake, renewal*

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper has a historical discourse; considering the term “inclusive” in its broader meaning (as all encompassing, global, international…), the main objective of the paper is to emphasize the importance of the process of transformation of the city of Skopje after the devastating earthquake in 1963. Having the necessary historical distance for critical evaluation, the paper aims to present the post-earthquake renewal as a specific example of social and cultural collaboration between nations (and individuals) and the quality of its outcome.

The moment of the earthquake, the situation immediately after, as well as all the necessary actions reveal significant aspects of the (political) context and establish the background against which the vast and complex process of planning and implementation of the post-earthquake renewal took place.

2 THE CASE OF SKOPJE

The city of Skopje is a specific spatial (architectural and urban) phenomenon consisted of series of different urban fragments, dating from different periods of its existence. Within this complex collage of different urban and architectural practices, within the last 100 years, we can detect several big transformation cycles that changed its structure and appearance form traditional, Ottoman city, into European, modern, global, city of world solidarity, eventually transitional city.

The extensive research into the history of modern architecture of Skopje reveals several (four) distinctive modernization periods, each one coming as a result of diverse political, socioeconomic and cultural circumstances, producing different modernization patterns and generating different architectural narratives/output. (Ivanovski, Ivanovska Deskova et al., 2014)

Each of these transformations was a top-down process, coming as a result of the current government, having distinct political connotation, each transmitting the necessary (political) message; for that matter, none of them was inclusive in terms of involving the citizens in the decision making process or its implementation. These urban and architectural transformations of Skopje clearly show how the diverse political concepts, stages of economic development, international architectural movements and the technological development can influence the city transformation.

At the same time, Skopje stands as an exemplary case that show how a particular historic event – in this case the catastrophic 1963 earthquake – can become a force that accelerates its modernization in a dramatic way. The result of the post-earthquake renewal changed the character and appearance of the city almost completely and become the undoubtedly most powerful segment in its recent urban and architectural history.

3 THE EARTHQUAKE

The catastrophic earthquake struck Skopje on July 26th 1963. According to the official evidence, 1.070 people died under the ruins; more than 3.300 were injured and approximately 75-80 per cents of the city's built fund was destroyed or damaged beyond repair; 150.000 people were suddenly left homeless. (Nikolovski, 1975). The total quantitative analysis revealed that after the earthquake only 1 of 40 buildings were immediately usable. Highest damages were detected in the center of the city, which was literally reduced to rubble. The new condition was often compared with the experiences of the European cities after the WWII.

Figure 1. The Railway Station (now City Museum) after the 1963 earthquake

The information about the earthquake spread within a short notice; the same day it exceeded the federal borders, initiating an international network of solidarity and help that in the years to follow spread to over 80 countries from all over the world. The sent aid responded to the current needs – foodstuffs, clothing, medical supplies and shelter at first; later – building materials, expert teams, pre-fabricated dwellings, whole buildings, some of them of temporary or permanent character. (Popov, Galikj et al., ed., 1975, p. 250-264)

The extensive expressions of help coming from all over the world were nothing new; the uniqueness of Skopje was in their scope and the value connected with them. (Thaler, Mrduljash, Kulic., 2012, p. 44). Having in mind the amount, as well as the origin of assistance, it seemed that the solidarity for this city at least for a moment stopped the antagonism between the East and the West.

The specific condition after the earthquake asked for immediate and complex measures and activities. The new task imposed upon the city and

federal authorities was far more complicated than cleaning the ruins and obtaining new houses; a new city was supposed to be built almost from scratch. Aware of the complexity and scope of the undertaking, the city administration representatives as well as other experts and political decision-makers, asked for UN involvement, strongly emphasizing the importance of inclusiveness of not only local but international multidisciplinary expertize. From October 14th 1963, following a resolution from the General Assembly, the United Nations became coordinator of the most important activities in the devastated city. In the years to come, as a result of dramatic efforts of the local authorities supported by the United Nations expert network, Skopje would become a "symbol of the world solidarity", as well as a built monument of this joint effort.[53]

This assumption does not concern the immediate help (mentioned already), that for almost a decade in different forms continuously arrived from 82 countries worldwide; its scope, quality and promptness were without doubt of great importance for the city and its inhabitants. However, despite the quantity of means, it seems that not merely enough attention has been devoted to the tide of knowledge and experiences that flew into Skopje. The international character of the renewal would create conditions for multidisciplinary expertize – different individuals and teams that would contribute elevating the quality of all phases of the process – analysis, planning and architectural realizations. What is more important, the process was open in all its phases, ready and willing to incorporate knowledge, open to accept and appropriate the last paradigms in the field of architecture and urban planning. In Skopje, within the socialist state of Former Yugoslavia, in times when the world was strongly polarized, we can speak about a global/international process long before the process of globalization begun.

If we try to make even an uncomplete list of states, institutions or individuals that at some point took part in the Skopje post-earthquake renewal, it is evident that during the 1960's and 1970's Skopje became a place for global interchange.[54]

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[53] A confirmation for this is the statement of the UN expert, Maurice Rotival "…hence, for the UN, the problem of the Macedonian capital was primarily a chance to take a leading role in creating "a symbol of international solidarity" and to demonstrate what could be achieved with/by peaceful international cooperation".

[54] As an argument of this statement, here we mention only part of the people who as a part of the UN teams or sent by their government took part in the Skopje post-earthquake renewal:

- Ernest Weissman, Croatian architect (sent by the General Secretary of United Nations – U Tant), who later became Chairman of the International Committee for Skopje reconstruction
- Delegation of planning experts from Warsaw, Poland lead by Adolf Cibrowski;
- Seismology experts from Japan – K. Muto, S. Okamoto and T. Hisada;
- Seismology expert from USSR – S. V. Medvedeev;
- Seismology expert from UNESCO – M. Meyerson;
- Representatives from the design firm "Doxiadis" form Athens sent by the Special Fund of the UN, regarding the new Master plan;
- Representatives from "Polservis" from Warsaw, regarding the new Master plan;
- Representatives of "Norconsult" from Norway, regarding the Regulation of the River Vardar;

Within a short time-span of only few years, a framework for the future practice was envisioned – both visions and decisions leading towards the kind of city Skopje “wants” or “should” become.

4 THE PLANNING PROCESS

From architectural and urban planning point of view, the earthquake would create a revolutionary situation, a “unique chance” for Skopje to be reborn and experience a new cycle of urban transformation. It would create urgent demand, but also potential to re-think and re-invent the city and its urban fabric in accordance with the latest paradigms, in time when architecture was already subject of different challenges and begun following divergent paths.

Within the first several weeks after the earthquake, even more in the months that followed, it became obvious that the city and its inhabitants were facing a new reality, where the new city needs by far exceeded the previous way of living. To this end, the current urban plan was withdrawn and preparation activities for the new urban plan were initiated. At the beginning, the central city area was left outside the scope of the plan with the idea to be treated separately.

Suddenly, previously local Skopje gained an important position on the global architecture map; it became an experimental United Nations model that would serve as an example for future interventions of this kind.

Even within the first days after the earthquake (and especially after all the seismic and economic analysis were completed by the local geological and seismological institutes and UNESCO experts), it became clear that despite the continuous threat of similar shocks, the reconstruction of Skopje will be performed at the same location, with a tendency to build a bigger, modern city. (Arsovski, 1989, p. 29) The International advisory board (as a distinctive way of UN involvement) in its first recommendation proved that both the seismical aspects and the urban needs require Skopje to be rebuilt on its old foundations. Therefore, all subsequent planning and programming phases, especially the development of the new Master plan for Skopje would operate within the territory of the city.

By the nature of its urgency, it was immediately clear that the new planning process would differ from any other planning operation lead by the United Nations; it would require abandoning of the usual professional

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- Maurice Rotival from USA, Van den Broek and Bakema from Netherlands, Luigi Piccinato form Italy, Kenzo Tange from Japan as international participants in the competition for the Skopje City Centre;
- The design studio “Tigers” from Poland for the Design of the Museum of Contemporary Art;
- Alfred Roth, architect together with Karl Hubacher, engineer from Switzerland for the Elementary School “Jochan Heinrich Pestalozzi” etc.

Parallel to this list, there are teams of architects, engineers and construction workers from Great Britain, France, USA, Italy, USSR, Switzerland, Austria, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Mexico etc. that contribute or lead the process of assembly of the building with temporary and permanent character.

procedures and establishing a sequence of planning activities that goes rather simultaneously in conducting certain steps. The logical and theoretically correct sequence of activities of analytical and planning procedures (phase of research, conceptual analysis, functional synthesis, design and implementation), in the case of Skopje would go almost parallel. They have been replaced by a series of circular processes that lead to the final decisions. (Senior, 1970, p. 102)

Numerous systematic analyzes of different aspects (seismic, economic, demographic, social, housing studies, examination of existing conditions and projections of future needs of the city etc.) precede the development of the new Master plan. At the end of 1963, first experts - planners (M. Rotival and A. Rimsha), sent by the UN would visit Skopje and discuss the problems of the future city planning with the city government. During October 1963, they proposed 4 preliminary concepts for future development and organization of the city. These steps, leading towards development of the new Master plan for Skopje are interesting as a specific methodological approach dealing with the issues of reconstruction and renewal of cities destroyed in natural disasters. The purpose of these concepts (completed in December 1963) was to serve as a base for the future city development and organization. (Senior, 1970, p. 102)

Regardless the benefits of these first efforts (the process of research, the development programme as well as the first developed spatial concepts), soon it became clear that in the case of Skopje the scope and the complexity of the problem (to [re-]build a city on its ruins, with complete strategy for development and growth in the years ahead) exceeded the capacity of the local architects and planners and imposed need for assembling an international team of specialists with previous experience of re-planning "devastated" cities. Under the auspices of the UN Special Fund, Skopje suddenly became a laboratory for international cooperation of many experts, architects and urban planners, often with diverse and divergent views and knowledge. The unifying element of the joint effort was the international consulting team appointed by the United Nations and the Yugoslav government in early 1964. During the whole process, Coordinator of the process was Ernest Weissmann, while Adolf Ciborowski was selected as a project manager.[55] Apart from the number of foreign experts (among which Doxiadis Associates from Greece, Polservis from Poland, Wilbur Smith from Great Britain) that would participate as consultants in the planning process,[56]

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[55] Ernest Weissmann was a Croatian architect who emigrated to United States before the WWII; former Yugoslav member of CIAM and a disciple of Le Corbusier. At the time of developing Skopje Master plan, Weissmann was director of the Centre of Housing, Construction and Planning, in the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
Adolf Ciborowski was the main planner of the post-war reconstruction of Warsaw.

[56] Polservis from Warsaw had the role to participate in the development of the Master plan, to conduct a social research in collaboration with Yugoslav partners and to participate in the preparation of the regional plan. The members of the Polish group that worked on the plan were not part of the UN program, but part of the aid that the Polish government has allocated for the stricken city.
Team members of the Doxiadis team conducted research of the territory, the housing program, infrastructure studies etc.

most of the work would be done by the newly established Institute for Town Planning and Architecture, established in May 1964 as the first institution of its kind in Yugoslavia.

Figure 2. The Project Manager, A. Ciborowski presents a draft concept of the Master Plan to the third session of the International Board of Consultants (Senior, 1970, p.100)

The new Master plan for Skopje was a strategic, visionary plan for development of the "new" city which after the earthquake should become a metropolis. Having all the previous studies as its base, the plan followed the contemporary planning trends/paradigms, considering not only the spatial and physic dimension but also economic, social, environmental etc. (Pencikj, 2011, p. 73-96) The area subject of development was the whole territory of Skopje valley, enclosed by its natural barriers. The plan provided extensive expansion of the city, mainly along the east-west axes. According to Galikj, Arsovski (1973), the Urban plan foresees the future development of Skopje in two general time frames: the period to 1971 (with an expected population growth to 270,000 inhabitants) and the second period - up to 1981 (350,000 inhabitants). The city government would further support the city growth with the so-called "open city policy", promoted parallel with the efforts for a physical renewal. [57]

After the Master plan was completed (in September 1965), the Committee for Reconstruction of Skopje, the Urban Council as well as the International Advisory Board recommended the Assembly of the City of Skopje to adopt

[57] This strategy aimed to attract to Skopje residents from other cities in the country which were supposed to accelerate the city recovery. This policy would further lead towards rapid demographic growth of the population. Just as an illustration, in 1918 Skopje had 40.000 inhabitants; in 1941 – 90.000; in 1961 – 180.943; in 1971 - 312 980 inhabitants, for in 1981 this number reaches 408.143 inhabitants, which indicates the fact that the number of residents over 60 years increased 10 times.

the plan.[58] The recommendation singled out as a special quality the creative approach in the planning process and the progressive methodology applied. According to Senior (1970), one of the most important results of the working committees is precisely the creation of so-called New methodology in planning; this experience United Nations will further use in times of urgency. (p. 110,111)

Figure 3. The General Secretary of the United Nations, U Thant in Skopje (Galikj, Arsovski, ed., 1973)

The experience of the Skopje planning process was the first and hitherto single case in scope, complexity and urgency of planning. For many of the participants the process had the character of an intense international workshop. The participation of numerous professionals from different countries worldwide, rich with expertise and experience in different areas would be of paramount importance in the process of training local professionals (within planning, architecture, geology, seismology and other areas). This way they gained experience that no formal education could provide.

5 SKOPJE CITY CENTER AND ARCHITECTURAL OUTPUT

The complexity and importance of the city center in the first place (for the city, the region and the whole republic) as well as the urgency of the housing

[58] From October, 20th 1965, the plan was open for public; on November, 16th 1965 it was officially adopted.

problem would temporarily postpone the planning and the renewal process of the city center. To this end, until more detailed elaboration, the Master Plan left blank area of approximately 2x2 km, where the most important cultural, commercial, administrative and other public facilities were supposed to be concentrated.

In the next planning phase, this territory became subject of a separate, international competition, organized by the United Nations Special Fund, the Yugoslav Government, the International Union of Architects and the Association of Architects of Yugoslavia. Eight teams were invited to participate – 4 Yugoslav and 4 international.[59] Immediately at the beginning, the teams received a recommendation to develop the competition entries as the conceptual plans which would offer wider insight into the programmatic and spatial problems of the city center. Based upon these proposals, in the next phase, the Institute for Urban Planning and Architecture would prepare the detailed plan. In the further chronology of activities – in February 1965, two representatives from each working team visited Skopje; competition works were handed over on May 31st 1965; The International Commission begun its work on July 12th, while the winner was announced on the second anniversary of the earthquake (July 26th 1965).[60]

The International Commission observation was that the results of the competition fully justified the expectations of the organizers; however, none of the works would be accepted unconditionally as a basis upon which the future plans for the city center would be elaborated. The Commission further suggested that in the next phase of the process certain qualities from different competition proposals should be taken in consideration in order to increase the quality of the final solution. (Senior, 1970, p. 298,309) Larger part of the prize (60%) was appointed to the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange and his team, while the remaining 40% were allocated to the Croatian architects/planners Radovan Miščević and Fedor Venzler. The decision of the Committee to divide the prize between the two proposals, very different in their character is interesting. It would have a historical significance for the future development of the city, being the starting point for its complete transformation.

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[59] Yugoslav teams: 1. Slavko Brezoski with “Makedonijaproekt” from Skopje; 2. Aleksandar Đorđević from the Urbanism Institute in Belgrade; 3. Radovan Miščević and Fedor Venzler from the Urbanism Institute in Zagreb and Edvard Ravnikar from Ljubljana.
International teams: 1. Van den Broek and Bakema from Rotterdam, Netherland; 2. Luigi Piccinatto from Rome, Italy; Maurice Rotival from New York, USA and 4. Kenzo Tange form Japan.
More information about the announcement of the competition, the selection of participants, the committee, the role of the UN as well as the qualities of the individual proposals in Tolic, 2011.

[60] The International Commission for evaluation of the works started working on 07.13.1965, with: Ernest Weissmann - Chairman of the International Advisory Board for reconstruction of Skopje, Martin Meyerson - seismologist from UNESCO, Jean Canoe - director of the International Centre for Urban Study in Paris and Adolf Ciborowski, United Nations project manager of the Skopje Master plan.
Nova Makedonija, 21.07.1965 / Popov, Galikj et al., 1975, p. 277

Figure 4. Competition model for Skopje city center plan, Kenzo Tange (Senior, 1970, p. 302)

The Japanese proposal suggested two brave, large architectural and urban gestures – the "City wall" (a residential structure that separates the very core of the city center from the rest of the territory) and the "City Gate" (a mega-structure where different kinds of traffic were concentrated and interchanged, which would also serve as the starting point of the newly planned east-west axis). This proposal, which introduces new strong symbols within the city center, caused admiration as well as doubts and criticism. Several aspects of the plan would be highlighted as positive: the clear distribution of functions along the main axis of the plan; the positioning of the public institutions; the separation of traffic at multiple levels as well as the high architectural quality of the proposed ensembles.

Figure 5. Kenzo Tange in Skopje (Galikj, Arsovski, ed., 1973)

The overall conclusion of the Commission would be that the plan "refers to many aspects in serious, original and inspiring way." On the other hand, the main concerns would be directed towards the scale of its elements - the oversized "City Gate", the concentration of all the traffic at single point, the huge empty spaces provided north and south of the "City Gate" that assume clearance of existing housing etc.

On the other hand, as stated in the UN report (Senior, 1970, p. 303), the Croatian proposal wouldn not receive neither high praise nor clear criticism. Assessed as modest in its proposals, without overstatement of volumes and dimensions of public spaces, it established good pedestrian links, respected landscapes, historical monuments, etc. Its greatest asset was the underlined flexibility and the ability for realization in phases (though as the Commission emphasized, any plan for the city center renewal, due to the long duration of the process, would necessarily be phased and would have to adapt to the changing social and economic conditions).[61]

The next planning phase involved definition of a single urban project for the center of Skopje (so called "Ninth version"), which according to the recommendation would unite in itself all the valuable ideas for the city. The final plan was developed by the Institute for Town Planning and Architecture of Skopje in collaboration with the participants of the competition winning groups.

Although the program underwent revision and modifications under the emerging needs and the oversized facilities and complexes were significantly corrected, it was clear that the basic form derived from the Tange's proposal. In its final form, the plan covered an area of 295 hectares; the major part of the territory is located within the traffic ring of four express

[61] From today's perspective, it can be assumed that the decision to divide the award in this manner was not accidental, but had a deeper political background. The Architecture (and planning as well) in this case were used to promote a specific political agenda that involves multiple participants/sides: the stricken city, in need of all the help it can get; Yugoslavia, which through the process once again promoted its openness and progressiveness; the United Nations that in this extremely turbulent period on the global political scene once again confirmed its ability to manage crisis and to unite the deeply divided world.
The Japanese team won the competition and 60% of the award. This decision put in favor a contemporary project/urban design with global reference which on the other hand did not arrive directly from the West. The project came from Japan – a country which at this time period did not belong clearly to any of the dominant political blocks, which during the 1960s (similar to Yugoslavia) had a huge economic growth, and which (again like Yugoslavia) struggled to exceed its own territory and expand its sphere of influence. For Japan and the Metabolists Skopje was the first opportunity to "go West", beyond the local frame and check the ideas on real location. Tange's proposal was visionary and utopian, oriented towards the future; not for Skopje as it was, but for Skopje the way it supposed to become. As for Skopje and its reality in the 1960s, the plan did not reflect the social, economic and cultural context.
The remaining 40% of the award were appointed to the Yugoslav team, to a project that was far more realistic and contextualized – with the size of Skopje, its position within Yugoslavia, the current social, economic and cultural background. The Croatian proposal represents relatively conventional modernist structure in reasonable scale. Awarding this proposal with 40% of the total, could be understood as a kind of counterweight that should bring us back to the real context.

boulevard, while the additional area was located east of the new railway station.

The plan for the city center went through three major stages of development:

1. The first stage was the competition itself;
2. In the second phase, Tange's team (including Arata Isozaki, Sadao Watanabe and Yoshio Taniguchi), in collaboration with local architects and planners developed the new concept – the "Ninth version", trying to overpass the differences between the first proposal and the actual implementation;
3. In the third phase, specific architectural and urban proposals were developed. Kenzo Tange, as the first prize winner got to develop the most important and most complex element – the complex of the Transportation center. (Kulterman, 1970, p. 262)

Figure 6. Skopje city center plan, Kenzo Tange (Senior, 1970, p.331)

The plan that Kenzo Tange and his team proposed for the center of Skopje was ambitious in every sense - architectural, symbolic, economic, political; late-modern, post-functionalist; on the brink between urban and architectural project in its scale and the extent of its development. In order to comprehend the idea, the project should be seen within the context of the 1960's, both within the simultaneous developments on the wider

architectural scene[62], as well as within the individual creative work of the author himself, who at the time was already a prominent figure on the international architectural scene.[63]

The plan covers an area of around 290 hectares, with an almost square format, organized around the natural flow of the river Vardar. Basically, it provides a significant physical transformation of the inherited urban model and the current image of the city. The centralized pre-earthquake geometry of the city was strengthened by setting almost continuous ring, a horseshoe of buildings with residential character so-called "City Wall," which encloses the very city center. Contrary to the centric model, he introduced a dynamic model of linear development along the newly established east-west axis, which follows the natural direction of extension of the Skopje valley. Along the axis, the banks of Vardar are flanked by a series of public facilities - cultural, commercial, administrative, educational programs that emphasize the public, civilian character of the space. This aggregation of public content begins (or culminates in the east) with the structure of the "City Gate".

Having the opportunity to reinvented the (center) city, Kenzo Tange created a new tradition for Skopje, which in the following, almost two decades, would grow strongly, even when it was already clear that the project would not be realized entirely. Despite its partial realization, the plan/project became a powerful image, a symbol of the efforts of the UN and the international solidarity.

After the Master plan was accepted in 1965 and the urban plan for the city center in 1967, the extensive process of planned reconstruction of the city begun. As a result, primarily of the work of the Macedonian planners and architects, supported and helped by numerous Yugoslav and international experts, most parts of the plan would have their detailed urban and architectural development, and some of them physical realization. In the relatively short period that followed (1966-1980/85), despite the huge scope of construction works (such as completion of the street network, reconstruction of the railway, regulation of the River Vardar, construction of bridges, underpasses etc.), the most remarkable buildings and ensembles of the plan would be built – the City Wall, the City Trade Centre, a segment of the Cultural Centre, the University campus, the Telecommunication complex, the first phase of the Transportation Centre, as well as a series of individual buildings within the central city area, but also dispersed within the tissue of the residential neighbourhoods.

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[62] The International competition for the reconstruction of Skopje can be (re)viewed in the light of a series of major competitions organized in the 1950s and 1960s, that explore possible models for urban reconstruction (Tel Aviv, Berlin, etc., but also in the context of the construction of new capitals - Chandigarh and Brasilia).

[63] At the time of the plan for Skopje, Tange already had the Peace Center in Hiroshima (1949), the plan of Tokyo Bay (1961) and the facilities for the Olympic Games in Tokyo (1964) that will attract international attention to the Japanese emerging architectural scene.
For the Tokyo Bay project, Reiner Banham would say it was one of the most significant contributions to the urban planning of the 20th century. This will place the Japanese architectural scene of an important position.

The period of the post-earthquake renewal of Skopje introduced fresh architectural wave in the city. The international character of the built collection of architectural samples is specific for the Skopje architecture of the 1960's and 1970's. In a relatively short time span, it would lead towards a variety of different influences and pluralism of architectural languages that distinguish Skopje from the other major centers in Yugoslavia - Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Part of the realized buildings are done by architects from abroad and/or built by foreign groups of experts (eg. The Primary School "Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi" - Arch. Alfred Roth, Switzerland; the Museum of Contemporary Art – the group "Tigers", Poland; the Transportation Centre - Kenzo Tange, Japan, etc.).

As it was the case with the previous modernization periods of the city, once again renowned authors from the other (at that time domestic) Yugoslav republics were present. (eg. the building of the Military Hospital by Josip Osojnik and Slobodan Nikolic, Serbia and two great urban and architectural complexes: the University Campus by Marko Mushich with associates and the complex of the Cultural Centre of Biro 71, both from Slovenia).

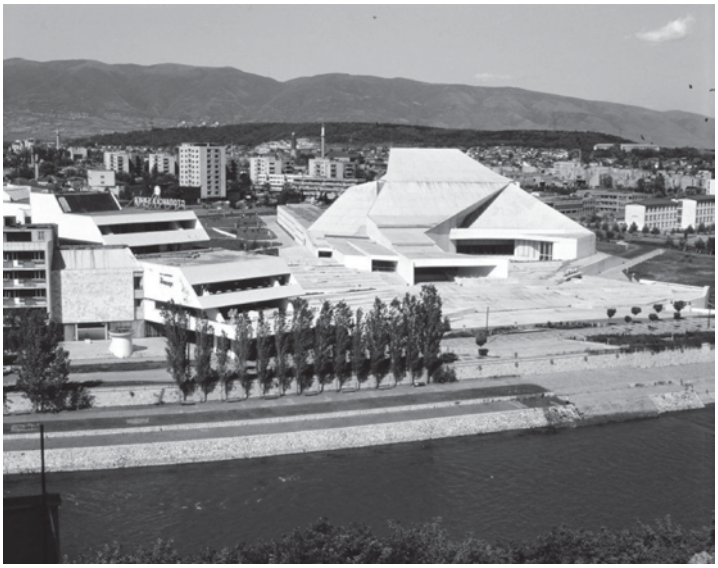

Figure7. Macedonian National Theatre (now: Macedonian Opera and Ballet), Biro 71 (retrieved from http://okno.mk/node/17652 on 25.11.2012)

Furthermore, of particular importance for the Macedonian architecture it is the fact that for the first time between architectural realizations dominate the number of Macedonian architects - educated in other major centers (such as Belgrade, Zagreb etc.), as well as the first generation of architects graduated from the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje (established in 1949). Some of them would continue their education in the US, Finland, the

Netherlands etc., would work with renowned architects and later bring back to Skopje the world's latest architectural trends.[64]

Having in mind the fact that some of the buildings and architectural and urban complexes were never fully completed as envisioned, having in mind all the flaws and imperfections that occurred in the process of realization due to different factors (first of all the extremely extensive scope of simultaneous construction; the exceeding of the funds allocated for the realization that at some point will lead to the discharge of funds and lack of resources; the specific and often changing requirements of individual investors; the average to low level of development of the construction technology and practice at the beginning; the insufficiently trained craft personnel participating in the construction; and other factors which at the end are not specific for Skopje only), we can speak about highly valuable architectural collection.

The buildings "speak" multitude of languages ranging from extending the principles of high modern functionalism and the International style, towards different attempts to represent “the local” within “the global”, searching within the archives of tradition for motifs that would become raw material for modern reinterpretation; from the architecture of the “new brutalism” to the aesthetics of bold, expressive structural and sculptural effects in concrete; form the complex and rigid spatial structures that explore typological matrices based on "structuralist" principles of fragmentation through the powerful metabolic structures, all the way to fragmented expressive forms and architecture as topography. Such "appropriation", customization and modification of the various current paradigms as well as their positioning on a single common ground where they co-exist in abundance of open, public space appears to be the main defining characteristics of post-earthquake architecture of Skopje.

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[64] Such is the case of the arch. Georgi Konstantinovski who during the 1960s went to graduate studies at Yale and had a practice with the renowned architects Paul Rudolph and Io Ming Pei. After returning to Skopje, in his buildings (the City Archive 1966-68 and the student dormitory "Goce Delchev", built 1969-71), Konstantinovski combined influences of both American mentors – the sculptural treatment of textured concrete characteristic for Paul Rudolph and the strict geometric forms of Pei, thus introducing the language of American brutalism in Skopje.
A similar example is arch. Zivko Popovski who worked with Van den Broek and Bakema in Netherlands. Here we can look for the origin of the influences that have contributed in shaping of one of the most important and probably the most complex building of the post-earthquake renewal of Skopje – the City Trade Centre.

Figure 8. City Trade Center, Zhivko Popovski and associates (Galikj, Arsovski, ed., 1973)

The diversity, the plural architectural language as well as the quality of the architecture indicates the attitude of the state towards the architectural work/profession, the relationship of architecture and politics/society and the position of the architect within it. The creative role of the individual author (or group of authors) remained inviolable, which can be clearly identified in each of the individual realizations. Architects work with a high degree of professional autonomy whereas the architectural response to the given problem is a result of professional criteria, the quality and expertise of the author. As a proof for this claim is the fact that most of the building designs (especially for the public buildings) came as a result of anonymous competitions (at least Yugoslav or international). The response to these competitions was usually large which created conditions for selection of the best solution arrived and creating unique and high quality architecture. The confidence in the professional architectural ethics is rarely called into question, while the external pressures have almost no influence upon the conceptual or aesthetic decision of the author (which is clearly visible in the utopian horizons of many of the architectural responses).

Having in mind the level of development of Skopje and Macedonia, it is clear that these buildings are visionary architectural achievements. In step with the global architectural practice, for decades they precede both the development of the city and the republic. Radical in their intention, with an optimistic belief in the future, they tend to be architecture of the forthcoming; architecture in which the social, technical and aesthetic considerations create a new unity. The post-earthquake renewal of Skopje (the 1960s and 1970s) is probably the only period of the Macedonian recent architectural history when the contemporary architectural practice goes in step with the global architectural scene.

Figure 9. Panorama of the Telecommunications Centre (personal archive of Janko Konstantinov)

6 CONCLUSIONS

The post-earthquake renewal of Skopje is the most extensively planed and systematically realized (although unfinished) process of planning and construction through which we can clearly follow the state policy for intensive modernization of the city. The massive response from all over the world, the involvement of the UN in the coordination of activities, the participation of a huge number of experts in the various stages of analysis, planning and implementation, the huge financial assistance which flew into funds was a strong impetus, but also a commitment for the new city to become a worthy representative of such efforts.

The international character of the renewal created conditions for presence of numerous experts from many countries worldwide, both in the field of analysis and urban planning, as well as in the architectural realizations. In that sense, during the 1960s and 1970s Skopje became a space for global interchange.

Although in many aspects the plan remained not implemented and the process unfinished, the result of the completed parts is impressive and gives an insight into the envisioned ideal, late-modern city. Built in large concentration within the central city area, also dispersed within the wider city fabric, the buildings further reinforce the modernist identity of Skopje and speak about the level of architectural culture and the willingness of the society to accept and incorporate this professional knowledge. Exactly the scope of the renewal and the extent of the city modernization, necessarily point to the conclusion that this period is crucial for the modern character and identity of Skopje.

Despite the time distance of almost fifty years, this architectural heritage has much to teach us. Speaking of the post-earthquake renewal of Skopje, we speak about architectural "landmarks" whose quality locally has not been reached yet (much less exceeded), in respect of which we can measure the quality of everything that has taken place in the years that followed.

To emphasize the process itself seems even more significant nowdays, having in mind the recent transformations of the city of Skopje, still being in progress. Once again, the background is strongly political; this time with effort to make a bypass over the whole modernization process, back to the 19th century and a certain history, never existing for this city. Therefore, we strongly believe that sometimes, in order to answer the questions of the present we need to go back and critically review the past.

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Quality of life in urban studies and planning practice

ABSTRACT:

Sustainability and liveability are common terms in works dealing with urban planning. It seems that urban planning is based on these principles, and the main goal of planning is to create liveable cities and improve the quality of urban life. On the other hand, there is a problem with obviously increasing dissatisfaction with living conditions in cities. The quality of life is affected by many factors: economic, social and environmental, including the impact of the built environment, where urban planning plays an important role. Therefore, it is important to understand the relationship between objective characteristics of the urban environment, subjective evaluations of the urban environment and humans satisfaction with life as a whole. Conventionally used urban indicators such as land-use patterns, residential density or floor area ratio have limited value in predicting the quality of the built environment as experienced by its users, so urban planning must go beyond these measures and examine possible impacts of future changes. The paper examines terms such as: liveability, quality of space and quality of (urban) life; and their mutual relationship. It presents some approaches to research and results of prior studies dealing with the relationship between objective and perceived environmental attributes and the influence of physical form on residents habits. The paper also refers to the process of urban planning in Serbia, where city residents are formally involved in planning process through the phase of public review of plans, but without significant impact on planning solutions, and improvement of the urban environment.

KEYWORDS: *architecture, urban, post-earthquake, renewal*

1 INTRODUCTION

A built environment includes all structures created by people, including infrastructure elements such as streets, sidewalks, water and sewer lines, electric and other utilities (McClure & Bartuska, 2007).

With everyday city population growth, life in cities is endangered and quality of living is decreasing. Population density is constantly increasing and built environment is growing only vertically making city centers and historical cores areas with extremely low quality of life. People in urban areas – cities live in places which have their specific ambient characteristics. These places can be observed at various levels, ranging from housing to the neighborhood, to the city and the wider region or even country; and these spaces affect people's lives and quality of life (QOL). Accordingly, a key assumption underlying many planning approaches that urban environment (space) can be planned in a way to increase the satisfaction level of space residents. Urban development planning, led by experts, mainly gives good results. If the process involves citizens and other stakeholders, planning involves their needs and priorities. Regardless of experience and knowledge, experts can never have an insight into the way of life as those who live and work in a particular area and who can significantly contribute to the planning process. Citizen participation and stakeholder involvement, therefore improve the quality of urban development planning. (Čolić, Mojović, Petković, & Čolić, 2013)

Mulligan et al. (2004) interpret QOL as the satisfaction that a person receives from surrounding human and physical conditions. The quality of life affects the liveability in cities for residents, affect decisions on the choice of place of residence, affects regional migration, etc., as well as planners and policy-makers to assess the efficiency measures implemented. Some of researches showed that migration patterns and urban growth partly depend on differences between the quality of life in cities. Migration patterns within the city are also connected with differences in objective characteristics of neighbourhoods as well as subjective assessments of quality of life in urban areas (Keeble, 1990). The aim of urban planning is improvement of the quality of life in urban areas, but there is a relatively small number of papers linking objective and subjective indicators of the urban environment (Marans, 2003).

The paper deals with terms often used in urban studies: sustainability, liveability, quality of urban environment and quality of life. The first part of paper is a sort of theoretical framework; it consists of definitions and review of urban studies dealing with quality of urban environment and quality of urban life (QOUL). Some models used in empirical investigation of subjective QOL are shown in this theoretical part of paper. The second part deals with planning practice in Serbia and public involvement in planning process. Although the quality of life is omnipresent phrase (platitude) in planning documents, the results in practice are far from satisfactory quality.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Terms

Terms sustainability, liveability, quality of life appear very often in studies dealing with urban - built environment. Although very similar and often interchangeably used, these terms differ one from another. Planning practice aims to create sustainable and livable cities and increase the quality of life in the cities.

Sustainable development is defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development, also known as the Brundtland Commission, in 1987, as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs“, the concept designed to meet the requirements of economic development and environmental conservation as well. Sustainability agendas and liveability initiatives often meet the same environmental, equity and economic goals; as a result, their definitions overlap substantially. Chivot (2011) considers that one of the conditions for improved urban liveability, is sustainability. When we talk about urban form, Jabareen (2006) emphasizes seven concepts, repeated and significant themes, of sustainable urban form: compactness, sustainable transport, density, mixed land use, diversity, passive solar design and greening.

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary liveable (adjective) means: suitable to live in - enjoyable to live in; making it possible to live or to have the things that people need to live properly (Merriam-Webster, 2015). Urban Dictionary defines liveability as the quality of life, usually in an urban setting, where the accessibility to needs and services contributes to overall well-being; liveable acts (Urban Dictionary, 2013).

Urban liveability consists in the development of attributes and resources that help making the city pleasant to live in, and attractive for people, visitors and businesses. Liveable and sustainable cities provide to citizens access to educational opportunities, healthcare, affordable housing and basic services; they improve demand management with efficient infrastructures for energy security, transportation or waste. Liveable cities offer green public areas that are safe, secure and clean; they enhance individual wellbeing through social inclusiveness, social justice, ecological sustainability, cultural vibrancy, economic vitality, long-term oriented policies and integrated governance processes. (Chivot, 2011)

The term „quality of life“ is very similar to „liveability“, broadly it refers to the general well-being of individuals and societies. The term is used in a wide range of professions, including the fields of international development, healthcare, urban planning, and others (Carr, Van Zerr, & Seskin, 2011). Carr et al. proposes defining liveability as “the attributes of a community that affect its suitability for human living“ and defining quality of life as “the effects of a community’s liveability on its residents.” For example, liveability factors concerning housing and environmental quality are: affordability, location, diversity of housing types, air quality, aesthetics, noise, water quality,

greenhouse gases, parks and open spaces; and the associated quality of life benefits are: shelter, safety and security, physical and mental health, protection from natural hazards, etc.

There are other terms related to the QOL concept, including: well-being, satisfaction, happiness and others. According to Campbell et al. (1976) the concept of the QOL experience is about individual well-being. They measured and compared peoples assessments of different domains of their lives and the assessment of their "lives as a whole," in order to determine the degree to which each domain affects the overall well-being or QOL. They considered the following domains: health, marriage, housing, family, financial situation, leisure and community or place of residence.

2.2 QOL studies – approaches and models

Previous definition of terms leads to numerous questions such as: How can we measure the quality of urban environment? How can we measure the quality of urban life? What is the relationship between objective characteristics of urban space and the perception of the quality of urban environment? How does the quality of urban environment affect the overall quality of life?

During quality of life research, and especially quality of life in cities, two basic approaches that are used:

1) Quality of life monitoring through a set of indicators that are derived from overall spatial data, which are related to the observed quality of life (household income level, criminal rate, pollution level, housing costs, etc.). Official statistic data – lists are usually used as information source.

2) Creating connections between the characteristics of the urban environment and the measurement of subjective estimates of people in the field of quality of life, including their satisfaction with specific domains of life and life in general. This approach is based on data collected by the survey.

Monitoring of indicators over time can provide information about those aspects of life quality which improving or declining can be seen by residents, while survey data can provide information on the perception and behavior of subjective evaluations and level of satisfaction related to the different aspects of life in cities.

Beside these two basic approaches in process of quality of life study, monitoring of objective indicators and subjective access over survey, within these basic groups there are many approaches that are dealing with quality of life in cities.

Thus, objective QOUL research often use social indicators approach or investigating quality of urban life by weighting objective indicators. Investigating quality of urban life by weighting objective indicators incorporates measurements of specific characteristics of the urban

environment and combining or weighting objective indicators to generate an objective QOUL ranking for places, for example Blomquist, Berger, & Hoehn, (1988), Cicerchia (1996) and others.

On the other hand, the subjective assessment of QOL is based on primary data collected through sample that participated in surveys, where people evaluate QOL domains and their evaluations are measured. There are various approaches in subjective assessment of QOL: bottom-up or top-down, mood bias models, subjective judgement models, adaptation models, subjective importance models, and others.

Subjective assessment of QOL involves both feelings (positive or negative) and subjective judgments, while research into specific life domains like QOUL focuses more on subjective judgments. These judgments may relate to how important various aspects of life are to individuals or individual preferences (McCrea, Marans, Stimson, & Western, 2011). McRea et al. conclude that people interact with their objective urban environments, so integrated approaches to examining QOUL which incorporate both objective and subjective indicators are needed.

Marans and his collaborators (Marans and Rodgers 1975; Lee and Marans 1980; Connerly and Marans 1985, 1988) explored the objective-subjective relationships in investigating QOUL, and they considered that the quality of a place or other geographic setting (the region, the city as a whole, the neighbourhood, the dwelling) is a subjective phenomenon and that each person occupying that setting might differ in their views about it. Individual's perceptions and assessments of a number of setting attributes are influenced by certain characteristics of the occupant, including their past experiences (as a set of standards against which they make current judgments) and individual's aspirations. Finally, individual's assessments and perceptions are also associated with the place attributes themselves. A model of satisfaction with residential environment proposed by Marans and Rodgers (1975) and Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers (1976) is shown in Figure 1. The model relies on the following principles (Marans & Stimson, Investigating Quality of Urban Life, 2011):

- The experiences of people are derived from their interactions with the surrounding environment.
- The subjective experiences of people are different from the objective environment.
- People respond to their experiences with the environment.
- The level of satisfaction in various life domains contributes to the overall QOL experience.

Model separates objective characteristics of residential environment (community attributes, neighbourhood attributes and housing attributes) and subjective perceptions and evaluations of these attributes. Space occupants perceive or do not perceive some objective characteristics of residential

environment and their evaluation of perceived characteristics depend on individual standards of comparison formed as a result of previous experience and personal aspirations. Finally, the combination of objective characteristics of living environment and individual perceptions and evaluations, leads to satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with certain urban domain (community satisfaction, neighbourhood satisfaction, housing satisfaction) and moving intentions. Finally, urban (environmental) domain satisfaction along with other life domains satisfaction leads to overall life satisfaction. This model clearly indicates the relationship between objective characteristics of the built environment and occupant's subjective satisfaction with environment and overall life satisfaction.

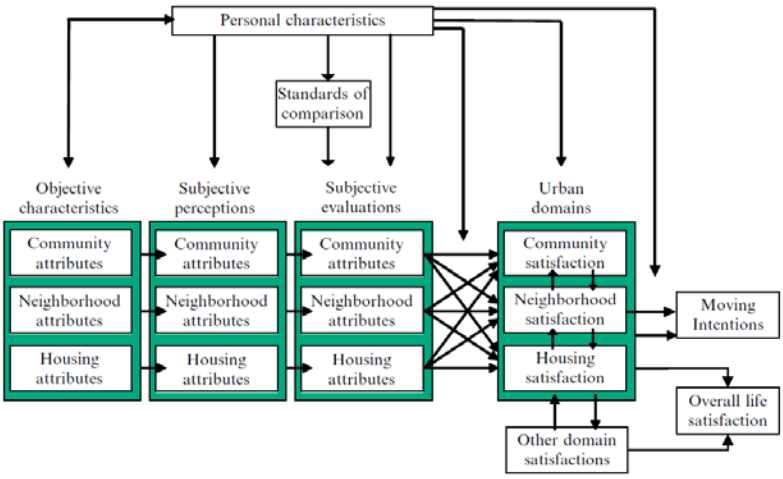

Figure 1. A broad model framework for investigating subjective assessment of determinants of satisfaction with the residential environment (Source: Marans and Rodgers 1975; Campbell et al. 1976)

3 PLANNING PRACTICE IN SERBIA

Previous part of the paper was about terms; relationships between objective characteristics of urban space and subjective perceptions; evaluations of urban environment domain and assessments of quality of life as a whole. The conclusion is that people interact with environment and have feelings and judgements about their environment. Accordingly, it is necessary to examine the relationship between planning documents that shape the city and city residents. Cities are planned for humans life and it should fulfil their needs. Thus, planners should recognize residents needs and preferences and embed them into planning documents in order to make liveable urban spaces, increase the quality of urban environment and the quality of life in general. The following part of paper deals with planning practice in Serbia and citizens involvement in planning process.

3.1 Levels of urban planning in Serbia

The aim of the review of law and regulations on planning is to determine how the residents are involved in the planning process according to the law, and how it functions in practice. The other goal is to determine the level of planning which is of the greatest interest for citizens QOL or well-being, i.e. at which level citizens should participate in order to improve their living environment, to bring it in line with their needs and aspirations.

According to The Law on Planning and Construction (2009), urban planning in Serbia consists of three levels:

- General Urban Plan,
- General Regulation Plan,
- Detailed Regulation Plan.

The General Urban Plan is drawn up as a strategic developing plan, with general elements of spatial development, for a populated settlement which is the headquarter of a unit of local administration, and has a population of over 30,000 inhabitants. General urban plan contains: borders of the construction area (both built and unbuilt area); general planning solutions with predominant use within the construction area and general directions and corridors for municipal infrastructure (traffic, electricity, water, waste disposal and other infrastructure). It also contains division of the planning area for further plan development through plans of general regulation for the whole building area.

General Regulation Plan is mandatory for a populated settlement which is the seat of local government units, but it can also be adopted for other settlements on the territory of the municipality. If local governments have adopted General Urban Plan, then General Regulation Plans are drawn up for the whole buildable area of the inhabited settlements. The General Regulation Plan particularly includes: the border of the plan and the catchment area of the buildable land; division of the space into separate wholes and zones with their predominant use, street regulation lines, areas of public use, and construction lines (for zones for which no Detailed Regulation Plan is foreseen); routes, corridors and capacities for municipal infrastructure; rules of landscaping and rules of construction; measures of protection of cultural and historic monuments and heritage; measures of energy efficiency in construction etc. It also includes zones for which the drawing up of a Detailed Regulation Plan is mandatory.

A Detailed Regulation Plan is drawn up for undeveloped parts of a populated locality, bringing in order of informal settlements, zones of urban renewal, infrastructural corridors and facilities, construction of facilities or populated localities on construction plots outside of populated localities, as well as in protected surroundings of immobile cultural heritage. It has almost the same content as the General Regulation Plan except it is detailed and

contains locations for which the drawing up of an Urban Design Project is foreseen.

It is important to emphasize that all documents of urban (and spatial) planning must be reconciled, so that documents of a narrow region are in compliance with documents of the wider region. That means directions and rules from General Urban Plan must be implemented in General Regulation Plans and Detailed Regulation Plans.

3.2 Previous procedure for adopting planning documents

A procedure for adopting planning document according to the Law on Planning and Construction (2009) consists of:

- Decision on drawing up planning document
- Production of planning document
  - Concept of planning document
    - Professional control of concept of planning document
  - Draft planning document
    - Professional control of draft planning document
- Public insight
- Adoption of planning document

A procedure of preparation of planning document starts with a decision on drawing up a planning document which is brought by the agency authorized to adopt planning document. The decision contains information on planning document including: name of the document, purpose, borders, content of the plan, the place of holding public inspection, etc. The decision is announced in the appropriate official newspaper. The first phase of creation of planning document is concept of planning document which is subject to professional verification. The professional verification includes examining the reconciliation of the planning document with: planning documents of the wider region, the decision on drawing up planning document, Law on planning and construction, standards and norms; as well as examining the justification of the planned proposal. Both concept and draft document are subject to professional verification.

The presentation of the planning document for public insight is made after the professional verification is completed. The presentation for public insight is announced in a daily local newspaper, and lasts 30 days. Public insight is the most important phase of planning process for citizens, because during this phase they are invited to give their remarks on planning document. After that the responsible agency (the committee for plans) writes a report on the completed public insight, which includes all remarks on planning document and decisions for each remark, and the bearer of the preparation of the of the planning document is obliged to act on the decisions for each remark. In

case that adopted remarks essentially change the planning document, the bearer of the preparation is obliged to prepare a new draft, or concept of the planning document. The deadline for new concept or draft document cannot exceed 60 days from the day of bringing the decision.

Procedure for passing planning documents is the same for all levels of urban planning: General Urban Plan, General Regulation Plan and Detailed Regulation Plan. According to planning order, period between the announcement about decision on drawing up planning document and the announcement about public insight, passes without presence of public. Although professionals perform analyzes of the current state and previous planning documents for specific area, these analyzes rarely include a survey about the quality of life. Citizens, non-professionals, are invited to make remarks on draft planning document during the 30 days period of public insight, which is one of final stages of planning process. This period seems very short for non-professionals to recognize their interests, benefits or threats, and to make significant remarks to planning document. In addition, citizens are not equally interested in all documents. Actually, ordinary citizens are mostly interested in plans covering their place of living and even in that case, most of people are interested only in their own plots (parcels), not in public space. They are not familiar enough with the planning process and their role in that process. Besides that, they rarely have the opportunity to express their opinion on the elements affecting the quality of urban environment and consequently the quality of life, such as: the amount open and green spaces, recreational areas, parking lots, public transportation etc.

3.3 Early public insight

Missing link in the planning process is more active public involvement during the preparation phase for creating planning document. The lack of public involvement is finally recognized by professionals and decision makers and new was adopted in 2015. This ordinance introduces a new phase in planning process – an early public insight. Early public insight comes after the decision on the development of the planning document, but before drafting the planning document that is subject to professional control (Ordinance on the content, manner and procedure for preparation of spatial and urban planning, 2015).

As mentioned above, previously valid regulations provided citizens affected by a planning document to participate in the planning process at the stage of consideration of the draft plan. They could give comments and suggestions for correction, but without any significant ability to influence the concept of the plan. This way, the responsibility for quality planning solutions was transferred to professionals involved in planning process and authority competent to verify solution in the form of a draft, and at the same time increased the risk that the planned solution is not optimal, and that it has not ensured the satisfaction of various interests of users of space. New approach introduced two-step process of public participation. Citizens are involved in the initial phase, immediately after the decision on developing the plan, with the possibility of expression, or of submission of comments and

suggestions. Informing the public in the early stages of the planning process with the overall objectives and purpose of drafting the plan, possible solutions for urban renewal or development of spatial entities, as well as the effects of planning, creates the possibility for citizens to affect planning solutions.

New approach introduced two-step process of public participation. Citizens are involved in the initial phase, immediately after the decision on drawing up planning document, with the possibility to express their opinion and to make remarks and suggestions. Timely information about objectives and purposes of planning document, possible solutions for urban renewal or development of spatial entities and other effects of planning, creates the possibility for citizens to affect the planning solutions in initial phase of planning. Establishing proactive, responsible citizenry and fostering citizens' participation in the preparation and adoption of planning decisions is most easily achieved at the local level. (Radosavljević, Djordjević, & Šećerov, 2015)

3.4 Quality of life and public initiative

From previous subsection, it seems that early public insight solves the problem of lack of public participation. But it is important to mention that almost all municipalities in Serbia already have draft planning documents in accordance to planning hierarchy and previously valid regulations. For example, the territory of the City of Nis is covered with General Urban Plan and number of General Regulation Plans for municipalities that form the city (Figure 2). Perceived deficiencies and changes in space led to first changes of plans, which are currently in progress.

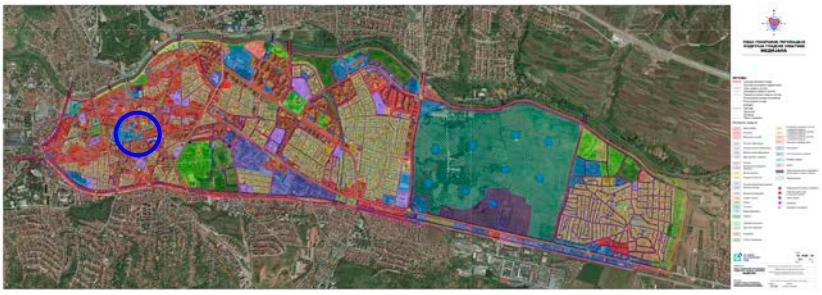

Figure 2. General Regulation Plan of Mediana Municipality - City Of Nis

During process of change of the General Regulation Plan for city municipality Mediana, very significant initiative that was launched by group of citizens (professionals and interested non-professionals) came up with initiative that suggested turning to streets in central core into pedestrian zones (Figure 3). This initiative was launched in period when public insight was still ongoing.

In this case it is significant to point out that, even public initiative, this idea was launched by urban planning professional that is not resident of the

mentioned area, but he still recognizes spatial potentials of these area, urban planning process and possibilities of individual acting within urban planning framework. Results of the surveys that were conducted within users of these two streets, show positive attitude regarding proposed changes. Residents recognized benefits and showed positive assessments for future interventions, but they did not show initiatives for organization these area. This shows that residents still do not have enough developed awareness about their role in entire city planning process and shaping environment. Thanks to the help of all interested groups (urban planning professionals, media, residents, users of open spaces and office places, educational institutions, non-governmental organizations etc.) this initiative was adopted and all the changes were implemented in the plan which adoption is ongoing now.

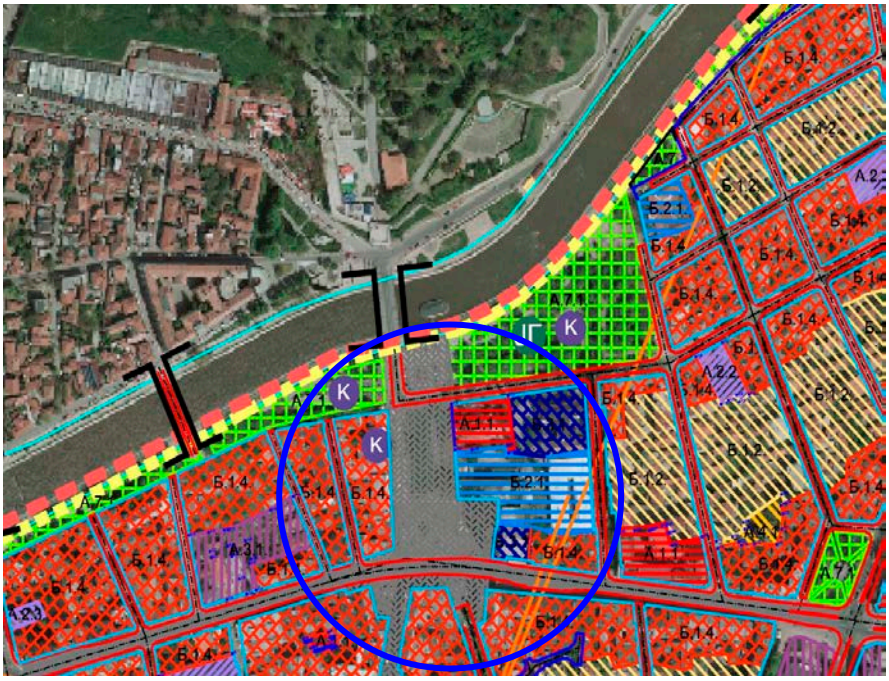

Figure 3. The position of streets in the center of Nis

4 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the paper was to make relation or to emphasize the gap between quality of (urban) life in urban studies and in planning practice. Numerous studies dealing with quality of life showed that there is an interaction between environmental settings of place and place occupants. Quality of life or subjective wellbeing depends on satisfaction with different domains of life, including satisfaction with urban domains such as: community satisfaction,

neighbourhood satisfaction, housing satisfaction (Marans and Rodgers 1975; Campbell et al. 1976). People perceive environmental settings and make subjective evaluations depending on their personal characteristics and previous experience.

The second part of the paper analyses the planning practice in Serbia and the role of citizens and their subjective perceptions and evaluations within planning process. Although the citizens quality of life and subjective well-being are often listed as main goals of planning, previous planning practice shows that citizens are almost entirely excluded from the planning process. They are only involved during the period of public insight, when they can give comments and suggestions for correction, but without any significant influence on planning solutions and quality of urban space. This approach doesn't fulfil the purpose of planning, because main actors in space are excluded from decision making. The early public insight, introduced by Ordinance on the content, manner and procedure for preparation of spatial and urban planning (2015) should contribute to greater involvement of all stakeholders in the planning process. Earlier informing and involving in the process allows all stakeholders to gather additional information that will help them to understand the process, to articulate their interests and constructively engage in planning.

The example of public initiative for making two streets into pedestrian zones in the center of Nis, shows that some changes of planning solutions are possible if the initiative is launched at the right moment by professionals who are familiar with planning process, and supported by all stakeholders.

The overall conclusion is that there is a gap between treatment of quality of life in urban studies and in planning process i.e. documents. Introduction of early public insight may have important positive effects, but only if it is only if it is supported by the planners who're willing to cooperate with all nonprofessional stakeholders and by stakeholders through their active participation.

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Inclusive Processes: Concepts and Instruments for Sharing the Spatial Information

ABSTRACT:

The second thematic workshop within the SINERGI project (Turin, June 30 - July 2, 2015) is the final step of a process started several months before. A research team from SiTI (Turin, Italy) developed an instrumental method for structuring the aforementioned workshop following two parallel paths. The first path was methodological. It has been the fruit of the collaboration between SiTI and public institution of the City of Turin. The construction of the method focused on conceptual possibilities and choice of urban parameters for the building of different future scenarios for the case study area, a very large dismissed urban area with an industrial past and many future projects insisting on it. The second path was technical one. It concerned the issues needed to use the Interactive Visualisation Tool (InViTo) in order to achieve the planned tasks. A number of discussions emerged outlining possibilities and opportunities given by the use of interactive maps. After discussion and technical improvements, the application of the chosen method within the workshop in Turin provided a large number of outcomes: drawing planning options; discussions on the relationship between the policy-making and the choice of urban parameters; multi-disciplinary argumentations on the use of digital tools and on the human interaction with visual information.

KEYWORDS: *Geo-visualisation, Planning Support Systems (PSS), GIS, Social Inclusion, InViTo.*

1 INTRODUCTION

During the last years, the growth of cities is highlighting their inability to offer adequate and fair facilities to their population, so that the social inclusion is an increasingly important factor in urban planning. Collaboration and participation are nowadays essential elements for the planning of urban areas. Nevertheless, the complexity of traditional tools and methods is not suitable for enhancing the involvement of different skilled people (Uran & Janssen, 2003; Couclelis, 2005; Vonk, Geertman, & Schot, 2005; Geertman & Stillwell, 2003; 2009; te Brömmelstroet, 2010).

Nowadays, Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) are changing the possibilities and opportunities for spatial planning to deal with the urban life. The massive use of web social networks, the large availability of data and the increasing production of map-based web tools are some of the factors which are deeply changing the common vision of the social inclusion within the spatial planning (Bawa-Cavia, 2010; Neuhaus, 2011; Goodspeed, 2011; 2012; Resch, Summa, Sagl, Zeile, & Exner, 2014; Chua, Marcheggiani, Serrvillo, & Vande Moere, 2014). Thus, spatial planning is encountering new approaches to the use of technology. In particular, both the academic researchers and professionals are increasing their interest in data-driven methods (Kamenetz, 2013; Lanzerotti, Bradach, Sud, & Barmeier, 2013; Kokalitcheva, 2014).

The large availability of open and geo-referenced data generates new opportunities for data analysis. Thus, new methods are investigated in order to allow information to be easily extracted from data and disclosed to the professionals and stakeholders involved in the decision-making processes. In this context, the paper shows the developments of the interactive visual analysis as a support to improve the processes of planning and decision-making. In particular, it describes the experience about the use of the Interactive Visualisation Tool (InViTo) during the second SINERGI thematic workshop, held in Turin in summer 2015.

2 FROM QUALITATIVE PERCEPTION TO QUANTITATIVE SUPPORT

Decision-making processes on urban and social issues can be considered as “wicked problems” (Rittel & Webber, 1973) creating potential conflicts and unanticipated effects. The presence of many actors with different backgrounds often limited the information sharing process (Kiker, Bridges, Varghese, Seager, & Linkov, 2005; Huang, Keisler &, Linkov, 2011). In this sense the mission of an urban project is never so clear including a wide number of data, variables, parameters and indexes as well as qualitative elements usually barely measurable. Moreover, the solution of a “wicked problem” is a one-shot operation because there is no opportunity to learn by trying and therefore “the planner has no right to be wrong” (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

While in the past one of the difficulties in urban planning was the lack of data-measuring activities, nowadays the problem is the opposite: there is too much quantitative and qualitative data reflecting the complexity of the reality they describe but they are often difficult to read. Therefore, databases need to be not simply able to visualise data but also to extract and process usable (Belton & Pictet, 1997; Mingers & Rosenhead, 2004; Belton & Stewart, 2010; White, 2006; Montibeller, Belton, Ackermann, & Ensslin, 2008; Pensa, Masala, Lami, & Rosa, 2014; Lami & Franco, 2016) translating the full set of qualitative information into an automatic quantitative process.

In this perspective, the communication is essential for the effectiveness of processes based on the collaboration and participation of people with different personal skills and cultural backgrounds. However, the approach of communication by simply "writing down your objectives and stating your priorities, is inadequate for decisions worthy of thought" (Keeney, 2013).

In the last decades, a large number of digital technologies and tools have been produced for supporting decision-making, namely Decision Support Systems (DSS), capable of capturing a wide range of data including both physical aspects and qualitative aspects in a data-driven perspective supporting decision-making in prioritising outcomes instead of just outputs (Kamenetz, 2013). In this context, two main branches are developing. The first branch is a data-oriented and technology-driven approach, which makes uses of quantities for assessing and justifying decisions. Eye-catching visualisations are the most evident outputs of such an approach, where analysts and statistics prevail on the human experience of professionals and experts. The second branch uses these new technologies to improve the human abilities and it is mostly used to support the decision and policy-making processes. Particular efforts are spent in understanding how data can support and be complementary to the traditional approach, providing new insights on spatial issues. The debate on the use of big data is nowadays shifting from a technology-driven vision towards a more human dimension, introducing the concepts of people friendliness and a human-to-human approach (Melis, Masala, & Tabasso, 2015).

In fact, in order to facilitate the decision process, it is not sufficient to apply a good visualization tool. It is necessary to have "good decision bones", to structure the decision problem in a simple and effective way in order to capture the complexity of the reality. This is to help the actors involved to choose in a strategic way rather than at a strategic level (Friend, & Hickling, 2005) and to "get on the same page" (Vennix, 1996) in order to have a collective insight (Andersen, & Richardson, 1997).

In this perspective, Planning Support System (PSS) and DSS (Geertman & Stillwell, 2003, 2009; Klosterman, 1997, 2012) should integrate visual representation and Multicriteria Decision Analyses (MCDA - Figueira, Greco, & Ehrgott, 2005) to support participants' learning about their own and others perspectives, as well as broader problematic situations (Qiu, & Fan, 2013).

Current PSS and sDSS are mainly based on GIS technologies and present a large difficulty in being applied in daily practice (te Brömmelstroet, 2010; Vonk, Geertman, & Schot, 2005): 1) it takes a long time to calculate results which hinder the interaction between data models and users; 2) data models

generally have low flexibility to adjust to specific needs; 3) most of these support systems have limited abilities in communication.

3 TOOL AND METHOD FOR SHARING THE INFORMATION

The Interactive Visualisation Tool (InViTo) is an instrument conceived as a visual support for spatial planning and decision-making processes. Its first version was developed in 2011 and was based on parametric architectural software, which generated three-dimensional visualisations. Despite the tool proved to be effective in communicating data, it showed to be difficult to be used by non-technical experts. In order to increase its accessibility and easiness in use, the tool was moved to a web platform.

The new InViTo has been conceived as a toolbox for supporting the analysis, the exploration, the visualisation and communication of data in order to facilitate policy and decision-making. Although it can be used to analyse data, it does not simulate nor provide spatial solutions. Rather, it aims at improving the communication between actors coming from different backgrounds and with different interests. It is not a GIS software, but it is a way to present GIS data and let people to play with those data in order to increase the level of knowledge on spatial issues among both expert and non-expert people. InViTo focuses on data sharing and visualisation of information as a vehicle for the social inclusion in the planning processes. For this reason, it can be classified within the category of spatial Decision Support System (sDSS) as a Web-GIS tool.

InViTo has been conceived to be interactive and dynamic in order to be part of instrumental equipment for meetings and workshops. It can be used by a single person or collectively during discussion sessions. In this case the displayed map can become the interface for sharing opinions and reasoning. In fact, its quick responses and visual interface offers possibilities for improving the discussion among people, providing a shared basis for enhancing the debate.

3.1. Technical requirements for the improvement of usability

Spatial decisions and policymaking processes affect, or can affect the geography of an area at different spatial scales. This can happen with a very wide spectrum of consequences, which can be studied by different discipline fields such as urban planning, transport planning, mobility, environment, social and economic sciences. The InViTo structure was conceived as open as possible in order to avoid constraints in the use of the tool. Thus, it can be used for dealing with different case studies, with different purposes and afferent to various disciplines.

The building of a web platform structure was the first needed step to develop the instrument. This was essential for creating the general framework of the tool. Its building took several months and has been progressively adapted to the development of other elements composing the

tool. In order to be really accessible, the tool was based on an open source structure and open source initiatives.

Furthermore, in order to be usable, InViTo proposes a web interface where people can easily decide the information to see. All data can be selected and filtered through checkbox windows, dropdown menu or sliding cursors. Specific buttons provide possibilities for customising the visualisation or for enabling particular elements such as tables, analysis grids or background maps.

Finally, in order to allow users to upload their personal projects, InViTo has two different interfaces. A back interface where logged-in users can create new projects and manage existing ones; and a front interface, where people can visualise, filter and explore data related to specific projects. Due to its twofold nature, one for project viewers and one oriented to the project builders, InViTo offers a wide range of uses and is open to variously skilled users.

While GIS technicians or planners generally use the back-end interface, the front interface is the graphic structure and organisation, which allows information to be visualised and explored by users. The front-end interface is graphically structured by two main elements: a viewer window containing an interactive map and a vertical menu on the left side containing all the parameter settings (Figure 1).

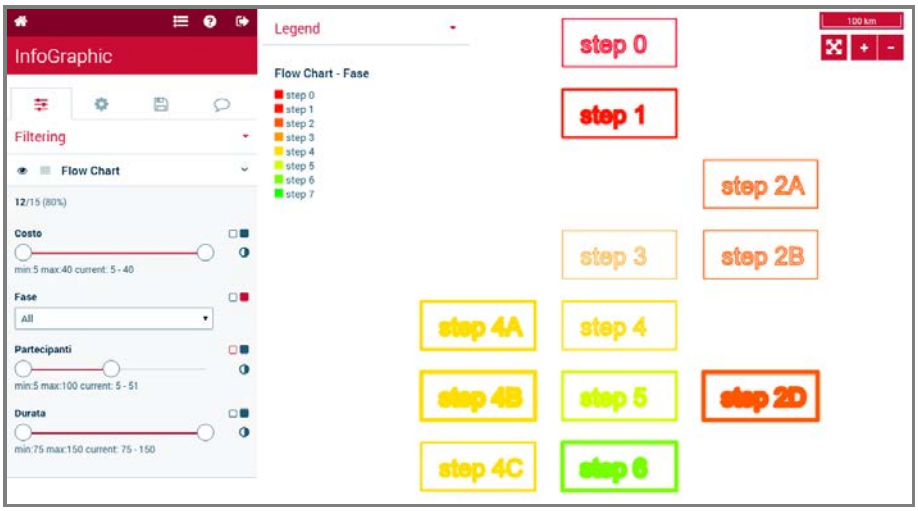

Figure 1.Basic front interface of InViTo, with the menu on the left side and the interactive map on the right side. While the menu on the left is completely customisable on the basis of each project characteristics, a non-geographical base can substitute the interactive map in order to allow the exploration of whatever kind of non-spatial data representations.

The interactive map can be both geographical or not, so that also non spatial-data can be visualised and explored. This means that the

geographical maps can be replaced by info-graphics, according to the choice of the project administrator.

The menu on the left side contains all the elements to explore data and interact with the information. In particular, the front-end interface contains two main utilities: the filtering section and the weighting section.

3.2. Data filtering

The data filtering section is the section of InViTo that allows data to be interactively selected and filtered by the users in order to customise the visualisation. Basically, the tool works as other GIS viewers, and it can be therefore classified as a WebGIS tool. Nevertheless, it offers some more opportunities. First of all, it does not visualise only the different layers of a set of data, but it allows users to explore the single records of a dataset by the use of different kind of filters. Each kind of data can be visualised through different types of filters: checkbox, dropdown menu, range sliders or single choice range sliders. Each family of filters can also be grouped in specific panels, so that the visualisation can be driven through a particular path to follow.

The data filtering section is brand new with respect to the previous versions and it is also an innovation in the landscape of traditional WebGIS tools. It has been created in order to allow the users to have a shared basis for knowing the peculiarities within datasets. In fact, differently from a traditional WebGIS tool, which allows visualising the layers of data, InViTo allows data to be investigated at different levels with also intersection of attributes. In particular, this section results indicated to analyse data clusters in relation to specific parameters. To take an example, if the data to visualise concern the public transport, a traditional WebGIS tool generally shows on a map the location of public transport stops and maybe can differentiate the layer in a sub-layer, which distinguishes the bus stops from the underground stations.

With InViTo, data on public transport can be filtered not only on the transport mode, but by the frequencies of their passages, the number of passengers, the number of connections with other lines, their location and so on. The level of detail that users can obtain depends only by the available data, and not by the instrument of visualisation. Thus, users can understand and know many more information from data than the simple spatial distribution provided by WebGIS tool. In this sense, InViTo overcome the data-map representation to arrive to the visualisation, intended as the discipline to see the unseen (McCormick, De Fanti, & Brown, 1987).

3.3. Map weighting

The map weighting section allows the filtered maps to be overlapped and weighted on the basis of their priority. The map weighting is based on the sum of maps as in the basic methodology of multi-criteria analysis. The aim of this section is to provide users with a tool for analysing the localisation of

expected effect of specific elements and, then, evaluating the sum of effects (Figure 2).

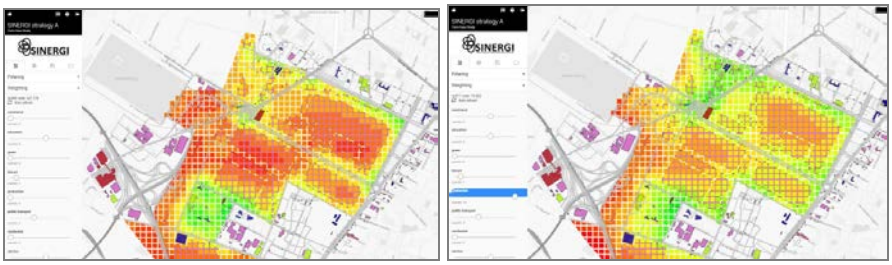

Figure 2.Weighting section on the front interface of InViTo. The maps show the spatial effect of selected criteria depending on assigned weights. The variation of weights on the left side menu makes the map on the right side changing in colours through a traffic-light colour gradient scale.

Each layer affects the behaviour of the interactive map on the basis of a mathematical curve associated to it. The curves are previously defined by the project manager through a specific section located in the back-end interface. The intensity of the effect is decided by the end-user, who can set the value directly on the front-end interface by means of a set of sliding cursors.

3.4. Data visualisation

A further important improvement of InViTo concerns the opportunities for data visualisation. The new release allows a high level of customisation on colours, dimensions, styles, map styles and on a series of utilities.

First, users can choose the map styles by which geometries on the dynamic map are coloured. They can set the thickness of geometries on the basis of a specific parameter. Then, they can select the background map between customised Google Maps, Open Street Maps and flat backgrounds. Furthermore, users can visualise both tables and charts relative to a set of data and depending on the filters activated in the filtering section. Tables are visible on the bottom side of the screen, containing the attributes relative to the filtered data, providing information on the sum, average, minimum and maximum values, field by field. Charts are on the topside and show the values of the filtered data in relation to the whole set of data, highlighting the selected geometries.

This set of opportunities in data visualisation allows users to fully customise their exploration of data. By means of these utilities, the tool is expected to offer a wide range of possibilities for users to improve their analytical skills and enhancing the discussion.

4 The second thematic SINERGI workshop

After a first thematic SINERGI workshop held in Skopje in December 2014, the SINERGI project planned the use of InViTo also in a second workshop in

Turin, Italy. Since both the workshops focused on the social inclusive planning of an urban area, the use of InViTo was expected to support the participants in analysing, exploring and visualising data concerning the areas and their relative context.

In both occasions, the tool was presented to the public, which was very heterogeneous, composed by various and differentiated actors such as students, academic professors, city administrators, technicians and social representatives. An insight on the second workshop is described to show method, application and results, which followed a research on the improvement of social inclusion through a digital tool working on a data-driven approach.

4.1 The workshop in Turin

The preparation of the second thematic workshop within the SINERGI project (Turin, June 30 - July 2, 2015) started several months before the meeting. Beginning from the outcomes of the first thematic workshop held in Skopje, the research team from SiTI developed an instrumental method for following the methodological path set up through the collaboration with the Politecnico di Torino, the Metropolitan Urban Center and the City of Turin.

The case study concerned a huge dismissed urban area with an industrial past and many future projects insisting on it. The peculiarities of the area strongly affected the choice of scenarios to be developed during the workshop, as well as they influenced the way InViTo should be used in order to achieve the planned tasks. A number of discussions emerged outlining possibilities and opportunities given by the use of interactive maps designed to facilitate and improve the interaction between the information and the actors involved in the planning process.

Actors involved in the workshop were very heterogeneous for both geographical origin and disciplinary background. They have been divided in three groups so to respond to three different alternative future options for the case study area:

- Scenario 1, shopping mall and commercial strategy;
- Scenario 2, new metro line and transport strategy;
- Scenario 3, innovative technology and R&D strategy.

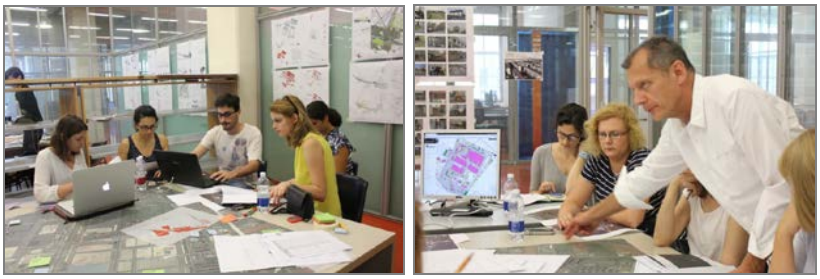

Figure 3.Use of InViTo during the planning and decision-making session of the workshop.

Each group was followed by two researchers who led the use of InViTo during the workshop, in order to support the actors in the map production and reading. This presence, both technical and analytical, drove actors in compare their choices with the consequent effect on the area, providing numerous discussions and debates. Furthermore, it increased the social inclusion, allowing all the actors to express their own opinion and sharing it through a visual interface (Figure 3). Through the interactive maps, actors could produce “what if” maps and provide response to specific queries. Finally, they generated a dynamic collective scenario which changes according to the “what if” questions generated during the discussion. In this way, the tool could provide a support for arriving to produce one single future option, which includes the interests and calibration of many actors involved in the map building.

After discussion and technical improvements, the application of the chosen method within the workshop in Turin provided a large number of outcomes: drawing of planning options; discussions on the relationship between the policy-making and the choice of urban parameters; multi-disciplinary argumentations on the use of digital tools and on the human interaction with visual information; analysis and choice of urban parameters and indexes to be used.

4.1.1 Setting of the tool

For the Turin workshop, the new release of InViTo was completed. The web structure and the graphic interface were ready to be used directly by the participants. During the four months before the workshop, GIS data concerning the case study area have been collected and elaborated in order to be used within the tool. A number of geographical datasets was produced, collecting different types of data such as residential buildings, commercial activities, public transport, mobility, green areas, industrial activities, services and facilities. Each dataset was configured in order to be explored at different levels and allow users to investigate them. After that, datasets were uploaded in InViTo. The setting of each dataset consisted in four simple steps:

- Filtering: assignment of a filter type. The checkbox resulted the most appropriate;
- Visualisation: assignment of colour scale to map each single layer;
- Weighting: definition of the analysis grid. A regular grid 50m by side was chosen for the SINERGI case study;
- Weighting: assignment of a mathematical curve in order to define the spatial influence of each layer. Mathematical curves have been previously set to simple linear functions with different intensities and radius of influence.

At this point, the project was ready to be visualised and explored by the participants to the workshop (Figure 4).

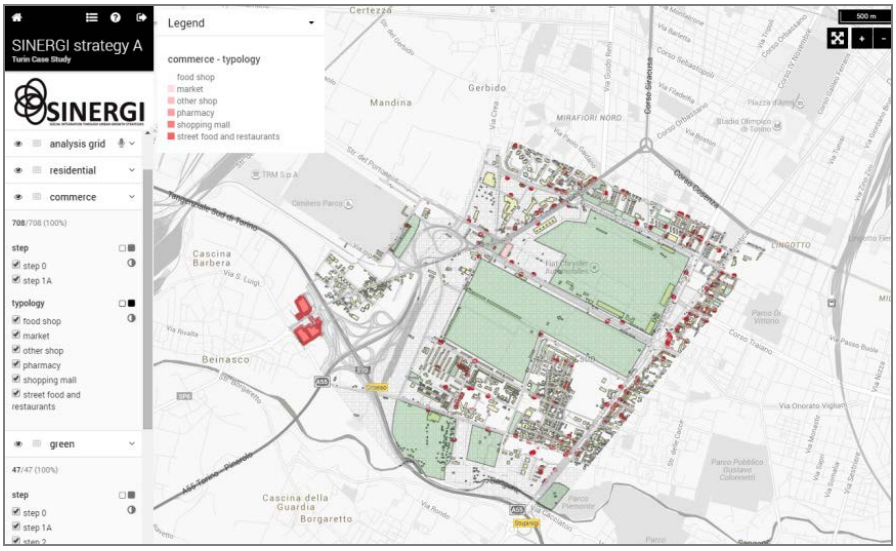

Figure 4.Front end of the SINERGI project configuration.

4.1.2 Analysis and visualisation of the outputs

Participants to the workshop were informed about the use, the possibilities given by the tool and the output to achieve. The three groups worked separately to develop their strategy. InViTo was used to determine the presence of specific elements in the area and to understand the influence of these elements on their surroundings. Furthermore, it also showed to be useful in suggesting new planning decisions, providing responses in real time to “what if” questions (Figure 5) and displaying the effects of planning choices.

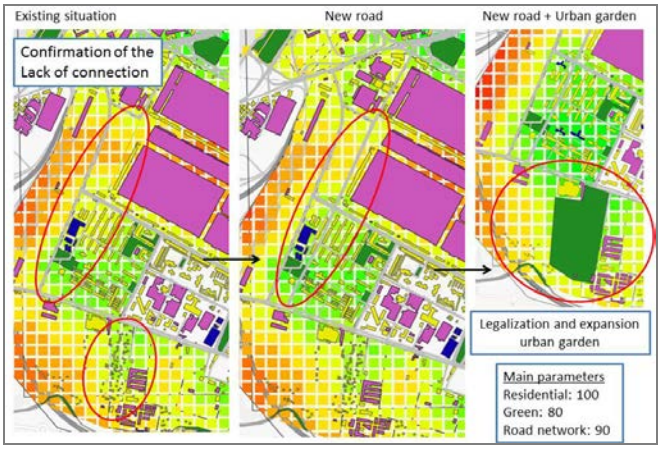

Figure 5.The analysis grid and its usein exploring the case study area. The picture shows how the analysis grid can provide suggestions for improving the urban planning.

The groups studied the area on the basis of the perspective of their strategy. Therefore, they weighted the spatial elements on the basis of their preferences and decided the actions that should be done. After that, they input their planning solutions in InViTo following the temporal sequence of their project. This allowed to visualise step by step the changes in the case study area and to re-think the subsequent steps on the basis of the responses of previous ones. Through this method, planners and decision-makers could made their own evaluation and change ideas on things to do (Figure 6).

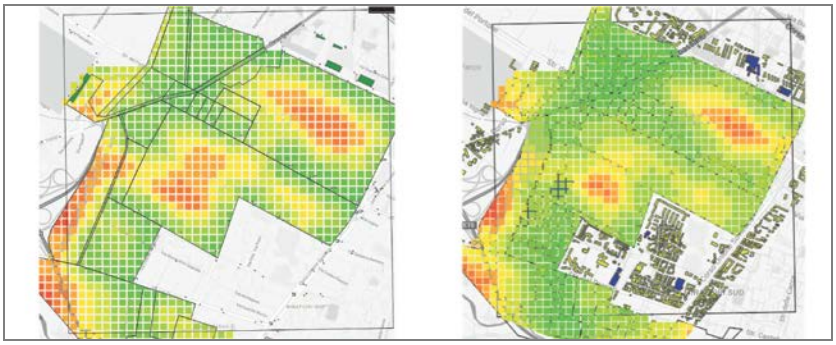

Figure 6.The comparison between the current situation and after the actualisation of the project vision

4.1.3 Delivered results

In the second thematic SINERGI workshop, InViTo showed to be a user-friendly Decision Support System (DSS) which allows something more than traditional WebGIS tools. In fact, it provides the opportunity to generate maps on the basis of specific mathematical curves, to overlap these maps and assign them a weight on the basis of their relative importance. Furthermore, it also provides the opportunity to filter data on the basis of their attributes, which is a peculiarity of GIS tools, but not of WebGIS tools.

Secondly, from an economic point of view, InViTo offers the possibility to share and visualised data through an open source interface. InViTo can be used by everyone because it is under the Creative Commons licence. The only constraint is the necessity of a personal account for producing new projects.

Thirdly, considering the global need for more sustainable and smart cities, InViTo offers the possibility to explore urban data and urban parameters in relation to their localisation. This is particularly interesting because it allows planning and policies to be based on the evaluation of specific confined behaviour, so to better respond to local requirements.

In addition, InViTo stimulates the debate and discussion among people with different expertise, background and skills. This is highly important for increasing the social inclusion, allowing all the actors to express their own opinion and sharing it through a visual interface.

Its use during the workshop in Turin showed that it can support the planning and decision-making processes through a simple interface. The feedbacks gathered among the participants highlighted a general positive opinion. At the beginning, some people misunderstood the use of the tool, but after few explanations, the most of people used it as support for their idea. Therefore on the ending part of the workshop, a common positive and sometimes enthusiastic opinion has been collected among the participants.

5 Conclusions

Planning Support Systems (PSS) based on data-oriented approaches showed to be an interesting perspective for improving the spatial planning processes. Data can be used to see the dynamics and clusters directly on maps, so to allow users to recognise critical areas, points of interest, spatial distribution of specific elements or other particular features acting on a definite area.

The combination between data filtering and map weighting results an opportunity for integrating the quantitative methods of digital tools with the qualitative approaches of the human experience. Both experts and non-experts users can explore data and use their personal knowledge to obtaining information from data.

The use of simpler frameworks and more user-friendly interfaces is now recognised as an essential characteristic of digital tools. However, the user-friendliness of a tool is not a sufficient factor to make it a usable tool. Discussions during the second thematic SINERGI workshop made evident the necessity of a human bridge between the tool and its application. Participants used the tool and arrived to produce outcomes, but only after they received a detailed explanation about its use. The different technical skills on the one hand, and a common mistrust in automatic processes on the other hand pointed out the necessity of a facilitator. This is a figure who is able to lead the users to understand the visualisation and follow an informative path. While the visualisation of data works as a common platform for the sharing of information between people, a homogenous language is required to improve the communication between participants and enhancing the discussion in collaborative and participatory sessions. Actually, data visualisation establishes a new language, which needs to be explained and understood. The facilitator allows users to assimilate the rules given by visualisation in order to analyse data and understanding the included information. As the value of human experience should be enhanced by tools, the combination of InViTo with a facilitator provided an usable tool, which offers many opportunities to improve the social inclusion within the planning processes.

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Chapter 3

Architectural monuments for civic society

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The Valences of the Micro-city

ABSTRACT:

For more than two decades residential areas in the central parts of the city of Skopje are facing rapid densification whereas space between the buildings are permanently shrinking under the treat to be occupied with new developments. Additionally, the progressive quantitative transformations of the urban tissue result in emergence of completely new socio-spatial relationships among its inhabitants with life-quality swiftly reduced.
The aim of this work is to examine new possibilities in order to transgress the quantitative approach of producing space *per se*. Despite the general perception of space- emptied of meaning by the mechanisms of the consumption reality, we believe that it is capable to generate socio-spatial concepts reflecting the multitude of contemporary global reality. Therefore, in the current reality we are looking for complex aggregations- relations that are not exclusively spatial/architectural, but include the political and the social in new spatial assembles/assemblages that prefer adaptation over confrontation and critical proximity over critical distance.
In that sense we introduce the notion of micro-urbanism as a common ground for the owner/dweller and the city/municipality, where architecture is conceived as a strategic tool for city-building and the architectural object has been given the potential to breed the urban life. Thus, the micro-urbanism, or the micro-city, challenge the scale on which the city can be observed opening possibilities for bottom up investigations in the urban growth phenomena.

KEYWORDS: *urban growth, urban villa, micro-city, micro-urbanism*

1 CITY AND MODERNITY – the notion of collectivity in the process of creating social space in contemporary urban environment

The terms on which the world of globalization as nodal system relies and functions today are set up by the end of the 1970's. The phenomenon of globalization is defined by the distinguished economic analyst Paul Krugman, explaining the logic of its behavior and its two major rules of operation: the first one points out the need for constant exchange between production agents which by default are different and unequal and the second one adds a significant notion that this exchange interdependence is producing perpetual impermanence in the system as such (Krugman, 1979). This instability in progress is able to constantly generate new drifts of exchange, thus preserving the continuum of temporariness. Thus living in an environment extremely influenced by the market economy, spatial/urban impermanence comes as its logical outcome concerning the speculative need of the market in terms of its demand for perpetual material excess and exchange.

In a contexts with variables as such, the city could be observed as condition and not as a place. A plane on which individuality is sensed and creative energy is consumed and constantly reproduced (Mastrigli, 2013). As such cities are resonating condition that is ready to embrace and grasp every novelty; every possible newness that the contemporary global civilization produces in the each coming day. Thus, living in the time coded by the concept of urbanity, when the urban population is growing with an increasing rate, no matter whether the context of the particular growth is rich or poor, big or small we are responsible to treat them critically as anchors of our societies. The writing is taking the position that cities are and are going to remain the stage for the ongoing play in advanced human civilization.

Contemporary city and architecture as a discipline are part of social and spatial body of contemporary society which today is ultimately a project of modernity (Mastrigli, 2013). Today, city and modernity are interdependent on conceptual and material level, as both are representing the cultural production of current civilizational moment, understanding modernity as an attitude towards the present reality (Foucault Michel, 1984) as a personal stance, an individual gesture towards contemporary currents of the society one individually lives in.

In terms of understanding the spatial aspects of society, during the 20th century the modern paradigm understood and superimposed the meaning of public with the concept of democracy. This reading of public-ness was especially favored in the last several decades within the idea of the welfare state. But the problem that public as spatial category is facing today is that it is not providing its basic role that is creating a common good, a ground for socio-cultural exchange. The essence of public space during the modernity of the 20th century and architecture as a discipline of problem-solving was to provoke people to exchange and share their effective, even more their

creative time together, thus being part and perceiving space, ultimately as a tool for expressing themselves…

Today, we do not have that experience anymore because modernity is framed in the neo-liberal context of consumption where producing public space is a lipstick service, as a good that has to be consumed… Today, modernity creates Junkspace (Koolhaas Rem, 2004)- spatial condition that is liberated of any formal, structural or even historical constraints. As a result of corporative market forces, globalization reality and especially visual hyper-experience of the media world the architecture is producing urban space that transgress its public domain, becoming super-private, by making the public space too normative and controlled.

Then, in complex environments as such we should superimpose understanding of the city as a condition of everlasting intensities rather than static convention of place with the concept of individual attitude towards contemporary reality as the ethos of modernity (Mastrigli, 2013), and to try to establish a relationship between Object and Thing as sociologist Bruno Latour lament. He claims that architects should remove from the stance of seeing reality through Objects and go for the relational nature of Things (Prieto and Youn, 2004). Namely, according to him Object means artifact, it means a projection in which issues like form, function, and then public, private and so on are clearly defined, but as such they are also static, and today this definition of space could not survive or it could not without space losing its realm of public-ness… Because of that reason Latour calls for designing Things as opposed to Objects, because things are assemblages, and they mean relations and attachments among political, scientific and social realm of society.

So what does it mean to perceive reality, to design a public space within the realm of assemblages of Things, when Things are not Objects; as Latour claims that they are opposite of Objects. When we look at certain image, image of a building or a cityscape, it represents an Object that has certain volume, an appearance, a stylistic attitude, and also certain use, and contextual meaning, but we can also deeply attach to it, relate to it, and make it personal! We can observe it as an object with measurable quantities as how much built space we have, how it is used, how tall it is, what about distribution corridors and functionality… or we could think of it as an assembly of many other things like what kind of people live there, what are their spatial practices, what the neighborhood belonging means to them, do they have gardens, what kind of fences/walls delimit their private space and so on… So we are focusing on the attachment, developing relations towards the specific site. Then the site is no more an Object, it becomes an assembly, it is a Thing, related to our personal believes.

In contemporary consumption reality seeing the world trough Objects and no attachments and no assemblages of meaning, architecture as a profession is actually becoming just a tool, if not just a medium, because it does not go beyond its spatial, or better say formal appearance, becoming only representational monument and not operative social condenser

informed by the specifics of contextual confines. So in order to establish the realm of collectivity into the field of architecture we could separate the ideological meaning of representation of the Object-monument, and the rhizomatic value that the building, the object has as a hidden potential in the non-material content such as programmatic diversity which is capable to establish and re-establish social dynamics.

Some people prefer to say that collective is in-between the public and private realm, but it won't be wrong if we claim to be probably beyond, a meta-spatial experience because it bridges the gap between the simple code that architectural object alone denotes and the multitude of activities that the architecture as Thing is necessary to stand for today. Actually the unities of architectural objects, architectural gesture, architectural element,… and its contextual appropriation trough the fluxes of certain program and use could produce the realm of the collective.

In that sense we could argue that the 19th century corridors of Fourier's Phalansteries or the ones in the Golden Lane project or Robin Hood estate by Alison and Peter Smithson from the 1950's are representing collective space. Because although architecturally speaking they are rather simple, reduced to a (archi)type of arcade, they are capable of producing social exchange that could transgress the routine of the everyday, the dichotomy of only work, or only sleep, or just distribute, crossing by… As in the same manner, the leaning plateau as a smooth space in front of Center Pompidou in Paris, is not just another square, but a field is populated simultaneously with the individual preference. It is special because it yields choices to be shared in the festivity of a collective performance- exactly as the otherness that could be found in the corridor of Fourier's Phalanstery that have been mentioned before.

To conclude, we would locate several aspects of collectivity that might help us to create the spatial configuration of contemporary multitude, an attitude of hyper-modernism that responds on contemporary demands of current society: Firstly, architecture should transgress the self-imposed limits of the discipline by embracing the field of its 'expertise for imagining worlds' with society as its operative territory. Then, to be modern means to be able to trace the multilayered nature of contemporary society and to do that one should be aware of conceptual frame of space and time. And finally, by re-thinking the nature of boundaries, it might help achieving unexpected situations that create dynamic environment and always relate the notion of collectivity with the realm of public and private space, because this is the triptych of the social project of the city.

After having laid these few short notes, our task would be to dare to experiment in order to devise a protocol, and to decode the protocol of how to create a collective space as territory where individual act could be practiced.

2 URBAN GROWTH IN CITIES IN TRANSITION – Case study of Debar Maalo, Skopje

The aim of this paper is to follow some of the most vivid consequences and complexities that the wave of globalization brings in the process of constructing our current society and everyday life, primary referring on social and spatial aspects of our cities. The new condition is instigated by the means of the highest fluidity of the market ever known, shortened distances between people and places, as well as the enormous flow and exchange of information. The effects of this occurrences go beyond the nation state borders and phenomena that shape our understanding and perception of space and society. The multiplicity and the layered nature of all those phenomena reflects our contemporary society and makes uneasy to trace and confirm the consequences that appears in the cities as its inseparable and probably most valuable part.

The cities as such could no longer be treated and planned strategically as places of equilibrium, with the classical permanence of the coherent urban body. Instead, they have to be seen as arena of constant exuberance with all of the multiplicities simultaneously involved or applied.

Therefore the focus of this text is to examine processes of spatial transformations in relation to individual experience of the city living. It actually reflects the need to put ourselves in a certain context, as much as possible, grasping it as our cultural background horizon and place of origin on one side, or personal political, social or religious belief simultaneously revealed on the other. Visible and persistently noticeable spatial change everywhere around us, or more over the temporal character of all those physical impermanence, are revealed in this paper as the only criterion for observation of the complexities in our urban environment today. It means that all the attitudes revealed are taken as everything concerned in the writing is put under constant influence of change. The issues involved refer to the phenomenon reflecting the spatial/architectural change and impermanence, as the most noticeable form of representation in the cultural domain of our civilization within the frame of the existing and newly formed social relations. By this, the link between changes and the hazards of political, economic or environmental context is established.

2.1 The challenges of hyper density

During the 20th century the debate concerning urban planning strategies was marked by opposing concepts of planning city as a compact entity or as a sprawling territory. On urban planning level the concepts of ‘garden cities’ in Britain and ‘siedlung’ in central Europe were opposed with the mega-structure perimeter inner city blocks of red Vienna or the CIAM urbanism and the hyper buildings of Le Corbusier. This discussion resulted in emergence of prevailing spatial concepts for city building that were emphasizing architecture of detached houses with gardens as J.J.P. Oud’s housing in Stuttgart, super blocks with inner courtyards of Karl Marx Hof in Vienna or Le

Corbusier's urbanism of high-rise buildings such as City for three million people (Mozas, 2006).

Despite the different typo-morphological outcomes those spatial concepts promote different intensity in terms of number of inhabitants and production of new amount of built space which brings us to the current debate on cities that is mainly centered on the issue of density. But today density is not seen merely as a quantitative tool but rather as optimizing asset that should enrich the qualitative aspects of city life. Generally speaking urban planning that promotes higher rates of density allows more land to remain unbuilt, shortens travel distances, improves technological advancement especially viable for energy consumption and fosters cultural exchange with valuable impact on social relations (Mozas, 2006). The work of one research group from TU Delft develops understanding of the concept of density as a multi-variable phenomenon that includes typo-morphological aspects of built environment as stated before in this text and, more importantly, overlays them with relational constrains emerging from spatial specificities and put them as assets in the planning of urban strategies. Namely, the research reflects upon the ratio of built intensity and land coverage including the amount of land that is freed on the ground, together with the average building heights of the territory examined as well as the presence of infrastructure distribution corridors putting them in operative diagram (Pont and Haupt, 2007). In terms of tracing urban density, with constraints and occurrences that influence the urban dynamics the space syntax research lab is providing relationships that measure and compare information from spatial nature such as distances between streets, dimensions of urban blocks and the depth of parcels as well as spatial characteristics of actual buildings and actual dynamics of urban life with social constraints spanning from activity of the sidewalks relative to the programmatic character of the ground floor up to the crime rates in the areas observed. So to talk about density today does not include just planning and architectural aspects of built space but also socio-political and cultural aspects of city building. In that terms the multifaceted aspects of density as an urban planning tool should be observed not as a general tendency but rather as a quality which is embedded into the specific urban context.

In general, on the case of Skopje, the specifics and production of density could be traced by following the number of inhabitants per hectare of urban space or by the number of built space in square meters built space; both of them resulting directly from the existing policies for urban planning that actually derive from the socio-political and cultural context of the city (and country) in transition. Namely, starting from the 1990's, the dissolvent of Yugoslavia, Macedonia become independent country transgressing from socialism toward capitalism. In terms of land management the private property became a nucleus upon which the whole planning strategy was developed. In such socio-political environment the planning policies in R. Macedonia (including the existing ones) recognize two major levels of urban planning regarding the spatial organization of urban areas. First one is General urban plan (GUP) which is made in scale 1:10000 and it has

strategic importance for the overall infrastructural corridors of the city and the programmatic aspects of urban planning including the intensity of building activity such as number of inhabitants in different urban areas. The second level of planning is the Detail urban planning (DUP) implemented in scale 1:1000 that recognize planning on the level of the parcel as basic spatial unit that is recognized as a building lot. In terms of the issue of density it defines precise information regarding the ratio between occupied build and free space, as well as quantity of build space and number of inhabitants per parcel. Problem occurs because of the disparity on two levels of planning. Namely, because of the speculative forces of the free market economy, and the increasing demand for newly build space, the detail plans (DUP) are changed overlooking the strategic foreseeing of the General Plan, with difference in planned densities. As an example the detail urban plans made for the central areas of the city in average for enlarge the maximum number of inhabitants per hectare for 1.5-2 times than planned with GUP for Skopje (Agencija za planiranje na prostorot na RM, 2012). For instance the number of maximum 361 inhabitants per hectare of GUP are changed in DUP to 500-800 inhabitants (Bild Skopje, 2012). In planning condition such as in the case of Skopje and Macedonia, DUP is becoming the only tool that defines the built space while GUP is being detached from the strategic values of planning.

Analyzing various Detail urban plans (DUP) made for the Municipalities of the city of Skopje the actual city building regarding the issue of density have two major characteristics. First, it places private property as an anchor for designating the spatial order of the city. In terms of city-building it means that the urban planning superimpose the private property with spatial organization of space. New developments are solely planned and respectively built following the ownership of the parcel, where the urban parcel is equaled with one's land property parcel. Second aspect of city building in terms of creating densities refers to the speculative nature of city-building. Namely, the density is solely an outcome of producing additional amount of built space. Density is understood as increasing the existing building heights and not as a complex relations that embrace built intensity and its outcome on land coverage simultaneously as well as distribution of variable densities on a wider urban territory regarding programmatic and infrastructural constraints of exiting built context.

2.2 The urban growth on the case of Debar Maalo in Skopje, Macedonia

Over the last two decades Skopje has witnessed rapid increase in the construction of housing developments mainly located in the residential areas around the city center. The part of Debar Maalo and Bunjakovec that encompasses a territory of approximately 1.5km^2 have been chosen for the purposes of this paper as paradigmatic example of the process of rapid densification. This area of Skopje is epitome for the transformation that has marked the transitional post-socialist period of urban growth in Macedonia reflecting the ongoing socio-economic and political conditions in the country.

The subject of transition concerns a process of shifting from one behavioral or material state to another, as well as a shift from one socio-economic and political management to another. The transition in the case of Macedonia generally refers to the political shift of the state from a socialist republic that was constitutive part of the former Yugoslav federation to an autonomous Republic of Macedonia, but it also refers to a shift from a state governed economy to the liberal market economy. Those occurrences have a significant effect in the change of the land ownership: from nationally (state) owned the land turned into privately owned. What this means is that once a piece of land is privately owned- the owner is the principal of his land and therefore master of the future developments that take place on that piece of land. In terms of spatial planning this attitude was supported by the urban regulation policies that on conceptual level support planning which equalize urbanistic parcel with cadastral one that implies ones ownership. This logic is solely speculative one and serves as an instigator of producing urban growth with urban policies becoming increasingly speculative trough years starting from the beginning of the 1990's. Meanwhile regulations have been changed many times in the past decades within the framework of general tendency to generate ever bigger density; a conception carried out by developers driven by the simple logic of producing more square meters (m2) x euros (€) reflecting upon the overall profit.

If we compare data that resemble the aspects of density from the first detail urban plan (Zavod za urbanizam i arhitektura Skopje, 1999) made for the area of Debar Maalo in the post-socialistic period and the current DUP (Bild Skopje, 2012) we can acknowledge the tendencies of growth manifested trough density. Namely, what is evident is the incensement of quantities of built space in terms of percentage of land occupancy, floor area ratio and number of inhabitants per hectare, all of them directly influencing density of built environment. In terms of figures, the existing situation in 1990's numbered average of 80-90 inhabitants per hectare for this area with the planned one of more than 300 (Figure 1), and the newest one with average density often reaching more than 550 inhabitants per hectare (Figure 2). The increment also counts for percentage of occupied land on the ground floor and change in the total amount of built space (more than 20% up) that is mainly an outcome of enlarging the buildings heights. Thus the 1990's situation of low density housing and average building of 2 floors has been altered with the first DUP on 5 floors with a tendency to continue growing- nowadays already reaching 7 floors height.

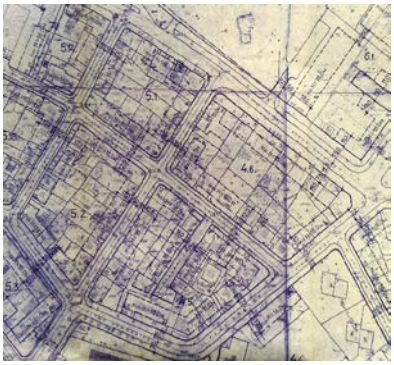

Figure 1: DUP 1999 total build space of 59110m2

Figure 2: DUP 2012 total build space of 71740m2

As an outcome of such speculative planning, - the spatial quality is being dramatically decreased. We are perceiving perpetual loss of public space and places for social encounter, and instead witness overcrowded area with critical proximities between buildings and loss of privacy, as well as problems with infrastructures such as narrow streets overloaded with traffic and parked cars mainly occupying the sidewalks (Figure 3).

Figure 3: a typical street view in Debar Maalo depicting the consequences of uncontrolled densification

In this manner goes the research conducted in the frame of the project 'Skopje raste' with an aim to inform the general public and give actual facts to civil initiatives that are going against such planning tendencies. The interactive platform gives information for each plot on the territory approximately covering 1.5 sqkm of Bunjakovec and Debar Maalo (Reactor and Arhitektri, 2013) with a possibility to compare the original with the current and the situation envisioned by the official plans. This aloud an insight on the overall condition on this territory regarding the change of the built morphology, showing the extreme change of land occupation,

diminishing of green areas, open public space (and unoccupied space in general) that is submerged in the newly built tissue as well as enormous intensification of traffic on local streets as a direct outcome of the planning policies and the building activities (Figure 4).

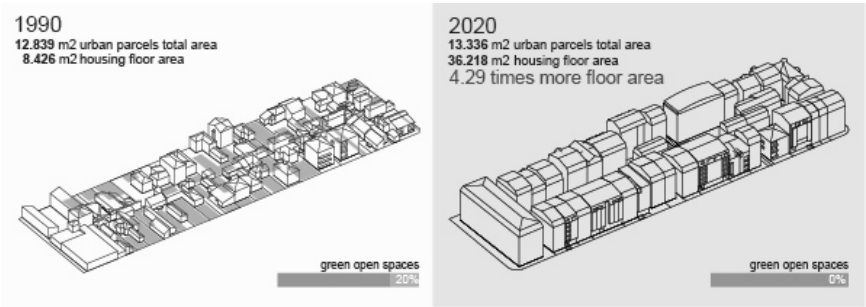

Figure 4: comparative analyses of the urban growth on one urban block (taken from "Policy study on the effects of the urban planning methodology and practice in Skopje - Case studies of Debar Maalo and Bunjakovec")

3 MICRO-URBANISM: a novel prospective in building a (micro)city

Following the brief history and development of the urban planning and the building practices in the Republic of Macedonia, and particularly in the extracted case of Debar Maalo in Skopje, we can summarize that the city that used to be conceived as a concept of collective effort in the socialistic period, today is treated completely as an individual act - not so much in terms of ideology, but predominantly depending on the financial power of the individual. Despite the general urban regulations, the actual city building starts in a single parcel and very often the architectural project as an idea for a city is limited -and thus it ends- within a single parcel. With the financial feasibility as a principal dynamic, the current situation on site is one of diverse objects erecting side by side - in different time and with different guidelines, but never really relating to objects or space outside the plot unless it is a bare necessity such as an entrance or distribution services. As an outcome we witness un-leveled grounds resulting in discontinuance of the pathways even in the case of the sidewalk, often disrupted by intrusive elements like stairs or ramps that mark the privately owned property. Such a situation clearly depicts the uneven financial statuses as well as an absence of social cohesion.

3.1 The consequences of the current urban and architectural practice on the case of Debar Maalo in Skopje

In terms of morphology, the urban tissue of Debar Maalo district has gone through profound changes: Through the years, single family houses with gardens are being upgraded with additional floors or by adjunction room, with upgrading that goes as far as complete replacement of the single family

house by multi-apartment buildings. Not only that the buildings have raised in height but they also tend to occupy and fulfill most of the land (Figure 5).

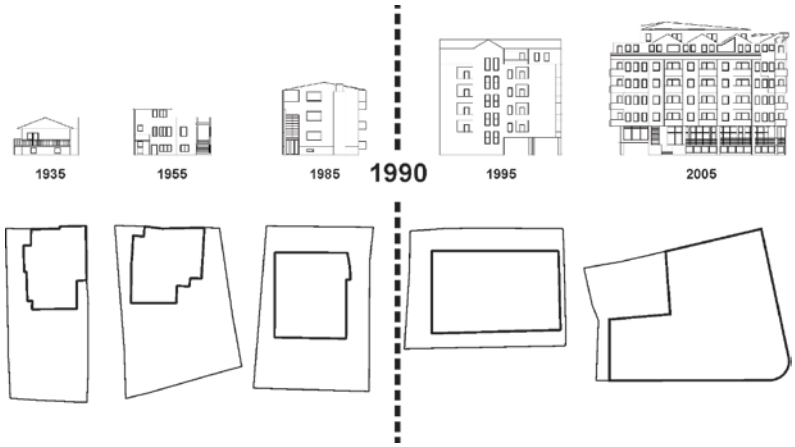

Figure 5: Change in the morphology of the urban fabric in Debar Maalo, Skopje (1930s-2010s)

Those developments also mean incline in the number of inhabitants and therefore greater number of owners that coexist in a dense environment. Whereas the addition starts with the need for more space due to enlargement of the single family, and eventually spilling the family into different generations of families,- the multi-apartment building proposed by the official planning is supported by the financial benefit of 'selling' the ownership and dispersing it into number of units. These processes are highly supported by regulations regarding the private properties, but we can argue that although the privatization has come to the extreme, the notion of privacy has been lost. Moreover, as the private ownership has no respect to the privacy, the regulations and the repetitions of the multi-apartment buildings have no respect either to the individuality that the modern men are acquiring in the contemporary society. In that sense, the Functionalism and the International style of the modern movement in architecture of the 20th century, both globally and locally- in the specific case of Skopje, manifested itself by a mass building of housing units. That was on one hand possible by the rationalized and standardized industrial mass-production, but on the other it went along with the humanistic concerns that put the man in the spotlight. Contrary to that, the millennium shift was marked by new tendencies that highlight individuality and diversity. This has been supported by the improved Post-Fordist industrialism, the globalism and the new forms of production and consumption dependent on the new sorts of communications, but most importantly this shift is inter-related by the understanding of the man as a distinct individual in the multitude and variety of the postmodern society.

3.2 Other perspectives: Can the city grow differently?

The previously explained notions of the recent urban planning and the current building of the city show a clear tendency to generate urban growth by building up every plot available in a manner that consolidates the tissue only by the built masses and the uniformity of the multitudes. According to the planning and the building practices already on scene we can anticipate a decline in the quality of living in the realm of the private properties, but even more- with the intense privatization affecting also the public spaces, what is today addressed as a public does not consider spontaneous inclusiveness and thus is much less of a social space. As a result, this has led to a degradation of the neighborhood as a social instigator for urban life.

Having accepted and appreciated the urban growth as an inherent and vital feature of the city, we raise the question if the city could grow differently. We are not interested if it could have been done differently, but acknowledge the existing situation on site- one that is a heterogeneous typology of dwelling types which de facto work as single objects with no relation among each other but only within the individual plot demarcation (Figure 6).

Figure 6: actual situation of the site-the heterogenious typology of single objects

Although taking the existing situation in a real-time observations, the aim is to change the optics and when it comes to building an urban environment to start looking from a perspective of not one (singular) parcel, but a group of parcels as an initial unit for a common ground. Looking at several parcels simultaneously would expand the zone of interest outside the limits of a particular parcel to a larger scale, but still smaller that the urban block.

The grouping of several plots is not actual merge as it happens with small and irregular-shaped plots in order to form appropriate shape and size that could meet the maximum of the planned quantity. That would be a developer's logic (where sqm = *n* euro). The site in Debar Maalo chosen as a ground for this research indicates how such an economically-driven logic can redevelop any piece of land in a most generic way. The current situation shows an indisputable tendency to transform the multi-grained tissue in a uniform block that generate great density of masses and inhabitants but not leaving space for social interactions.

Contrary to that, our so called micro-urbanism pursuit growth and densification as qualitative rather than mere quantitative change. The growth

does not have to be manifested on each and every parcel in particular, but can be generated on a wider area of several parcels as a fragment of an urban block, on the territory of a whole urban block, or even on a territory of several blocks. That is why in the design studio entitled Patterns of Growth: Micro-city at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje- we have analyzed a territory of approximately 500 x 500 meters which includes four urban block of the Debar Maalo neighborhood- different in shape, size, and morphology and therefore very suitable to test and confront various architectural arguments.

The work of the Studio starts from the existing situation where the actions of urbanism are determined by the parcel demarcation (Figure 7), but then implies the terms of the micro-urbanism to test alternative way to generate urban growth (Figure 8).

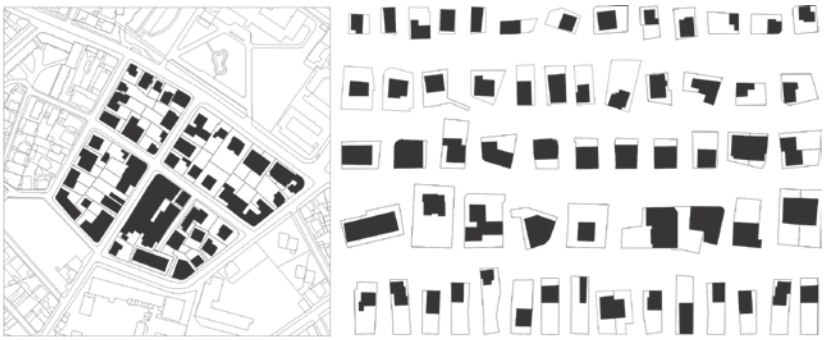

Figure 7: case study Debar Maalo, Skopje -urbanism based on differentiation of the parcel demarcation

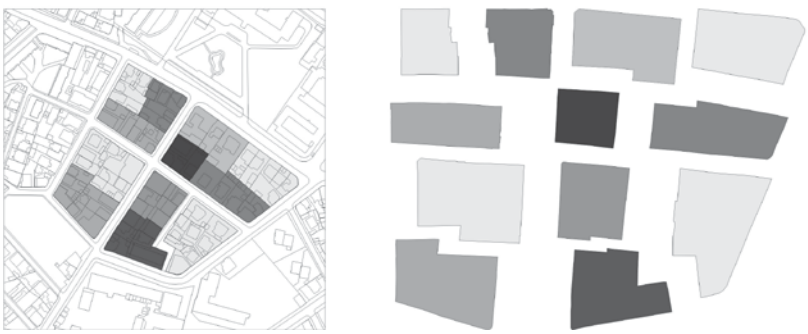

Figure 8: case study Debar Maalo, Skopje - micro-urbanism

This sort of micro-urbanism substitutes the typical hierarchy of the agents involved in the city-building: the owner, the developer, and the municipality (in that specific order), with a meshwork of owners (plural), municipal authorities, and if necessary can be joined by a developer. The focus here is on the meshwork of owners as a first instance where the negotiations are

being steered by the common interest for a qualitative improvement of the living, further developing on the next level through the negotiations between the owners and the municipality that have the common interest to produce growth. Once the common ground is acknowledged, the negotiation between the agents can be understood better as a collaboration which is adaptive and highly contextual.

Overtaking the conditions of the buildings in situ, fed by in-depth analyses, the studio developed new architectural designs based on the various tactics relative to the condition and potential of each plot and in the favor of growth and new urban development of the whole- the group of parcels, or/and the urban block. Operational tactics range from preserving - due to the historical/cultural value or the recent activities that have reached the limits of growth and density on certain plot, through extending –either / both by additional floors or/and additional room around the existing building, to replacing and displacing insufficient samples in material, spatial and social terms (Figure 9).

Figure 9: final designs of the design studio Patterns of growth: Micro-city, Faculty of architecture, Skopje, 2015

The design methodology employed in the case of the Micro-city studio project proves the common association of architecture in the modern urban complexity with the cinematography. The applied actions of adaptation and contextualization could be related to the artistic techniques of collage or montage where different forms and materials not generally associated with one another are composed in a new form based on editing as an art of creating programmatic, social and special sequences. Furthermore, such a juxtaposition in terms of origin, material and program can be much easily seen as an assemblage that arise from the operation of assembling different elements/fragments in a coherent system while each of them maintains their independence and separate identity as a means that add attention and meaning to the whole.

Perusing the micro-city on the example of Debar Maalo in Skopje, where the individual needs and interests would be integrated in the ones of the urban neighborhood, means also oscillating between the scope of the

architectural building as a singular object and the territory that is a city-fragment as a part of a greater whole, but one that contains the city-ness in itself. In that manner the micro-urbanism tries to link city-planning with architecture- where architecture is in fact a strategic tool for city-building while the architectural object has a potential to be a true engine of urban life.

3.3 The Urban Villa- an architectural type for the micro-city

The intention to establish dialectics between the city and the architectural object is followed by a further investigation into a specific architectural typology that is also based on the dialectical relation between extremes. Hence the effort to formulate, deploy and test the type of the urban villa in the context of Debar Maalo district as a paradigmatic example of the processes of growth effecting Skopje, as well as other cities in transition. Regarding the size, the urban villa is, simply said, bigger that a house but smaller than an apartment block, while on the level of the qualitative measurements- it has the advantages of the both, so it might be said that it is a house and an apartment building at the same time.

The concept of urban villa we are using has the reference in Oswald Mathias Ungers studies on the valences of architecture and city. His pedagogical work at TU Berlin and Cornell SoA during the 1970s is considered highly relevant as it goes beyond the academia to convey a projective theory of the city. There the city is understood as an open and uncompleted cultural project in a constant need for reformulation, which ought to be both based on the historical continuity and aimed at the metropolitan complexities of the reality. Thus in Ungers' pedagogical work the city was used as an architectural laboratory that already contained the seeds for its own recovery. Ungers' investigating and testing new directions in architecture and city has been documented in the celebrated projective manifesto entitled The City in the City. This extensive architectural research is structured in eleven theses, with the eight being precisely on the Urban Villa. The proposed urban vision is multifaceted, but systematically carried from recognition and reconfiguration of the architectural tools already existing- neither driven by nostalgia for the old city, nor as a rush towards a novel invention, but rather as a creation of a better reality. Concerning the residential purposes they have introduced the type of the Urban Villa which as a form of housing that *offers the advantages of the detached home while avoiding the disadvantages of the apartment block*. Their proposal takes from a study on the dwelling types and the general tendencies in that time-according the general preference (70 percent of the population) of the detached home over the one in an apartment block. The prime reason people would choose the detached house at the outskirts of the city, despite the higher costs, the long commutes and the disruptions in supplies, - is the possibility and independence to freely develop one's personality. Unlike the house case, living in a multi-apartment building has economic conveniences but impose certain obligations upon those who live there and thus restrict their living space.

The above stated goes even more the same for the current situation: in our contemporary society the individualization and improvement of the quality of life have been the general premises leading the processes of expanding the cities and colonizing valuable recreational and agricultural areas on the outskirts of the city with detached houses. If the decades of the 1960s and 1970s are recognized as a period when modernist ideals were questioned and the profession was infused with self-doubt, we find ourselves in a similar situation today, as the practice struggles to identify its position within the multiplicity and heterogeneity of spectacles driven by the speculative logic for re-producing excess.

The first Summer Academy on the topic of the Urban Villa, organized by Cornell University in 1977, used Berlin as a laboratory for testing design strategies where architectural elements were conveyed from the scale of the city to that of the building, and vice versa, resulting in architecture that can work as a fragment of a city (Figure 10). Besides the architectural qualities, the work of Ungers' studios on the case of Berlin show another advantage of the urban villa in the domain of urban planning as amore contextual one compared to the apartment blocks which often result in complete erasure and redevelopment of the urban fabric, as in the case of Debar Maalo shown previously.

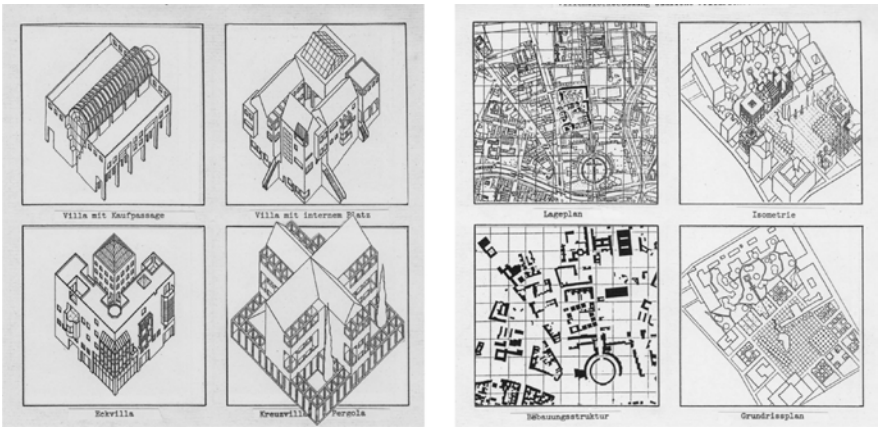

Figure 10: final designs of the first Summer Academy in Berlin, 1977

In that sense, the type of urban villa is rather an integrative than a substitutive urbanistic element. Although based on individually designed living space, the type of urban villa can fit much more easily in the urban fabric which is especially convenient for historic parts or parts of cities that have significant tradition, such as is Debar Maalo for Skopje. In the urban vision for the new collective on the case of Debar Maalo as conducted in the design studio, the urban villa is further defined as a housing type that accommodates four to seven units with different ground plans relative to different lifestyles as a crucial feature in the diversity of today postmodern society. The Skopje urban villa is also not limited to strictly residential

purposes, but on the contrary it is including other functions related to the urban life.

4 CONCLUSIONS: The Valences of the City and the Building

Addressing the pedagogical discourse within the turmoil of our time has at least two substantial objectives: Firstly, to bridge the gap between the academia and the practice by formulating and testing new urban visions for the growth of the city based on locally specific occurrences and tendencies, but looking towards new and improved realities; and secondly, to engage architecture as a means for exploring modus operandi that is critical and resistant to the political, social, and cultural condition in the contemporary city.

Most of the effort to generate an urban renewal with respect to the needs of the city-dwellers rely on the urban studies of Jane Jacobs. Her most influential book on this topic “The Death and Life of Great American Cities” insists on four indispensable conditions for developing exuberant city districts: diversity in functions/program variety- to insure active presence of people on different schedules; short blocks/openings in the block- to leave opportunities for frequent turns; variety in buildings’ age and condition- so that they can vary in the economic profit they must underwrite; and density/sufficiently dense concentration of people - in order to be breed social intercourse (Jacobs,1961). All of them have been traced in the existing situation on the case of Debar Maalo and have been further enhanced in the design of the micro-city condition.

The actual fragments of the city used as a laboratory for testing the possibilities of the micro-urbanism, on the case study of Debar Maalo in Skopje, demonstrate the dialectical relationship between the building and the city through deployment of the architectural type of urban villas – in each case representing distinctive architectural/spatial character that creates urban atmosphere. Anyway the aim is not to create a unitary image as a general prescription, but a union of fragments assembled in a living collage (Figure 11). In that manner we believe the architectural project is capable to go astray the self-referential image of the building as an autonomous object, and can be conceived rather as a fragment of a city with the city-ness embedded in the spatial and formal architectural actions.

Figure 11: final designs of the design studio Patterns of growth: Micro-city, Faculty of architecture, Skopje, 2015

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Mitko Hadzi Pulja
Sasa Tasic

Exclusive Cities Inclusive Buildings

ABSTRACT:

The twentieth century was a period of modernization of the city of Skopje. From traditional Balkan town of XIX century, Skopje city became the subject of various modernization strategies. Various controversial concepts of modernization were subsequently promoted and inscribed on urban ground. But while the city of the twentieth century was the subject of exclusive functional, symbolic and spatial orders, their presence in the fragmented urban texture becomes a field of different tactics of transformations. Indeed the buildings became the scene of diverse and divergent user's tactics of transformation. Throughout the life of a residential building from the residential neighbourhood of the post-World War II reconstruction of the city Skopje, we need to trace the transformation of the different stages of life of the building from socialist beginnings to the post-socialist transition. In that way we can distinguish alternative housing scenarios, based on local socio-cultural patterns and everyday practices. Thus, this article will examine the relationship between exclusive urban visions and inclusive domestic spaces, and the transition from exclusive schemes of dwelling units in an inclusive framework of a multitude of customized tactics.

KEYWORDS*: exclusive, inclusive, tactics of transformation, user's tactics, city, domestic spaces*

1 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the architecture and the city as a synergy of the general and the particular level, is essential in the creation of harmonious community. In that sense, there was a belief that through the establishment of order in space-the problems of one community could be solved, in the same way as the formation of the community could produce harmonious environment. In the relation between the process and the form, Harvey (Harvey, 1997) pointed out two currents of thought; first, the belief that through shaping of the physical structure-a solution of the social problems is possible, that by shaping the form the processes could be maintained in a harmonious condition; second, the conviction that through formation and construction of a permanent community a harmonious condition could be provided. In both cases, a superimposed system of operation has been predicted. But, precisely in the issue of the relation between the architecture and the city, a cleavage between the whole and the particular has been opened, a crack between the form and the process.

Then, what is the significance of the relation between the architecture and the city?

This paper is about the relation between of architecture and the city, actually about the transformation of architecture during the modernization of the city. Through two main subjects/actors, settlement Prolet from 1948 and the city of Skopje from XX century, we should examine this complex and ambivalent relation between the project of the city and life of the building.

Settlement Prolet is part of the post- World War II reconstruction. Image of city of Skopje from the end of the twenty century represents the result of dramatic process of modernization in the course of twenty century. In the recent image of the city texture we can still select traces from the different periods. Period of post- World War II enlargements are represented with three fragments within the city centre of Skopje: housing fragment on the north-east, then housing fragment on the east and finally housing fragment on the south-west. All three fragments are composed of the identical linear block which is multiplied according to geometric pattern and given contexts.

This stage of city rebuilding and city extension is a consequence of liberation of Skopje, 13 November 1945 (Figure 1). On the ground of old Yugoslavia new federal Yugoslavia is projected, with the republic of Macedonia as federal state. In the new national state, with new political order new spatial syntax is superimposed.

Figure 1. Partisan/liberator on "white" horse is the iconic image of liberation of the city of Skopje.

And under the acronym С.Ф. – С.Н. (Смрт на Фашизмот – Слобода на Народот / Death of the Fascism – Freedom to the People), we find three documents from the first post war years which are concerning housing crisis and the way of resolving, with building housing blocks, first on the North West, then on the east of the existing city. Documents are from 1947, 1948 (Bakalchev, 2004). The final document from the 56th Session of the National Executive Board of Skopje city held on 5 XI 1947, resolution no. 26523 was made:

"Four big residential buildings erected in the area behind the girls' high school are ready and the mode of their management should be decided." (Figure 2)

The other housing fragments will also be soon completed.

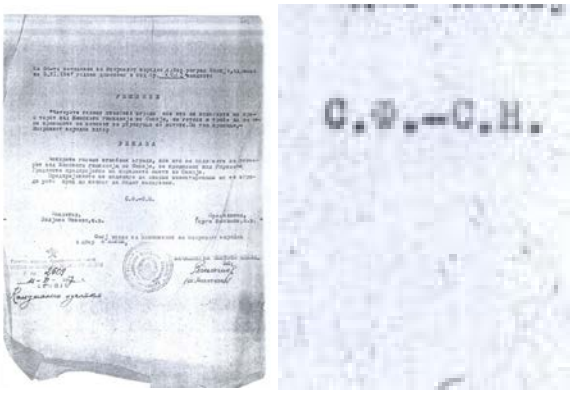


Figure 2. Decision from the 56th Session of the National Executive Board of the city of Skopje held on 5 XI 1947

2 THE CITY

In order to understand better the architectural context of first post-World War II extension we should look through the perspective of the modernization of the city from the twentieth century.

The starting position of the modernization is the traditional Balkan town, Skopje from the end of the late nineteenth century, still part of the Ottoman Empire? (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Plan of Skopje XIX, traditional city prior to the beginning of modernization.

Skopje at the end of the nineteenth century is consisted of irregular city patterns and aggregations of traditional neighbourhoods, mahalas (mahalleler), which construct the mosaic structure of the city. The example of the city of Skopje will be used for showing the semantic and material transition of an urban morphology in the period of its modernization [9]. During the nineteenth century, we follow the processes of modernization and westernization within the existing political system of Ottoman Empire. With the retreat of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkan Peninsula, we follow the multiple actions of modernization, referring to de-ottomanization and westernization of the city (Bakalchev, 2004). The transition of a traditional Balkan city to a modern city undoubtedly arouses a number of controversies (Figure **3**, Figure **5**). The history of the city is seen as series of extraordinary attempts resulting in a complex contradictory fragmentary base: traditional city of XIX-XX; city with introduced late theories and practices of the European city from the first half of XX with the introduction of the urban ring as a unifying element between the left and the right bank of Vardar river; functionalist city from the second half of XX with the promotion of linear configuration through the extension and decomposition of the radial-concentric city from the first half of the twentieth century; city of revision of the functionalism of the post-earthquake reconstruction through the implementation symbolic and structural elements in the redefinition of the urban form on the basis of metabolism concepts; city of post-socialist transition XX-XXI, through the continuous processes of particular transformations and densification of the urban texture. The different layers are read as themes of continuity and discontinuity, in which the preceding

layer is always the material for transformation. By looking at the image of the urban texture of a segment of the central area, one can observe evident fragmentariness, superimposition and juxtaposition of different layers (Figure 4) - if we superimpose different plans we should see continuity and difference in promoted urban themes, and also the city as metastable form.

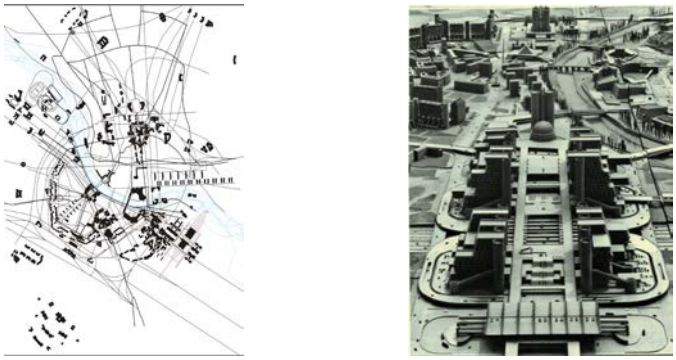


Figure 4. Skopje, city in motion: superposition of different spatial models of the central area of Skopje, reconstruction of proposals of D.T.Leko (1914), J. Mihajlovic (1927), L. Kubesh (1948), K. Tange (1965-1966); K. Tange, model of the central city area, east – west axis.

All those plans demonstrated exclusive projection on the abstract terrene, tabula rasa, as top down process. We can present it metaphorically through the architect's hand over the plan of Paris (Le Corbusier) as a prototype of the concept for a radical transformation of the existing and the resulting, a reality of individual linear blocks on the inhabited locations (Alexander Brodsky) in the periphery of Moscow during the Russian winter. (Figure 5).

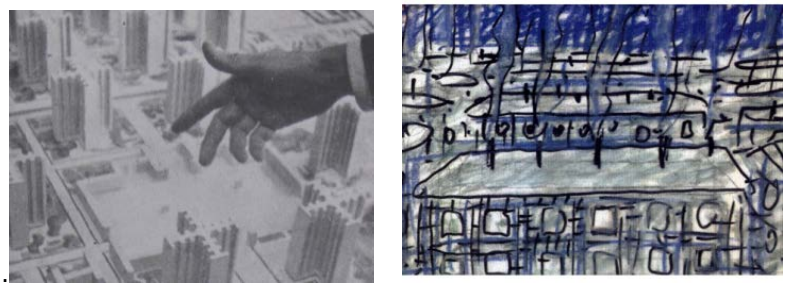


Figure 5. The Architect's Hand, Paris (Le Corbusier) and the inhabited locations, Moscow (Alexander Brodsky)

We can see the result in sample 2 km by 2 km, central area of the city Skopje as critical territory of different and controversy process of modernization. Exploded version of different fragments, and then the city of fragments as model of different scenarios recorded with chalk on the blackboard in the project city of possible world at Venice Biennale (Figure 6).

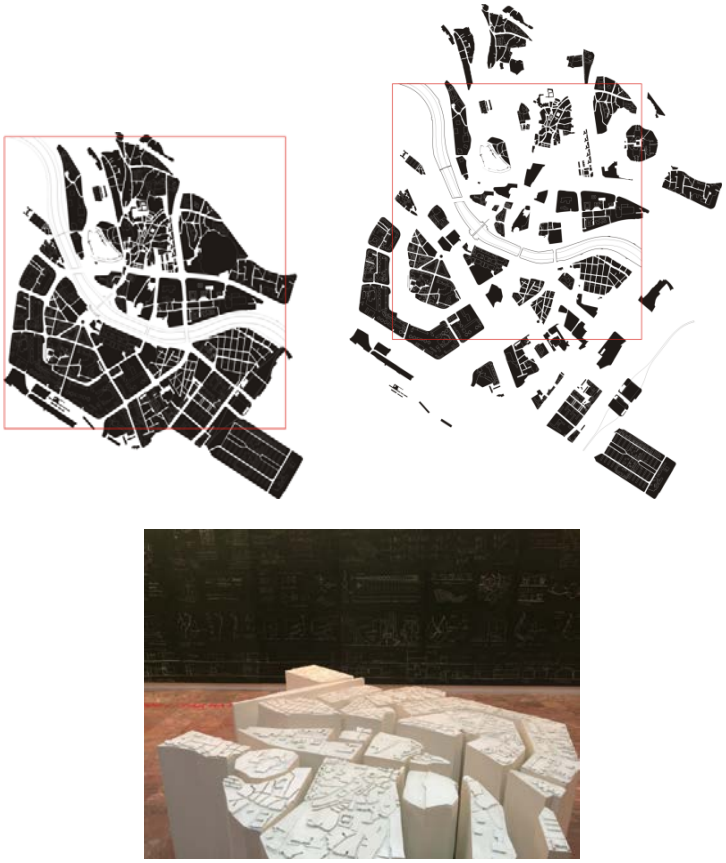


Figure 6. Skopje, a city of fragments/a collection of various pieces: central city area within the frames of 2km x 2km, integral view and exploded view showing different urban fragments (morphological units); *Skopje, City of Possible Worlds: Model of city of fragments in front of the blackboards, from the exhibition Republic of Macedonia at the Venice Biennale 2004-2012*

3 THE BUILDING

In the recent Image of the city Skopje we can still reconstruct the phases of housing rebuilding from the first post-war year. We can recognize the city ring, the core of the city, generated in first half of twenty century and from 1947, first further extensions: Northwest 1947, East 1948, Southwest 1948. These extensions are in-between of the radially-concentric system from the first half of the twenty century and new proposed linear extension of the city, East - West, from the second half of the twenty century. In fact all these areas, as particular extensions of the city, were assimilated by new linear vision of Skopje from 1948 (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Reconstruction of the Post World War II extensions of the core of the city Skopje and "Prolet" settlement in-between radially-concentric city from the first half of XX century and linear city from second half of XX century

Reinterpretation of the initial arrangements of the first post-World War II extensions in the new plan of linear city from 1948 was a model of

superiority and rationality of new spatial order towards the existing traditional city (Figure 8).

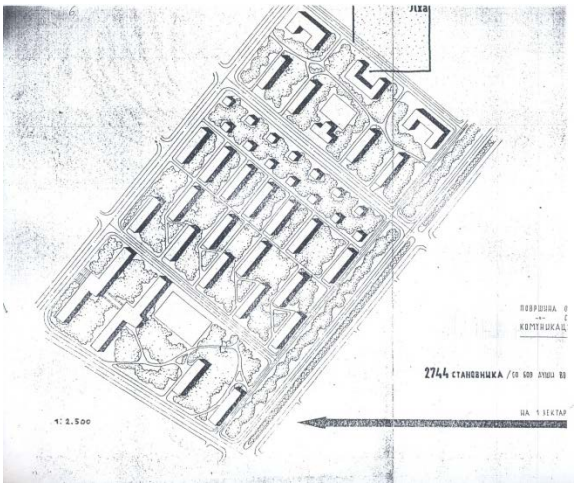


Figure 8. Ludec Kubesh, "Prolet" settlement as model of housing settlement, reinterpretation in the context of the linear city 1948

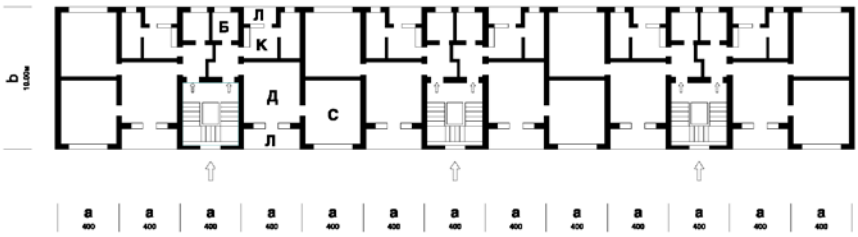
"Prolet" settlement in Skopje is one of the first examples of post-World War II residential reconstruction. It represents one of the urban fragments of the central city area. The architectonic composition consists of an identical volume that is iterated 13 times according to a particular geometric template (Figure 3). It is for many reasons that "Prolet" settlement is representative of the principles of Modernity, simplicity and also reductionism, generation of a compositional collective form, but also negation of context, new relationships between built units and open space, but also loss of the traditional spatial syntax. As early as the very beginning, Modernity challenged the traditional experience of space and traditional means of diversity and integration (Castex, Depaule, Panerai,1989).

The main residential type of the "Prolet" settlement is a three floor linear residential block , a multicore system, composed of three subunits, each containing two apartments per floor. The day and night segments of the apartment are alternately distributed around the staircase space.

Within each residential unit, the spaces are distributed according to the structural modules: i.e. one module contains the staircase, entrances, and bathrooms; the second module is occupied by the kitchen, pantry, kitchen balcony, the living room, the balcony; and the third module - the bedrooms.

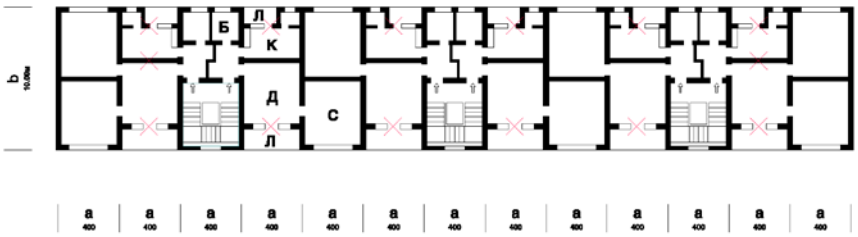
In the course of time, through a number of individual actions, the occupants have transformed the repetitive layout into individual domestic spaces. Extending their presence beyond the existing parameters, they have constructed a new residential ambience from the inside to the outside, flat by flat, building by building (Bakalchev, V., 2011).

It is possible to chronologically define the transformations at the apartment level to determine the time phases and types of transformation. The initial residential units dating back to 1949 experienced their first transformation through the widening of the kitchen, which was led by the municipality in 1952. In the period that followed, i.e., from 1960to 1990, there were different individual transformations and interior restructuring (Figure 9).



Initial conditions (1949): a characteristic storey

Interior changes /enlargement of a kitchen (1959).



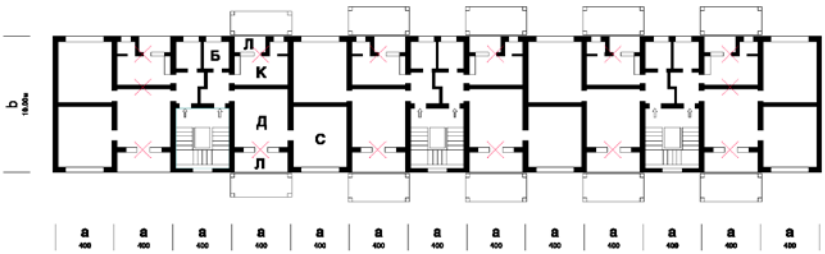
Interior changes (1960 – 1990)

Figure 9: Interior transformations

Since 1990, the external transformations as enlargements that occurred spontaneously have begun. This process was almost complete by 2012. Each flat now has its own extension and some interior transformation (Figure 10). At the level of particular apartments we can trace specific transformations. It becomes obvious that there is a continuity of transformations, almost in every stage, which leads to accumulation of the quantity of modifications and culminates with external extensions.

However, behind these spontaneous processes of transformation a number of spatial patterns that connect the spatial transformations to the specific social-cultural models, as a mix of traditional and contemporary forms, can be observed (Bakalchev, V., 2011).

Initial phase of enlargement /enlargement+ground floor (1995-1998)



Final phase of enlargement / enlargement + ground floor (2011)

Figure 10: External transformations

3.1 „Large kitchen“:

The kitchen was the first place where spatial change occurred, ten years after the residents moved into the flats (1949-1959). In 1960, the changes were planned and performed simultaneously through the entire neighborhood. These were limited to the apartment itself (the kitchen and

the pantry). The partition wall between the kitchen and the pantry was torn down and the kitchen was widened over the entire main module of 4.00m. In the external zone of the balcony, a part of the pantry to be entered from the kitchen was preserved (Figure 11).

During the interior transformations (period 1970 -1980): the pantry and the balcony were connected with the kitchen. In that way, an integral space - „**a large kitchen“**(*3.6 x 3.6m*) was obtained with the possibility of obtaining an additional function as a dining room or living room, thus becoming the centre of the living functions of the household.

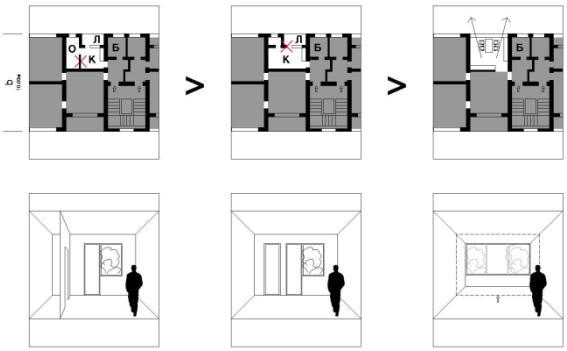


Figure 11: Model of a large kitchen: evolution phases

3.2 Large room – “free plan”:

This refers to the creation of an integrated multifunctional space. In this procedure, the programme re-definition does not only refer to the cooking area, but to the entire **living area** group of spaces - living room, kitchen, and balcony are integrated into a **a large room** or a local ”free plan”, which undertakes all the living functions (Figure 12).

The interior changes (period 1980 -1990) were pragmatic, acupunctural projects, limited interventions, individual projects conceived as exchange of information and experience among neighbours for the purpose that the transformation does not go beyond the limits of their, often, modest resources. The small, interior changes very realistically referred to cost, feasibility and aesthetics.

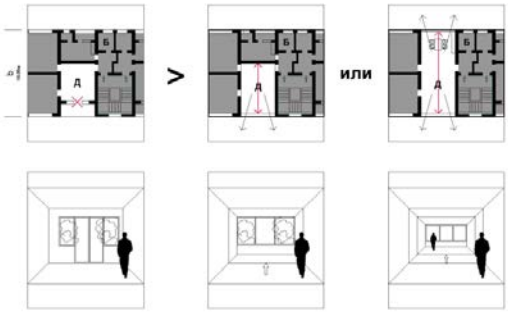


Figure 12: Model of a large room: development of a local "free plan"

3.3 Room +

An additional room was generated by external transformations, i.e., additional construction. Depending on the orientation i.e. kitchen (northwest) or living room (southeast), two versions of an additional room were possible. First, if the additionally built module was on the side of the living room, then part of the new spatial module, the balcony and part of the living room were partitioned as an additional bedroom. The remaining space of the living room and the kitchen constituted the new integral space with a series of possible interior transformations of kitchen and the living room. Second, if the additionally built module was on the side of the kitchen, then the additional bedroom occupied the position of the former balcony and the additional module, while the existing space remained as the kitchen and living room (Figure 13).

In the alterations undertaken around 2001, addition to the side of the kitchen was divided, for the first time, across its width, between the balcony or the kitchen and the additional single bedroom. On the side of the living room, the space was partitioned to obtain another single bedroom. In both cases, the central living area (living room, dining room and kitchen) was reduced and remained insufficiently illuminated by natural light.

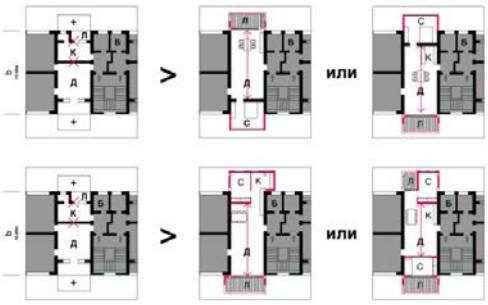


Figure 13: Model of a room +: gradual occupation of the external front and suppression of the living zone

3.4 Vertical installation:

In the “Prolet” settlement, a specific model of enlargement is promoted (Figure 5). This model is spontaneous in terms of time, but determined from the spatial aspect, with defined geometrical characteristics. The addition forms an extension of the module with the living room, kitchen and balcony. The dimensions follow the width of the main module of the residential building ie 4.0m; the depth was the available green area in front of the building (1.8m). Depending on the households participating in the extension, the height is: 2 storeys, 3 storeys or most frequently all 4 storeys.

As to the particular building investigated in detail, the only vertical slot without an extension is at the first entrance. The occupants of these apartments and those in other blocks where there are no such extensions indicate that they were unable to reach a consensus.

From structural perspective, two types can be differentiated: additions with two external reinforced-concrete columns on the outer side with a reinforced concrete slab connected to the existing structure of the building on the inner side; and extensions with four reinforced-concrete columns as an independent structural module adjacent to the external wall of the existing building. In this way, a prototype for vertical installation is established, and it can be open or closed in different proportions, depending on the needs and the wishes of the individual users.

3.5 Local material prototypes

Behind the diversity and spontaneity of the interventions, several models of infill can be distinguished:

Mimicry enlargements: In this model, the masonry infill and the reinforced-concrete structure are covered with a uniform external plaster and paint identical to the existing finishing of the buildings. In this model, the enlargements are part of the existing structures and are assimilated into an integral configuration.

Brutalistic enlargements: In this model, two versions are differentiated. Firstly, the infill and the structure are additionally externally finished, but with different treatment. The masonry infill is plastered, while the reinforced concrete structure, the columns and the beams are painted, most frequently with white paint, different from the color of the main infill. Secondly, the reinforced concrete structure is visible, while the infill consists of bricks. After the casting of the reinforced concrete frame, building is carried out from the inside and no additional external finish or scaffolding is necessary. This model for extensions is the most common thanks to the low cost construction processes and materials. In this model the additions exemplify autonomous units from spatial and artistic viewpoint and are independent of the main body of the existing structures.

Pluralistic enlargements: The main construction of the addition, i.e. structure + infill, is designed in different stylistic images, both traditional and

modern. In this model, the extensions embody tools for transformation, and suppression of the existing spatial and formal expression of the structures.

The materials used, and the mode of enclosing the structure can be differentiated into three types:

1) Open Balcony Type: It refers to the open balconies. The enlarged space is not closed, but represents an external part of the individual apartments (Figure 14).

2) Closed Balcony Type: This type follows the minimal construction intervention up to the parapet level and most frequently refers to glazed areas, from column to column, with different types of divisions (Figure 8).

3) House Type: This refers to perforating different types of openings in the closed wall mass of the extensions. The openings result from the utilitarian character of the infill of the vertical structures and also the stylistic preferences of the occupants (Figure 8).

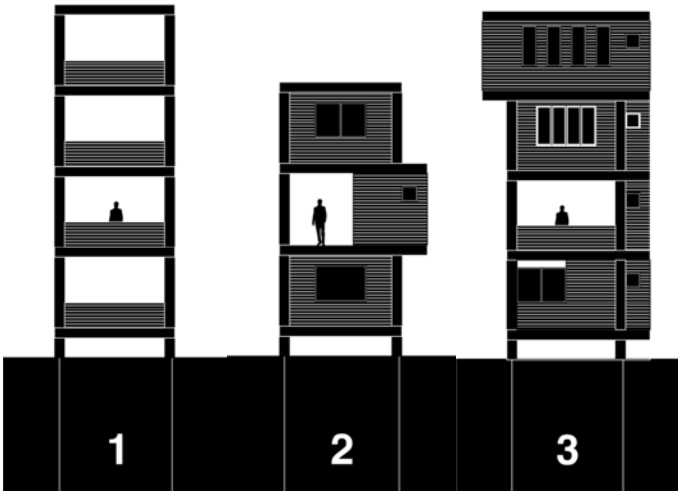


Figure 14: Prototypes of enlargement: 1) Open Balcony Type, 2) Closed Balcony, 3) House Type

The additional construction epitomizes a kind of open vertical form, almost like a tower, waiting for individual contributions. At the level of accommodation, the extensions are additions to the overall area and enable redistribution of the spaces.

Figure 15: Enlargements of the buildings in the "Prolet" settlement, Skopje, 2015.

4 DOM-INO/2:

Summing up the processes of transformation that chronologically ranged from interior transformations, "corrections" of the principal system to external extensions, i.e., enlargements, the process goes from a single building to multiple additionally built "houses" along its margins. In that way, the physical reality illustrates the transition from social homogeneity to socio-economic diversification. However, if this process is the proof of the rejection of the common project of the modernity, it seems that the way in which it is conducted is bringing back the essential prototype of the modernity.

The enlargements that assume an open structure and a number of individual interpretations are informal copies of the Dom-ino model of 1914 from many aspects. Le Corbusier proposed this model as a prototype for the post-world war I reconstruction of the devastated areas through which the main principles of modern architecture were anticipated (Le Corbusier, 1978: 211-247). Dom-ino consists of a principal reinforced concrete structure (six columns and two floor slabs) as a structural frame completely independent of the functional basis and the internal configuration. A structural frame independent of the flat structure allows mass production on one hand and a big diversity of interior distribution on the other hand (Figure 15).

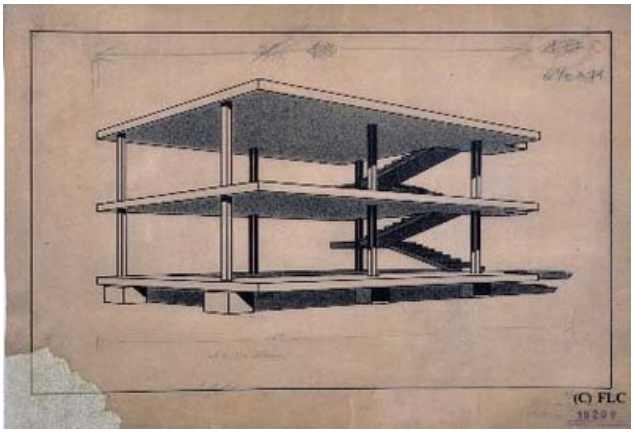
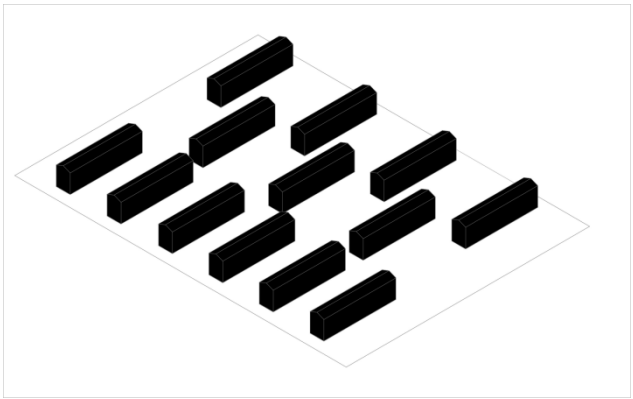
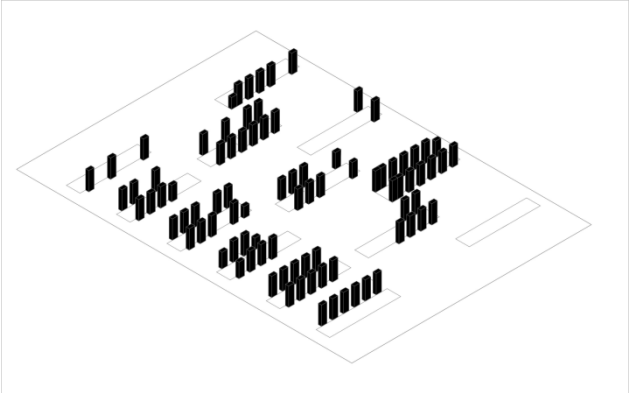


Figure 16: Le Corbusier, Dom-ino concrete residential system 1914 (Le Corbusier, 1978)

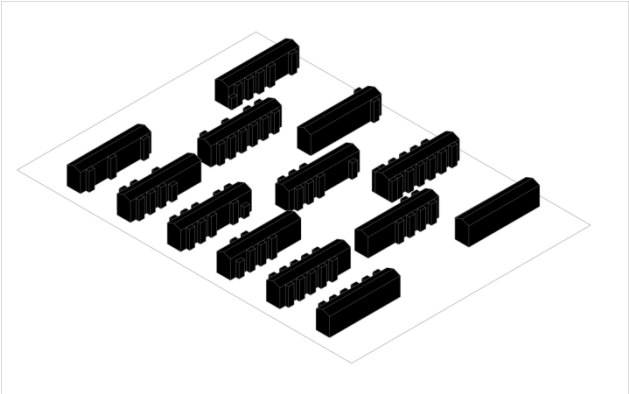
The informal extensions consisting of a principal structure with two or four columns and horizontal slabs depending on the need for intervention, metaphorically and concretely represent copies of the Dom-ino prototype in a quite different local and socio-cultural context. If this proposal anticipated the main assumptions of the modernity, its use in the period of postmodernity or postsocialistic transition as a crisis and prevalence of the modern legacy, is an interesting turning point in the frames of the conceptual and material basis of the modernity. It is in many aspects that modernity was rejected and forgotten in the contemporary post-socialistic context, but it is exactly its generative mechanism, pluralistically disseminated, that provides a powerful tool for considering and talking again about the main contributions of the modern architecture (Figure 16).



"Prolet" settlement, Skopje (1948): basic conditions



Model of enlargements



"Prolet" settlement, Skopje (2011): basic conditions + enlargements

Figure 17: "Prolet" settlement, Skopje: proces of transformation

It is precisely through the potential of informal transformations of modern prototypes that we can perceive the parallel history of Modernity as a transitory|inclusive practise, opposed to the dogmatic superimposed orders of annulment and transformation of existing spatial and social structures of the city.

But, in case of a serious reconsideration of the project of Modernity, we should return to its springs, to its formation period at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Domino Prototype by Le Corbusier in 1915, has (at the same time) deconstructed and opened the domestic space towards various interpretations; the linear mega-structural form by Obus, 1931-1942, perceived as a *pluralistic infrastructure*, has expressed the synergy between one collective form and its particular interpretations, and thereby has foreshadowed the pluralistic scene of the twenty-first century. In fact, the performed episodes from the history of Modernity, trace the path of the

development of the idea of ambivalence of modern architecture as a permanent and variable phenomena (Figure 17).

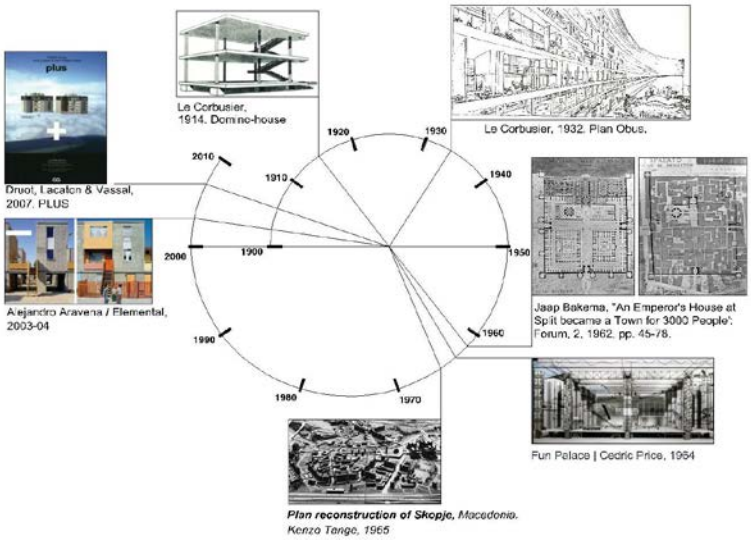


Figure 18. Vortex of modern; Transformation diagram of the modern project in the architecture of 20/21th century/ crucial performed episodes: beginning of 20th century, middle of 20th century, beginning of 21th century Le Corbusier, with DOM-INO patent (domicile and innovation), 1915., middle of 21th century Cedric Prise, J. Bakema Palace of Diocletian-metamorphosis of urban palace, K. Tange in the project for Skopje city center, Project PLus- F.Druot, A.Lacaton & J. Vassal, Alejandro Aravena / Elemental, Chile, 2003-04.

In fact if we accept interpretation of programmatically and transitory modernity, we can select different events which represent transitory aspect of architectural form during the twenty century: from domino prototype, project orbs, idea of structure and interpretation (Hertzberger,1991/1993), idea of time limit or programmatic indetermination (Price, 1984; Price, 1984), project of upgrading (Aravena, 2008), theory of fundamental contextualism (Druot, Lacaton, Vassal, 2007). Hilda Heynen (Heynen, 1999), pointed out two kinds of modernism:

Programmatically, this is run by enlightening line of emancipation of society from ancient dependencies. Jurgen Habermas the project of modernity tied with the project of the Enlightenment, as a universal project of progress and emancipation and liberation potentials (Habermas, 1985; Habermas, 1999).

Transient, which are based on the feeling of instability, volatility, unpredictability, necessitated by XIX –century scene of modernity;

In this sense Modernity is phenomenon that connects two aspects: objective socio-economic processes and subjective terms of personal experience.

“To be modern is to experience personal and social life as a maelstrom, to find one’s world in perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction: to be part of a universe in which all that is solid melts into air. To be a modernist is to make oneself somehow at home in this maelstrom, to grasp and confront the world that modernization makes, and to strive to make it our own. Modernism aims to give modern men and women the power to change the world that is changing them, to make them the subjects as well as the objects of modernization (Berman, 1983; Berman, 1984).”

In this way, inside the zone of modern project’s decay, we perceive the oppressed layers of its vitality as a transitivity which we relate to user’s inclusiveness, in relation with their living environment. Precisely the period of transition, when the overall social and cultural basis of the society becomes uncertain and unpredictable, and when the deviation of material basis from the past is suppressed to the limits of physical and ethical existence, seems like the critical time when we could prove the vitality of Modernity through the concept of its permanence and its change.

5 CONCLUSION: TOWARDS THE INCLUSIVE PRAXIS

The relation between the architecture and the city through crucial phases of the twentieth century indicated the ambivalence between the city visions as superimposed spatial models and the inner practise of the inhabitants of particular places. Even though there was a succession of the formal and socio-cultural patterns at first sight, the superposition exclusive city visions and inclusive practice of the inhabitants were evident on particular level.

The entire life of a house is seen as a dialogue between its physical characteristics and the activities taking place within it. So, in the case of the residential buildings in the settlement of postwar reconstruction “Prolet” (1948), through its entire history, we can see the transformation and reconstruction of the interior of the physical structure within the frames of a single residential unit. However, the transition period has induced a wave of divergent social and spatial tendencies referring to both interior and exterior of the main residential frame. Through the interventions of users, the initial identical design has been transformed and extended with alterations that are as much pragmatic as they are symbolic in respect to the new social-cultural heterogeneity of society. Taking “Prolet” settlement as an example, the projection of social dispersion is evident in the physical structure.

In the seemingly chaotic processes of post-socialistic transition, we experience the transformations of our living spaces as retrograde, destructive tendencies. However, it is exactly through such critical conditions that we can conceive housing in another way. On one hand, residential transformations refer to the pragmatic needs of the inhabitants, while on the

other hand, they give rise to a new symbolic meaning of the home. If we see them from the aspect of interpretation, we can distinguish three levels: first, particular changes bring meaning, different or inferred meaning of housing; second, they construct an understanding of own environment in a particular way; third, they incorporate a process of living, performance of the housing within particular themes.

In that way, an initial situation, a given theme becomes the subject of interpretation. Can we see contemporary houses in that way - between given structures and possible interpretations, between the exclusive model and inclusive tactics? Do the transition periods point not only to excess situations but also to certain inherent models of behavior? Which is the relationship between the initial structure and successive interpretations?

The settlement “Prolet” case provides a view of realism as interpretation of space and social needs. Realism as a critical view or critical interpretation is somewhere in-between. It ranges between the common basis and the particular pragmatic and symbolic steps, between the postmodern iconography and the modern domino prototype. To that effect, it is perceived as a decline in the historic, social, spatial, and aesthetically dominant models of the exclusive socialistic past and emergence of a heterogeneous practice that can lead to new prospects of inclusive house practice.

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Bojan Karanakov

Transformation of Industrial Space in the Context of Post-Socialist Transition of the City of Skopje

ABSTRACT:

The paper explores the industrial space transformation in Skopje in the post-socialist period, due to the effect of the processes of de-industrialization and re-industrialization and the new spatial distribution of industry. The contribution of the paper is twofold. The first set of research results confirm, in the case of Skopje, the correlation between the transformation of the space and the development of society within the framework of general theoretical discourse of restructuring the production space in the socialist city, with transition of the economy and changes in the political and social system. The second set of research results point to the potential and importance of existing and newly established industrial areas for future spatial and economic development of the city. Drawing on the theoretical and empirical knowledge of local issues, practical responses in the field of architectural design and urban planning can be offered. This is based on the premise that industrial planning and design should be based on a comprehensive real urban process, which will take into account the effect of the historical, economic and geopolitical context, as well as social and ecological issues.

KEYWORDS: *Informal City, Basic habitable conditions, Urbanity, Population Growth, Small Planet*

1 INTRODUCTION

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 years symbolically marked the end of the socialist era and the beginning of post-socialist period of great changes in Eastern Europe. After four and a half decades of practicing east European countries rejected socialism and began the complex process of political, economic and social changes, whose final goal was transformation in the capitalist country by the example of developed western countries. Comprehensive changes in the early 1990s inevitably caused changes in the urban structure of post-socialist cities. The urban structure inherited from the pre-socialist period, which was systematically transformed and created to suit the ideology of socialist society, after the establishment of new political, economic and social relations in the last two decades has inevitably again become the subject of transformation.

This research is designed as a contribution to the study and understanding of the transformation of industrial space in Skopje in the context of comprehensive changes in society in the post-socialist period. Understanding of the on-going transformation is important because the established trends of transformation of industrial space and new spatial organization of industries established in this period is likely to determine the direction of development of industrial sites in the future.

2 METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

After 1991, ejection of socialism, the economic restructuring of enterprises has become imperative. Encourage general changes in society, especially the introduction of market relations in the economy and private property rights, starts the process of reorganization and transformation. Industrial enterprises, former giants manufacturing activity, are transformed in different ways. Those companies that have ceased to exist closed their plants and interrupted production activities leaving behind abandoned buildings and locations. The others are continued with the production activity organized or into a single enterprise, or as a consequence of organizational transformation. The second are fragmented to separate parts of the company, concerning the special society where were taking place the specific production processes and economic activity. It is not insignificant number of companies that have changed their activity and from production companies continued activity in other economic activities, most often trade. The common characteristic of these different ways of enterprise transformation is drastically and dramatically decrease of industrial production and total employment in the industry. Industry in the city headlong is losing ground, falling behind, decreases or disappears permanently. The process of de-industrialization becomes a typical manifestation of the economic transformation of enterprises, and as this study will show, the dominant spatial manifestation of the transformation of the industry.

The subject of the research outcomes are spatial restructuring of industrial companies and new spatial patterns of the industry in the city Skopje incurred in the post-socialist period. Within this subject through the operation process of de-industrialization and re-industrialization the explored include: continuity and discontinuity in the development and deployment of industry and industrial areas in the city Skopje, the tendencies of concentration and dispersion of industrial activities, the emergence of new spatial forms of production and economic activity and changes in spatial patterns of industry incurred during the post-socialist transformation.

The time frame of the research subject, post-socialism, was determined for several reasons. First, it is a period of general and radically social transformation during which the transformation of urban space is very intense and dominant. Second, the transformation of industrial space research is relevant and contemporary problem that links changes in the urban areas with the processes of profound transformation of the former socialist city. Third, the established trends of transformation of industrial space and new spatial organization established industry in this period will determine the direction of development of industrial locations in the future.

The research of modern and current process always contains superior subjective relation and bias of researchers towards the research. Still present actuality of the transition society, which unfortunately has not been completed for the Republic of Macedonia, suggests that the spatial implications of transformation are not final and definitive. However, new and established forms of appropriation of space and organization of activities by individuals and groups have set a new way of exploiting resources, primarily urban land so that established trends of new forms arrangement of industries can be treated as final. In this context the influence of society on urban form is completed. As a result of this, the current selection process is not compromised objectivity of this study because it is a reasonable expectation that during the last two decades of intense transformation visible changes in the industrial area in Skopje are not only a result of a number of tendencies, but the functioning of the trends that have survived and that will determine the future development of the area.

The initial information base for research was formed by collecting the necessary data on individual industrial locations. The absence of relevant and reliable statistical database, limited time series, inadequate territorial division of the urban area is largely limited the use of quantitative data in research. For the study is accessed the collection of data at the level of individual locations associated with dominant process of transforming the site (de-industrialization and re-industrialization) and site characteristics that affect the processes of concentration and/or dispersion of new production activities. A survey was conducted on 166 individual socialist industrial sites with a total area of 862.39 hectares, which represents 96% of the total socialist industry in the urban area of the city, on new locations within the existing industrial area and 3 business and industrial zones outside the city limits. Status of industrial sites has been determined by the data obtained by analyzing location and questionnaires filled through immediate talks with the

individual persons who are employed or were employed in the former industrial enterprises. On this way was determined, average balance in 2013 of dominant status of the transformation of the concrete location, and site characteristics which condition its (un) attractiveness.

In order to quantify the effects of space on the process of economic restructuring of the enterprise, each analyzed individual location is determined by the following characteristics of the site: Urban characteristics of the site (site area, the percentage of construction, coefficient of utilization and condition of facilities); Activity status sites (abandoned industry, transformed industry, restored and re-industrialization industry); Position of locations in the city (close to the urban center, less than 3km, 3-5km, 5-7km, 7-9km and more than 9km and direct access to frequent thoroughfare); The degree of pollution on the location: small, medium or large (LAPE, 2011).

Status activity location is determined through analysis of data from specific industrial site: abandoned industry is classified based on the criteria contained in the definition of the European expert network CABERNET (Concerted Action on Brownfield and Economic Regeneration Network) (Ramsden, 2010) according to which specific industrial sites subject of acquiring the status of abandoned industry needs to fulfill one of the following criteria: (1) inactive or abandoned; (2) underused or with a major reduction in the former activities; and (3) occasionally use with very low intensity; the transformation of the industry is determined by de facto non-industrial purposes locations; renovation industry arises when the site retains the same industry irrespective of whether it is restructured socialist enterprise or a new company which is active in the same industry; and reindustrialization occurs when the existing socialist industrial sites, appears a new branch of industry, thus generating component is still tied to location.

3 TRANSFORMATION OF INDUSTRIAL LOCATIONS

After the breakup of Yugoslavia and declaration of independence of the Republic of Macedonia in 1991, Skopje grew into the capital of the state and shall be acquired by the new additional administrative, political and financial functions. As a major economic and industrial center of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje is the center of the overall economy and its gravity field in economic terms includes the whole territory of Macedonia. As a result of this, changes in the urban structure are the most intense and the most prominent, while changes in the spatial shape and spatial distribution of appearing for the first time, established itself as the new trends in the spatial pattern of industrial and economic development.

In the socialist period, the industry in Skopje is becoming a significant factor element and factor of the urban environment. On the path to modernization (Hamilton, 1979) productive industrial sectors (manufacturing industry, construction, transport) in socialist cities have become fundamental to the rapid economic growth and the expectation was that industrial growth will automatically lead to improvements in living conditions and that will

become the basis for social prosperity. Initially, after the implementation of a process of intensive industrialization positive effects are confirmed through the gradual improvement of social prosperity. During this period the intensive development of the industry expressed through quantitative growth of industrial production, employment in the industry, diversification of production branches and favorable general industrialization and urbanization. According to the deployment of industry in the city can be concluded that in the socialist period, spatial organization of industry becomes one center, or industry as the dominant economic activity is concentrated in the urban area of the city. The most important form of spatial events of industry in the city in becoming an industrial zone, that is, the concentration of industrial activity in certain areas of the city that use a common industrial infrastructure (Figure 1). Socialist industrial enterprises are generally locate within the city and the industry is still, for the most part, developed at those locations as well as a rapid socialist industrialization, but on a much larger territory (Barta, Beluszky, Czirfusz , Gyiri & Kukely, 2006; Uzunov, 2001). Typically for every socialist city and also for Skopje that the other urban functions such as housing, transportation, greenery and sport and recreation was subordinated and for years ignored and neglected in favor of the national priority of forced industrialization.

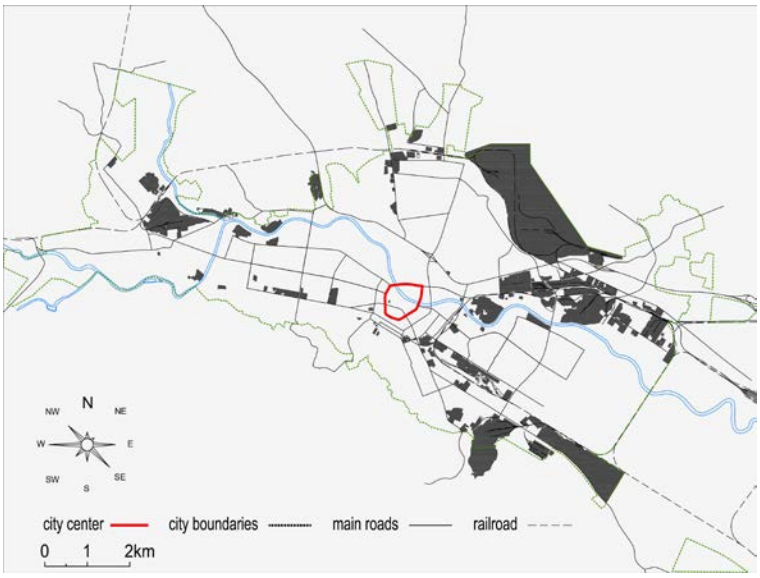

Figure 1. Industry of Skopje, 1991

The first symptoms of crisis and stagnation in industrial production in Yugoslavia appeared in the 1960s, but according to Bozic (2009), for years they had been seen as current problems and difficulties that could have been overcome by small reform changes in the economic system and economic policy, or were considered to be a result of subjective weaknesses. In the mid-1970s, it became clear that the socialist growth based on industry, reached a level where if system changes did not start,

many of the attitudes and assumptions on which it was based would question the socialist economic system. There were signals that indicated weak competitiveness, technological obsolescence and low productivity of industrial companies, but in a period of economic isolation from the rest of the world's economy and a lack of generous state aid, there was no reaction towards elimination of these problems. Industrial production still continued to take place in a very irrational environment and conditions, in which socialist ideology pushed aside the market rationality. According to Kumar (2005), “Socialism was and remained, to the very end, obsessed with size, centralized planning, throttling diversity and centralism and authoritarianism” (p. 77).

Possibility for changes first appeared after the collapse of the political system in 1989 and finally after Macedonia gained independence in 1991. The changes activated a process of transformation of the socialist industry and de-industrialization. Kiss (2007) cites several reasons for the deindustrialization of post-socialist countries, “the abandonment of the socialist system and its economic policy initiated a correction in a disproportionately large role played by the industrial sector in the economies of Eastern Europe; global transformation of the manufacturing industry which began in the early seventies, leaving the so-called 'Ford Model' of mass production and the transition to a post-fordist model of flexible production, and despite the significant delays, it finally reached the countries of Eastern Europe; the economic crisis that hit these countries in the early nineties of the last century, the liberation of real estate market forces prompted the re-use of abandoned industrial buildings in attractive urban locations for other purposes and the offer of cheap land on the edge of urban territories” (p. 148).

In Skopje, the success of restructuring socialist manufacturing activities is largely conditioned by the crisis and the limitations of traditional industries and production structures, the ability to integrate into global and international trends and a more pronounced tertiarization of domestic and global economy. Since the beginning of the transition, especially during the privatization period, the economic situation in the country was very unfavorable. Statistical data on the index of physical range of production (Table 1) during the whole post-socialist period show decrease or stagnation. The physical range of production decreased from 100 index points in 1989 to 47.9 index points in 2010. A similar conclusion can be reached for the total number of employees as well as the number of employees in the industry, based on the presented statistical data (Table 2). During the last two decades, the number of employees in the industry decreased by 46%. Statistical data on the index of physical range of production and the number of employees in the industry in the post-socialist period for Skopje, have not been done. However, if one takes into account that, from the total number of industrial enterprises in Macedonia, 30% are concentrated in Skopje (Annual Statistic Reports for 1999, 2002, 2009 & 2011), the data from Table 1 and Table 2 can be taken as relevant only to Skopje.

Table 1 Index of the total industrial production in the Republic of Macedonia, 1989-2010 years

Year	1989	1990	1991	1995	2000	2001	2005	2008	2009	2010
Index 1989=100	100	89,4	74,0	42,9	47,4	45,9	47,7	55,1	50,3	47,9

Source: Annual Statistic Report for 2011, State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia.

Table 2 Total number of employees in the economy and in the industry in Macedonia, 1989-2010 years

Year	1989	1990	1991	1995	2000	2001	2005	2008	2009	2010
Total employment in the Republic of Macedonia (%)	516.534 (100)	507.324 (98)	468.372 (91)	356.617 (69)	311.716 (60)	297.780 (58)	411.031 (80)	434.858 (84)	426.252 (83)	435.524 (84)
Employees in Industry (%)	213.525 (100)	206.191 (97)	188.873 (88)	136.577 (64)	114.359 (54)	109.193 (51)	125.721 (59)	125.018 (59)	121.136 (57)	119.518 (56)

Source: Authors according to data from Annual Statistic Reports for 1999, 2002, 2009 and 2011, State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia.

The transformation of industrial space due to the impact of the process of de-industrialization is a result of simultaneous action following two tendencies: the tendency of leaving industrial activities from specific production sites and the tendency of functional transformation of the site. There is a small number of successfully transformed socialist industrial enterprises in Skopje which are representatives of the continuity of the socialist production activities. Historical backwardness of the industry in the city and the severe destructiveness of de-industrialization, where the socialist industry has not been replaced by new production alternatives or services, have caused the abandoned industry to become a dominant mode of industrial transformation (Table 3).

Areas of abandoned industry generally are made up of many individual different locations of variable sizes that are differently situated in relation to the wider urban environment and represent an important element of the urban structure. They are clearly distinguished from other urban territories and usually dominate the whole picture of a specific urban area. For research purposes, industrial sites are grouped according to their location in the urban area. Locations according to industrial zones (West, Southeast, Northeast and Rudnici and Zelezarnica) and scattered sites within the urban territory.

Table 3 Overview of locations of abandoned industry Skopje, 2013

Industrial area	West	Southeast	Scattered industry	Zelezarnica	Northeast	Total
Analyzed industrial area (ha)	72,36	228,35	81,88	274,48	205,29	862,39
Number of locations	15	33	38	14	66	166
Area of abandoned industry (ha)	9,35	117,08	43,67	166,10	107,71	443,93
Number of abandoned locations	4	12	15	8	26	65
% abandoned industrial areas compared with the analyzed industrial areas in zones	12,93 %	51,27 %	53,33 %	60,51 %	52,46 %	51,47 %
% abandoned industrial locations compared with the number of analyzed locations in zones	26,66 %	36,36 %	39,47 %	57,14 %	39,39 %	39,15 %

According to the data in Table 3, it can be concluded that the total area of abandoned industry (443.9 ha) is 51.47% of the total analysed industrial area in the city (862.4 ha), or 56.76% of total industrial area (782.2 ha) of the city envisaged in the General urban plan 2012 (2012). The location of abandoned industrial sites in Skopje, determined by the survey, is shown in Maps 2 Abandoned socialist industry in Skopje 2013 based upon the map of Spatial distribution of industry from 1991 (Figure1).

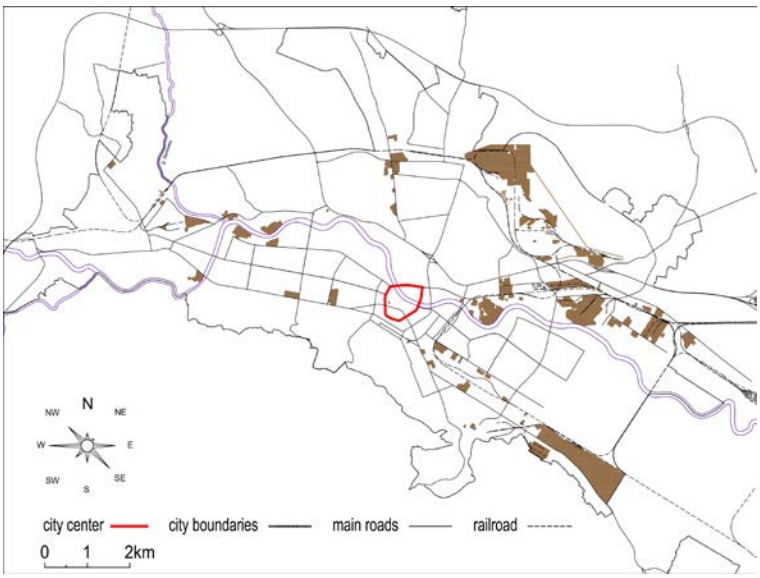

Figure 2. Abandoned socialist industry of Skopje, 2013

Analysing Figure 2 and Table 3 regarding spatial distribution of abandoned industrial sites, it can be concluded that they are scattered throughout the territory of the city, both within all industrial areas and on the scattered industrial sites. The largest number of abandoned sites are in the industrial zone of Rudnici I Zelezarija, where out of 14 analysed sites, 8 were

abandoned, which is 57.14% of all sites analysed in this zone. The areas of abandoned industry are in the industrial zone Rudnici I Zelezarnica. Of the total 2.744,87ha of analyzed industrial area in this zone, even 1.661,05ha i.e. 60.51% is abandoned. In the other industrial zones, except for the Western zone, the area of abandoned industry is larger by 50% compared to the analysed area.

In the scattered industry, the area of abandoned sites is 436,73ha or 53.33% of the total analysed area. The largest number of abandoned sites in the scattered industry is in the south western part of the town, near the former railway to Tetovo and the former location of building companies along the river Vardar.

One part of the abandoned sites has undergone a functional transformation in non-industrial uses. Functional transformation is a change in the functions of the former industrial sites and facilities. These are areas where industrial activity has ceased and has been replaced by other economic activities, mainly commercial, service, residential, administrative functions and other activities like education, recreation, tourism, logistics and so on.

In Skopje, during the post-socialist period, functional transformation of the former industry proceeded extremely unevenly, both in terms of industrial space (whether it was scattered industry or locations within the industrial zones) and in terms of new functions (favouring certain functions in relation to others). The change in function is determined by changes in the structure of the economy, the real needs dictated by the market, as well as the amount of funds needed for repurposing. At the beginning of transition, the rapid growth of the share of trade in the total economic activity and a relatively small amount of funds required for re-purposing, enabled the dominant transformation of industrial sites to be for commercial purposes. The development of production and business activities, primarily the additional requirements for commercial activities and services with more modern methods for storage, transport and services, dictated the repurposing of existing industrial sites. After 2000, and especially by the end of 2010, the repurposing of the residential sites has been intensified, which is also combined with the modern administrative space.

Mapping the activities of the transformed industry has allowed to obtain data on the dominant new functions, as well as to generalize the connection between the transformed site and the characteristics of the site, its location in the urban area as well as the physical condition of the structures and facilities. The results from the research on the transformed industrial sites in relation to their position in the city are shown in Table 4, while the new functions in Table 5.

Table 4 Summary of transformed industry sites in Skopje 2013

Transformed industry	West	Southeast	Scattered industry	Zelezarnica	Northeast	Total
Analyzed industrial area (ha)	72,36	228,35	81,88	274,48	205,29	862,39
Number of sites	15	33	38	14	66	166
Area of functional transformation (ha)	1,79	3,21	19,03	0	12,07	36,11
Number of transformed sites	2	5	10	0	8	25
% functionally transformed industrial area compared to the analyzed industrial area into zones	2,47%	1,40%	23,24 %	0%	5,88%	4,18%
% functionally transformed industrial sites in relation to the number of analyzed locations by zones	13,33 %	15,15 %	26,31 %	0%	12,12 %	15,06 %

Table 5 Summary of transformed sites in Skopje based on the new repurposing in 2013.

The new repurpose	West	Southeast	Scattered industry	Zelezarnica	Northeast	Total	Total %
Housing (ha)	0	0	3,81	0	0	3,81	11%
Commercial (ha)	0	0,48	12,06	0	9,79	22,34	62%
Education (ha)	0	1,15	1,34	0	0	2,49	7%
non-production purposes (ha)	1,791	1,56	0	0	2,27	5,63	16%
Green area(ha)	0	0	1,81	0	0	1,81	5%
Total	1,791	3,21	19,03	0	12,07	36,11	100%

The total transformed industrial area is about 36.11 ha or just 4.18% of the total researched industrial area (862.39 ha), which is very modest degree of functional transformation. Considering the locations, 25 of them are functionally transformed, which represents 15.06% of the 166 researched locations. The big percentile difference between the transformed industrial area 4.18% and the transformed industrial location 15.06% is due to the fact the locations of the dispersed industry individually have relatively small surface areas. The highest number of transformed locations is found with the dispersed industry, 10 in total, which represents 26.31% of the number of analysed dispersed locations. The placement of the transformed locations in the city is shown on (Figure 3).

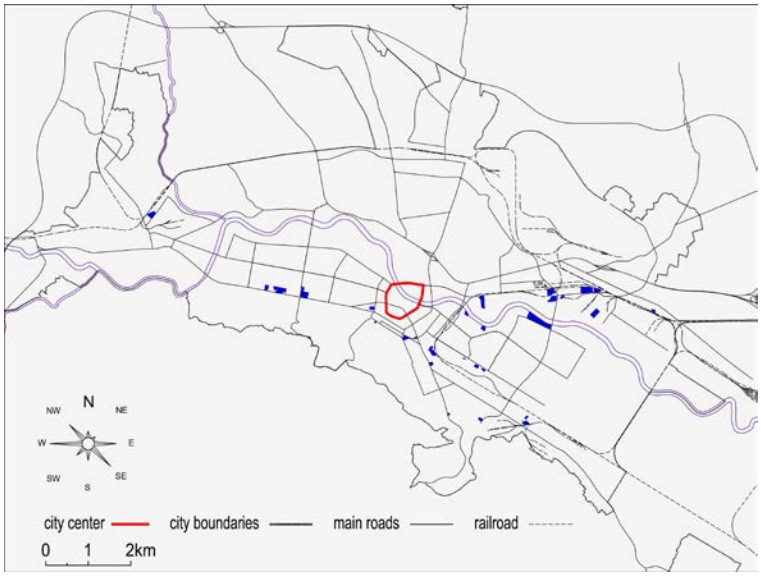

Figure 3. Transformed socialist industry in Skopje for non-industrial purposes, 2013

In this research, the locations of the transformed industry are grouped according to the location placement in the city areas (locations on the industrial areas and at the dispersed locations inside the city territory) and according to their influence of the analyzed location properties on the transformation process. The conversion of the locations and the buildings inside the industrial areas according to the data in Table 4 lags behind the transformation of the dispersed industry. Considering the influence of the location properties on the industry transformation process specially separated are: proximity of the urban centre (isobodies of radius up to 3 km), direct access to busy roads and relatively good building shape. According to (Figure 4) it could be generally concluded that at the highest number of transformed locations more than one location attractiveness criteria are fulfilled.

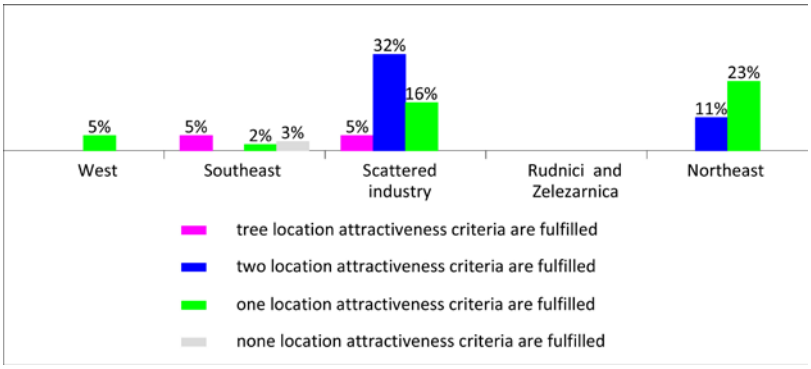

Figure 4. Influence of location attractiveness criteria

Dominant criteria with the transformed dispersed industry are urban centre proximity and access to busy roads, while with the transformed locations into industrial areas the building conditions and direct busy road access are more important criteria. According to the new functions adopted by the transformed industry, commercial purpose is dominant, followed by non-productive purpose (conversion to warehouses), leaving and other functions as educational function and green areas.

It can be generally concluded that the locations of deserted industry which are of smaller size and are located in the central city areas, and surrounded by residential, commercial and recreational urban functions have transformed faster and more efficiently by private initiatives. On the contrary, with the big industrial locations, located in the industrial areas, which are surrounded by industrial activities and utilities in function of the industry, the functional transformation is happening with a slower rate.

The manufacturing activity in the city during the post-socialist period has not completely stopped despite the highly accentuated destructive deindustrialization. At the same time a reindustrialization occurs by reconstruction of the socialist industry and the occurrence of new small adaptable manufacturing structures at completely new locations. The spatial reindustrialization is also connected the urban and suburban structure.

The new industrial locations in the post-socialist period are the result of industry and manufacturing restructuration due to the change in the economic system and the involvement of the post-socialistic countries in the global economic flows. Following the logic of capitalistic economic restructuration new industrial spaces are at the same time created by demolition of the existing industrial structures as well as by construction of new ones. Post-socialist manufacturing activity in the space is manifested at the locations of the new companies which are either concentrated in the city areas with inherited industrial activities or are situated in the areas outside the city which previously didn't have any economic activities. The occurrence and development of new industrial locations beyond the city limits, dispersedly placed into individual areas confirms the distinct process of industry decentralisation and the establishment of the new industrial spatial pattern. According to the statistical data shown in Table 6, the tendency of absolute increase in number of companies in Macedonia as well as a relative reduction in their participation and presence in Skopje, can be confirmed.

Table 6 Number of industrial companies in republic of Macedonia and Skopje between 1991-2010

Year	1994	1997	1999	2001*	2002	2004	2005	2009**	2010**
Macedonia	6.884	9.292	10.671	16.860	18.192	20.316	21.441	7.964	8.534
Skopje (%)	2.799(41)	3.736(40)	4.201(39)	6.754(40)	7.159(39)	7.666(38)	7.928(37)	n/a	2.855(33)

Source: Authors according to data from Annual Statistic Reports for 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2009 and 2011, State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia.

Note*: The company classification methodology was changed.
Note**: As a result from the change in the methodology of industrial companies classification, the total number of companies for the years 2009 and 2010 is evidently smaller.

Stanilov (Stanilov, 2007) explains the process of industrial decentralization in the post-socialist cities as a combination of the action of the following factors:"...1) extrusion factors represented by the difficulties of location redevelopment inside the city …, 2) attraction factors represented by the availability of great land offers at low prices in the suburban settlements and 3) changing availability patterns … [locations]" (p. 95). Anyhow, those are actually distinctly heterogeneous areas in which companies of different industrial areas and characters are located.

Decentralization of the industrial activities in the urban space of Skopje is a result of the occurrence of new industrial companies in completely new locations whose attractiveness comes from either the placement of the location with reference to the traffic infrastructure or form the ecological criteria about the environmental protection. The conducted research has confirmed the increase of industrial locations in a region neighbouring Skopje, (Table 7).

Table 7 Number of active companies in the manufacturing industry in Skopje and the region, 2010-2013

Number of industrial companies	2010	2011	2012	2013
Skopje	2.713	2.625	2.584	2.466
Region around Skopje	126	134	152	147

Source: the authors, according the data from the State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia about the manufacturing industry

The decentralization or the dispersion of the industry is manifested through the steering of the new manufacturing and industrial development either stochastically or by urban-planning documentation and political measures at the border of the city territory. The latter is exceptionally accented by new spatial forms of industrial activities by creating technological industrial development zones as promoters of more dynamic development of new industrial sectors through direct investments. The new industrial spaces and the new spatial manufacturing forms confirm the change in the industry spatial patterns, or the domination of the deconcentration processes and factors and it's location or relocation at the urban city periphery, shown on Figure 5.

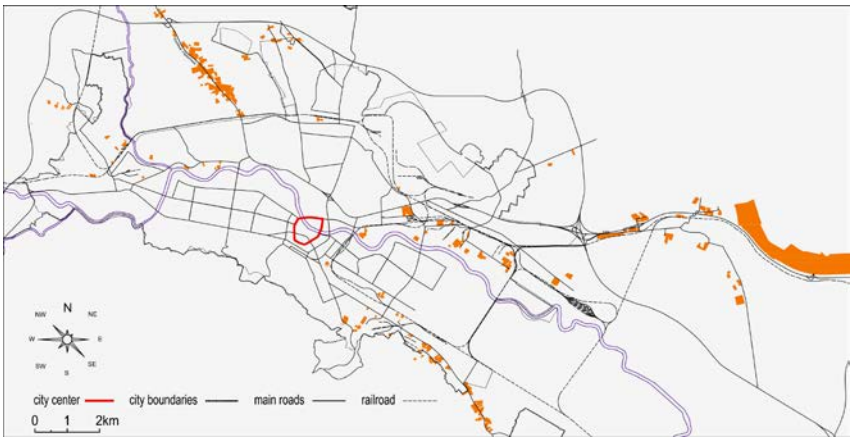

Figure 5. New industries in the industrial areas at the urban city periphery of Skopje, 2013

3 TYPES OF REUTILIZATION OF ABANDONED INDUSTRIAL LOCATIONS

De-industrialization created vast abandoned industrial areas in the inner space of the urban territory of the city of Skopje. Permanent withdrawal of industry from the urban territory both as uncontrolled process or as planned directed through urban-planning documents, enabled reuse of industrial land, although as it was demonstrated reuse at most of the locations was not possible and easy feasible. The potential transformation of locations with abandoned industry in the cities of eastern Europe according to Kiss (Kiss, 2009) is determent by the following factors: the location of the brownfield in relation to the industrial areas, in relation to the urban territory, (dis)advantage of the surrounding areas, the size of the location, and the use of the land determined by the urban-planning documents. The identification and systematization of abandoned industrial areas located in the inner city is important in order to determine the potential opportunities of its reuse thus increasing the efficiency in the urban land use.

According to Kiss (Kiss, 2009) there are two ways to reuse former industrial locations. The first, so called ‘adaptive reuse’ or ‘object recycling’ refers to implementing new functions through renovation and restoration, by creating necessary conditions for performing new activities. The second one, refers to ‘urban renewal’, i.e. demolition and complete removal of all production structures and premises and building a new facilities that would meet the requirements of the new function. Through adaptive reuse the existing premises of former industrial buildings remain and changes take place within the inner space of buildings, whereby no change occurs in the urban landscape. During urban renewal a more radical approach is applied when changing of the function of the location is made through building of complete new facilities, thus determining entire transformation of location and space.

The unsuccessful economic restructuring of former industrial companies enabled the private initiatives of the new owners to achieve redevelopment of location's function. Abandoned buildings and industrial sites have become a significant source of urban land for development of functions that are most needed in terms of urban living and at the same time are the most profitable for owners and investors. Taking advantage of urban and transport infrastructure the abandoned industrial locations receive new functions. The most frequent changes are commercial, residential, green areas and education.

The results of the research of industrial locations in Skopje, in relation to the manner in which they were transformed are shown in Table 8. It can be concluded that the transformation of locations is made predominantly through adaptation of existing buildings. From the total of 25 locations, 18 have been transformed through adaptive reuse, while 7 through urban renewal. From the ones being transformed through adaptive reuse, 14 are located within industrial zones, and 4 are scattered industrial locations. Within transformed locations through urban renewal, 6 are locations of scattered industry, while 1 is located in the Northeastern zone.

Table 8 Summary of transformed industry of Skopje 2013 through manner of transformation

Transformed industry	West	Southeast	Scattered industry	Zelezarnica	Northeast	Total
Area of functional transformation (ha)	1,79	3,21	19,03	0	12,07	36, 11
number of transformed locations	2	5	10	0	8	25
urban renewal (ha)	0	0	12,67	0	1.60	14,27
number of locations with urban renewal	0	0	6	0	1	7
adaptive reuse (ha)	1,79	3,21	6,36	0	104.64	21,83
number of locations with adaptive reuse	2	5	4	0	7	18

According to the data in Table 4 the change in the function of the location and buildings within individual industrial areas lags in relation to transformations of scattered industry and it is predominantly effected through adaptive reuse, i.e. renovation of existing facilities and structures on the locations. The transformations within industrial zones has not contributed to significant changes in the urban landscape (Figure 6). The transformation of these locations is either partial or it relates to the interior of the adapted facilities. Nevertheless, as industry withdraws new functions emerge in former sole and exclusive industrial areas, mostly commercial, albeit educational, recreational thus becoming multifunctional.

Figure 6. "Adaptive reuse" Market "Super Tinex" in abandoned building, 2013

The locations of scattered industry that were transformed through urban renewal are positioned along with the former railway Skopje - Kosovska Mitrovica (nowadays boulevard "Teodosij Gologanov") and alongside the river Vardar, surrounded by predominantly with non-production functions. Benefits and advantages of these locations for reuse with functions unlike production derives from attraction of the locations and predominantly residential functions in that part of the city. Failure to dislocate industry in socialistic period had become reality in the new market oriented economy. Unlike transformation of locations within industrial zones where transformation had not contributed to significant change of the urban scenery, transformation of scattered industrial locations and isolated industrial premises brought complete change in the urban landscape (Figure 7).

Figure 7. "Urban renewal" Residential building on abandoned location, 2013

The correlation between the new function of the location and the selected manner of transformation, both through “adaptive reuse” or “urban renewal” was analyzed also in the research. From the results, graphically summarized in Figure 8, it can be concluded that the transformation to residential function is made exclusively through urban renewal. Transformation of function for other purposes, as commercial, non-production, sports and leisure activities is made primarily through “adaptive reuse”, although when transformation for commercial use urban renewal is also present as a manner of transformation.

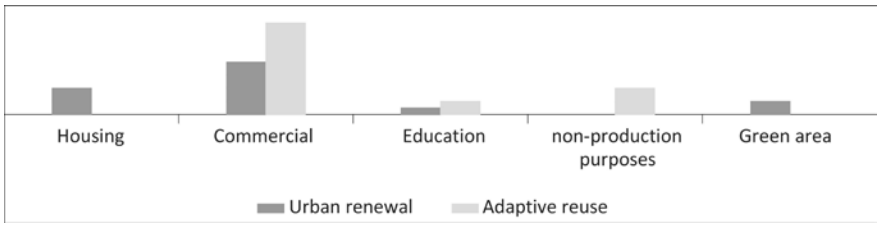

Figure 8. Maner of transformation of industry in Skopje and the new function in 2013

4 CONCLUSION

The transformation of industry that took place during the transition period manifests and endorses new approach of doing business in the new social system in a way that its spatial outcomes resulted in marker-oriented and often conflict transformation of locations. The process of transformation of industrial space in Skopje, as it was referred to within dominant discourses of transformation emphasize the correlation between the transformation of space and the development of society. Restructuring of production space emerges from changes in the political and social system and transition of economy.

Results of the research confirmed that dominant outcome of transformation of industrial space are locations of abandoned industry (change) and that dispersed distribution of industrial activities outside urban boundaries of the city has greater role in terms of new pattern of spatial distribution of industry. Emergence and development of new industrial spaces outside the city boundaries with dispersed distribution in certain areas reinforces the prominent process of decentralization of industry and its concentration in areas that have locational advantages in relation to other areas in Skopje’s region.

Former industrial areas in the city are devastated and the industry is fragmented and scattered within the urban fabrics. Some of the areas in the inner zones still have the industrial function, some of them are abandoned socialistic industry, and not a small number of locations exists with a new non- industrial function, such as: commercial, trade, administration, residential, education, logistics, etc.

It can be stated that during this period the spatial distribution of industry from being monocentric, i.e. industry concentrated and dominating in the urban structure of the city, becomes variety/mixture, meaning dispersed in the urban boundaries of the city and outside the city range, in the new poles of development, with tendency of concentration and agglomeration in the new spatial forms of commercial and production activities, such as commercial-economic zones and industrial-technological zones. The new paradigms of urban planning and the trends of transformation of the urban and surrounding space of the city, due to new dominant ways of land appropriations and spatial organization of production activities verifies the fact that new industrial spaces have and shall have greater role in terms of directing the new spatial distribution of industry, knows as the new spatial pattern of industry.

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Tihomir Jukić

Zagreb City Transformation - From Infrastructural Node to City Central Area

ABSTRACT:

The expansion of the city of Zagreb in the east-west direction has always followed the legacy of traffic flows which are parallel to the hills of the mountain Medvednica and to the alluvial plains of the river Sava. In the mid-19th century, the railway has passed in the same direction, becoming a linking factor in this east-west direction, but at the same time also a spatial barrier between northern and southern city area.
The subject of this research is questioning the paradigm of the urban fabric transformation through the revitalization and improvement of urban railway. The city already owns the infrastructure which has to be adjusted into the organizational city system.
Research was conducted in collaboration with the students of undergraduate studies at the course named “City Planning”. The aim was to set up the problem and provide urban solutions for certain neglected or unconsolidated urban spaces along the railroad, mostly infrastructure nodes, applying a model of urban valorisation, based on placing additional value to the space, as a central start up tool for the city central area Zagreb transformation.

KEYWORDS: *urban planning, city transformation, infrastructure revitalization, infrastructural node, city central area*

1 INTRODUCTION

The development of the City of Zagreb has always been connected with the development of the railway, which had a direct impact on the city's expansion and distribution. The railway issue, as the matter of the government's particular interest, has always been given priority. In the past the city itself, as well as its spatial plans, were adapted to the railway system requirements.

This paper discusses the historical development of the railroad and the old industrial zones in the inner area of the City of Zagreb (Figure 1). The restructuring of the industrial sector in the 19th and 20th centuries resulted in closing down a large number of industrial city areas along the railroad (Jakovčić, 2008). Due to the lack of a more definitive spatial planning legislation, old industrial areas are being devastated without concise plans of revitalization. The aim of this paper is to investigate the possibilities of preserving and revitalizing old industrial sites and their transformation into new multifunctional zones.

The undergraduate students taking the course "City Planning" provided urban solutions for the neglected or unconsolidated urban spaces along the railroad, applying the model of urban valorization, based on placing additional value to the space, as the central start-up tool for the transformation of the Zagreb city central area. Based on students' projects for the regeneration of old industrial zones and the measures for the transformation into new multifunctional business zones, the criteria for the revitalization and improvement of the urban railway were set.

Therefore, future development of the railway needs to be adjusted to more than just requirements of the modern city. Consequently, the manner and the intensity of use of railway facilities and the surrounding land should be modified. Ultimately, these processes should result in the complete functional and spatial integration of the railway and the city (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005).

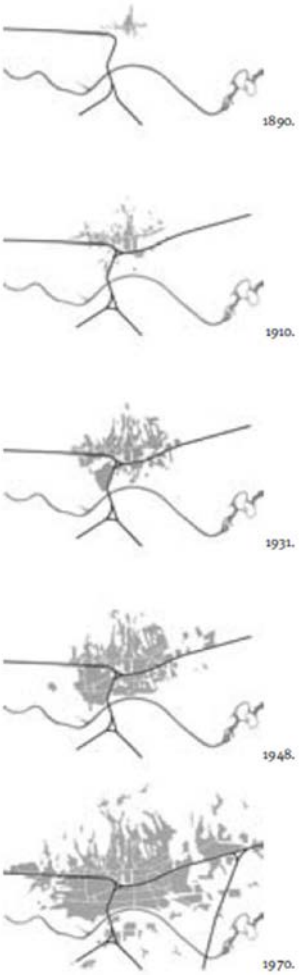


Figure 1. Historical review of Zagreb (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005)

2 CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAILWAY

The present railway in Zagreb was largely built in the 19th century. It was built on a high embankment far outside the city and represented the boundary for the city's expansion, protecting it against the Sava River floods. The first attempt at a planned coordination of the development of the city and the railway came in 1953, through the Directive based regulatory basis of Zagreb which envisaged the construction of a terminal/blind-friendly railway station with bypass lines in all directions, but the plan was never adopted due to high construction costs. In 1958, the Conceptual Design of the Zagreb Railway Node was prepared and adopted, representing the basis for incorporating the railway into the 1963 City Development Plan, and the background for the development of the Zagreb Railway Node Capital

Construction Program (1960) and the design for particular node segments realized between 1968 and 1978. The construction of complete bypass tracks with two light freight railway stations in Jankomir and Žitnjak was planned for freight transport, including the elevation of the existing railway in the central part of the city, between Vrapče and the Central Railway Station. This solution, with some supplements, would become the basis for all city plans developed in the seventies: the 1972 Master Plan and the 1973 Detailed Plan for the City of Zagreb. Since the realization of this concept was running behind schedule, and the role of the railway was gradually changing, new solutions were developed in the 1980s. New design envisaged the separation of transit passenger traffic, for which a new railway station was planned on the southern bypass, from interurban and suburban passenger transport, for which the existing railroad and the Central Station would be used. The new generation of city development plans from the late 1980s and early 1990s used segments of the 1981 Basics as the background for the development of the new City of Zagreb Development Plan and Master Plan.

2.1 Railway in city spatial plans 1865-1917

One of Zagreb's most significant development features was the construction of the railway in the second half of the 19th century, during the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Besides the undeniable economic impulse, with its construction the city also got a strong infrastructural barrier extending in the east–west direction. The railway conditioned the longitudinal expansion of the city, becoming in many urban areas a line of separation of the city's developmental stages and allocations. At the time of the railway's construction, the industrial zone was usually located south to the railway whereas the "city" was on its northern side (Gašparović, Petrović Krajnik & Hladki, 2015). The benefits brought about by the railway with time evolved into the city's expansion problems, especially south of the railroad around the Sava River. Regulatory bases from that period were taking the railways as a premise based on which the city was adopting (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005).

- **General regulatory basis 1865**

The regulatory basis shows two variants of the Zagreb - Zakany - Budapest railway route and a proposal to accommodate the new station along the axis of today's Gundulićeva Street. In 1869 the Zakany - Zagreb railway line was built, and in 1884 the location of the new station was set - today's Central Railway Station (Knežević, 2003).

- **General regulatory basis 1889**

This plan pushed for the expansion of the city in the east-west direction to meet its final administrative boundaries and at the same time introduced a new direction of expansion - southwards, to the Sava River. The area north of the railway line was strictly planned while the area south of it was only indicated, since that part of the city was slated for future development. In 1892, the building of the Central Railway Station was completed, and in 1894 all of the industry located south of the railway line and east of the Central Railway Station building started working (Knežević, 2003). Due to

this fact, the space between the tracks and the Sava River was designated as an industrial zone. At the turn of the century, the significance of the railway initiated the need to plan the wider city area and the new perception of the city as a whole (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005).

2.2 Railway in city spatial plans 1918-1944

Development of the city after 1918 was characterized by completely revised political and socio-economic conditions. The war, which resulted in the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the birth of Yugoslavia, created new conditions for rapid economic growth of the City of Zagreb. Strong expansion of trading and banking provided elementary preconditions for the rapid development of industry. During that period, Zagreb became the largest economic center in the country. City population grew at an immense rate, intensely inhabiting the area between the railway and the Sava River. At the same time, industry was developing very close to the railway.

This resulted in the emergence of an unplanned built area in the southern part of the city, between the railway and the Sava River, and called for urgent regulation of this city area. The main reasons included lack of sanitary conditions, possibility of floods by the Sava River and the problem of industry along the railway line (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005).

The main traffic direction prior to 1918 was Budapest-Zagreb-Rijeka. After 1918, this corridor lost in importance and the new main direction became the Belgrade-Zagreb-Zidani Most route. This new corridor required urgent adaptation of the Zagreb's hub (Auf-Franić, 1992).

2.2.3 General regulatory basis program 1930

In 1930, a tender for the development of the general basis for the construction, expansion and regulation of the City of Zagreb was announced. The text "Information and Guidance" in section c - "Requirements and Guidelines" very precisely defined the programming conditions for the solution of the railway junction. For the new regulatory basis of the City of Zagreb, the railway issue was a crucial one. As already stated, the position of the railway along the Sava River was mostly influenced by the current development state, rather to prevent the natural development of the city, which was forced to be in its dispersal stretched in the longitudinal direction.

The position of the railway in the city was also unfavorable. A respectively long stretch of industrial area was built along the railroad, which was put on unappropriated locations expanding throughout the city. This industrial area was built close to the residential city center, forming a new barrier for the city’s development and communication. Not only did railway disrupt the growth of the city but the city also disrupted the railway line. A large number of very frequent railway crossings at the street-level disturbed and threatened railroad traffic. This mutual interference led to a new decision and a new regulatory plan, which would allow the city to develop its railway and enable the railway to transport people and freight without disturbing its development.

The competition attracted 52 proposals, of which 28 contained programming propositions for resolving the railway junction, and 24 proposed changes in the resolution of the accommodation facilities and railway station. The first prize in the competition was not awarded, while two second (Klötzer, Liedeckea, Koller and Wehrmeisterand / Lubke, Reissner and Schon) and two third prizes (Strižić, Holzbauer and Peteln) proposed different solutions for the main train station. Dilemmas and discussions started after the competition, reaching professional and social engagement in the period 1936-1937 in which the adoption of the regulatory basis took place.

The regulatory basis was adopted by the government in 1936 under the guidance of architects Antolić and Seissel, based on the program from 1930 (Kelčec-Suhovac, 1994). In this proposal, the city was divided into the existing city north of the railway, called the "City", and the housing area south of the railway. In this regulatory basis, marginal parts of the city were defined by the industry, and sports and recreation areas were located on both sides of the Sava River.

The basic idea of the regulatory basis was the extension of the green belt, continuing from Zrinjevac to the Sava River. South of the railway line and the Central Railway Station a park area was proposed with a series of monumental public buildings in the center. The park was to extend to the Sava River and into a recreational park area. (Figure 2)

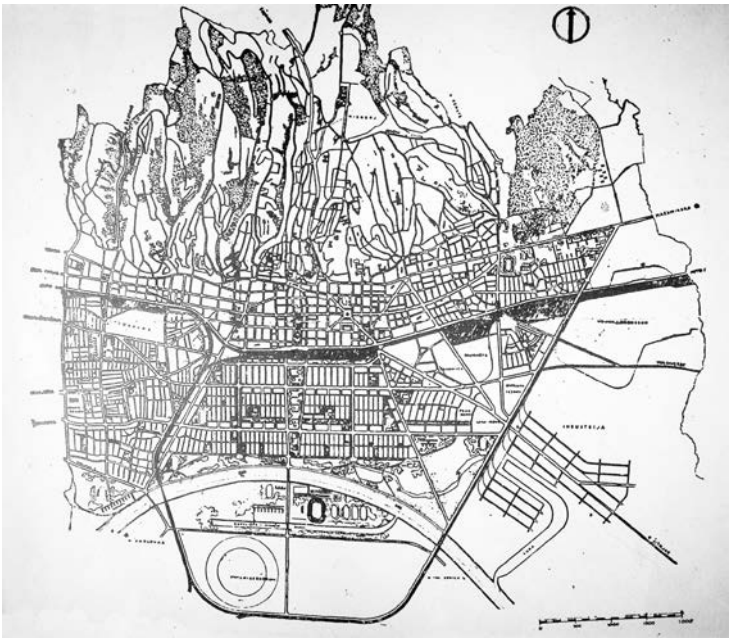


Figure 2. Regulatory basis of Zagreb - 1936 (Kelčec-Suhovac, 1994)

2.3 Railway in city spatial plans 1945-1990

The revised political and socio-economic relations after 1945, and the imperative of renewal, were the new conditions with which the spatial and urban planning of Zagreb was faced. In this period, despite the "barrier" of the railway, the city spread not only to the Sava River, but also beyond.

2.3.1 Directive based regulatory framework 1953

Instead of relocating the industries connected to the railway line, mass industrial production created new demands for space and for the first time an industrial zone was placed in the most sensitive area of the city – its center. A new regulatory basis was created in the new conditions and possibilities. (Auf-Franić, 1992).

The plan is characterized by the first zoning plan of the city - the division of the urban area into different purposes. The development of the city is planned in the east, west and south directions. It was suggested to create two industrial zones and the city east and west margin and to relocate the unplanned industry outside the city center.

The new traffic system proposed the construction of a bypass around the city and the formation of a ring road. Rail traffic was divided into freight, passenger and industrial traffic. Only passenger traffic was planned through the city center, while freight transport and transit traffic envisaged the construction of a ring railroad on the south side of the city (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005) (Figure 3).

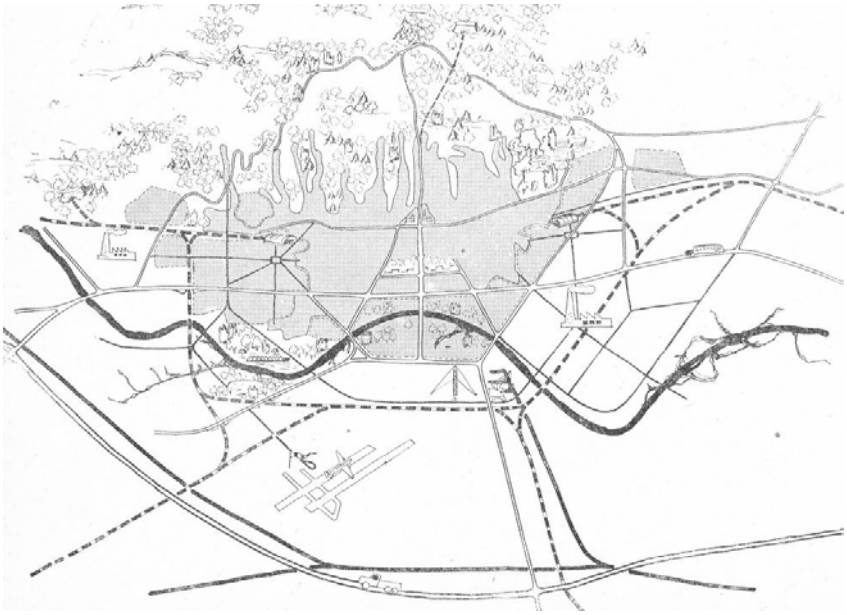


Figure 3. Directive regulatory basis of Zagreb – 1953 (Faculty of Architecture archive)

2.3.2 Urban program 1963-1965

Upon defining the transport network, the Urban Program was developed (Figure 4). With this program, after a number of studies and analysis, the insight into the current state was gained as well as the concept of the future city development determined. The traffic grid and the social standard network are fulfilled with partial urbanistic solutions of housing zones. The program is developed based on the Directive regulatory program, but offers a qualitatively reduced view of the city. The city area is undertone with building areas, and richly scaled traffic routes are functionally maximized. The railway detour is intended for the transit freight traffic within four working zones. With this program, a railroad is planned from Svetice to Vrapče, including the relocation of the Central Railway Station to the east, the nullification of the railroad in Savska Street, the separation of wayfaring and freight traffic and the rerouting of freight traffic out of the city (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005). The plan was to help the city neutralize the influence of the railroad and enable the development of a road grid that would connect the separated city zones. The Zagreb railway reconstruction program was extensive, so phased realization was planned.

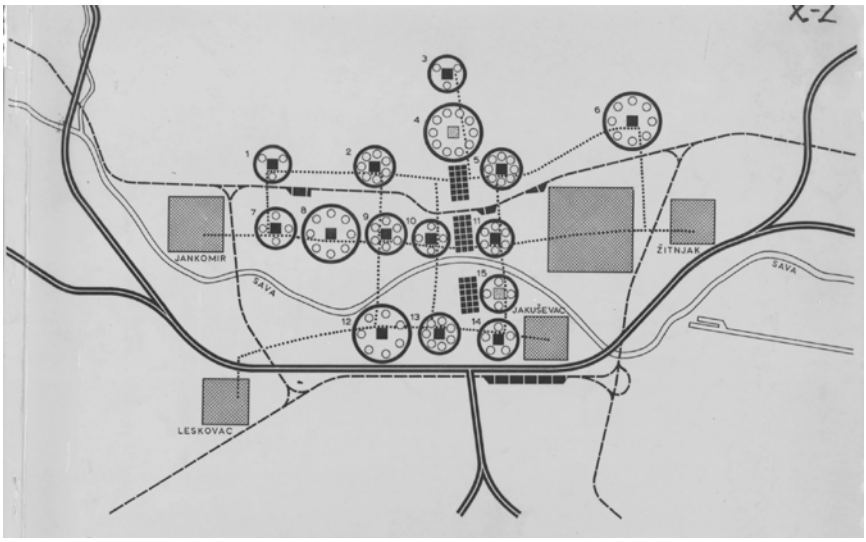


Figure 4. Urban program of Zagreb – 1965 (Faculty of Architecture archive)

2.3.3 General urban plan 1971

The General urban zoning plan was made based on the Urban zoning program from 1965. In the general urban plan, unlike the program, special care was paid to the wider aspect of city space (Figure 5). The city development paths were determined as well as important interest zones in suburb areas. It was determined that these routes would go along the existing railroad so the implementation of a fast city railroad was stipulated. The conclusion was that this would not be possible without building a separate fast railway system. The consequence of giving up on a city

railroad was an additional load on roads with new residential development along this course.

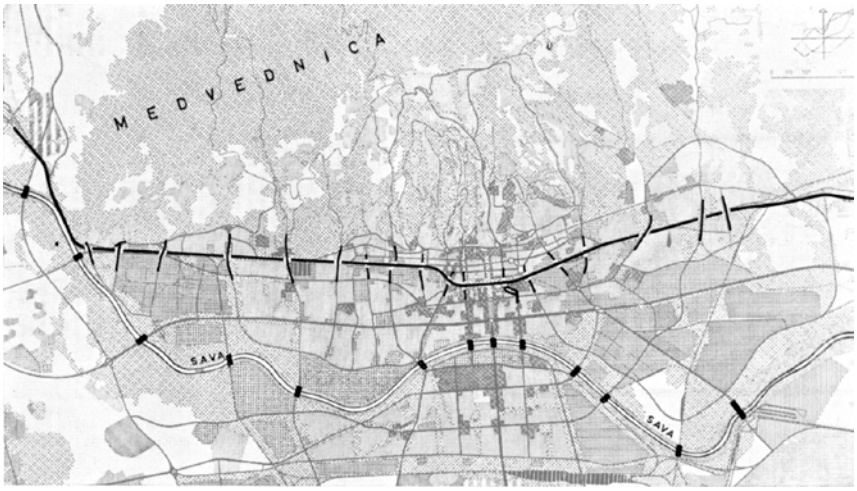


Figure 5. General urban plan of Zagreb – 1971 (Faculty of Architecture archive)

2.3.4 General urban plan 1986

The exception was the 1986 Plan in which new zones for future development of the city were planned along the railway zones. Owing to an unprecedented urban expansion, the railway system was, for the first time, planned as a public means of transport with a proposed model of an integrated city transport system (Andrijević, Bašić & Tutek, 2005).

2.4 Railway in city spatial plans from 1991 onwards

A number of proposals for developing and improving the railway marked the beginning of the 21st century (Figure 6). City authorities, in collaboration with experts in the field of railway transport, planned to expand the railway system and better incorporate it into the public transport network. That way the railway infrastructure would be transformed from a barrier to one of the main city connectors. Consequently, a number of urban areas located along the railway corridor would undergo transformation - consolidation in the case of unfinished urban neighborhoods and conversion in the case of abandoned industrial areas (brownfield sites). Recent research into the development of the City of Zagreb largely concerned suggestions of possible strategies of urban development along the railway infrastructure. Possible locations for urban railway stations (as development potentials of new urban centers) are studied, as well as possibilities for the conversion and transformation of industrial facilities (that were, until recently, in the function of the railway in the city center) and new scenarios for elevating and lowering the vertical alignment of the entire urban railway corridor (Gašparović, Petrović Krajnik & Hladki, 2015).

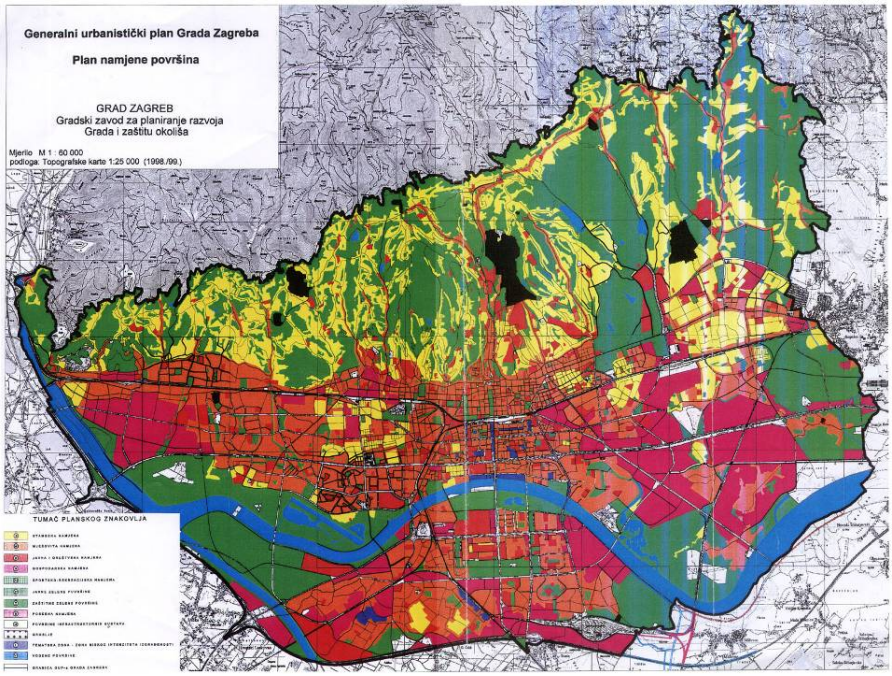


Figure 6. General urban plan of Zagreb – 1993 (Faculty of Architecture archive)

In the next stage of developing urban areas, after the city railway system would become operational, the area adjacent to the railway is expected to become potentially interesting for urbanization. In particular, the area that is still completely inarticulate. There could be a chance to finally settle the individual zones which have still not been fully urbanized and which are located along the railway route within the city center or gravitating towards the city center (Vukić, 1993).

3 STUDENT WORKSHOP

This paper presents the results of work by third-year (undergraduate) students at the Faculty of Architecture in their course City Planning in the 2008/2009, 2009/2010 and 2010/2011 academic years. These students were involved in research on urban planning and development along the railway line, as well as complex tasks of urban study of revitalization and renovation of the city's industrial district. This area is of great importance for the city and has been studied closely. The objective of the student assignment was to develop a clear concept and propose a vision for the physical development of the area. As part of the course, research was carried out on guidelines for urban development of the city railroad area, with an intention of linking the northern and the southern part of Zagreb.

The scope of analysis included the eastern part of the railroad area from the Central Railway Station to the Dubec area, which was narrowed down to four areas of special interest: Heinzelova, Borongaj-Volovčica and Čulinec - locations of former industrial or army facilities (brownfields)designated for conversion into new city potentials (Figure 7). The research area along the railroad consists of a series of urban fragments. It is a sort of a "zone of disturbance", a zone of urban voids and interstitial areas. However, the area north of the railway could be characterized as stable, having certain historical or symbolic weight, a sort of rootedness and permanence (as inevitable conditions for the usual perception of urbanity), whereas south of the railway exists a series of atmospheres governed by instability, movement, fragility and mobility (Mimica, 1996).

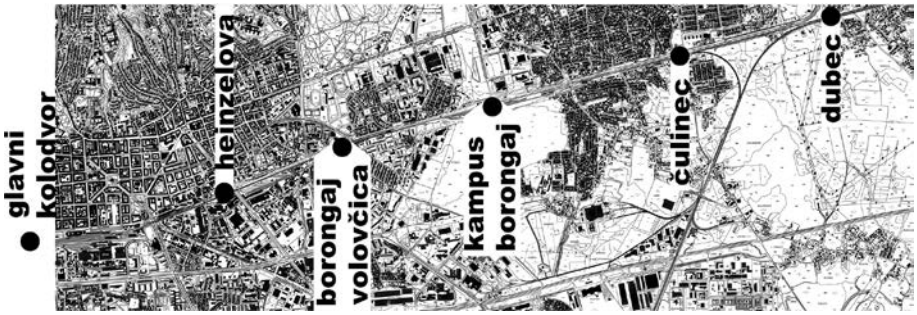


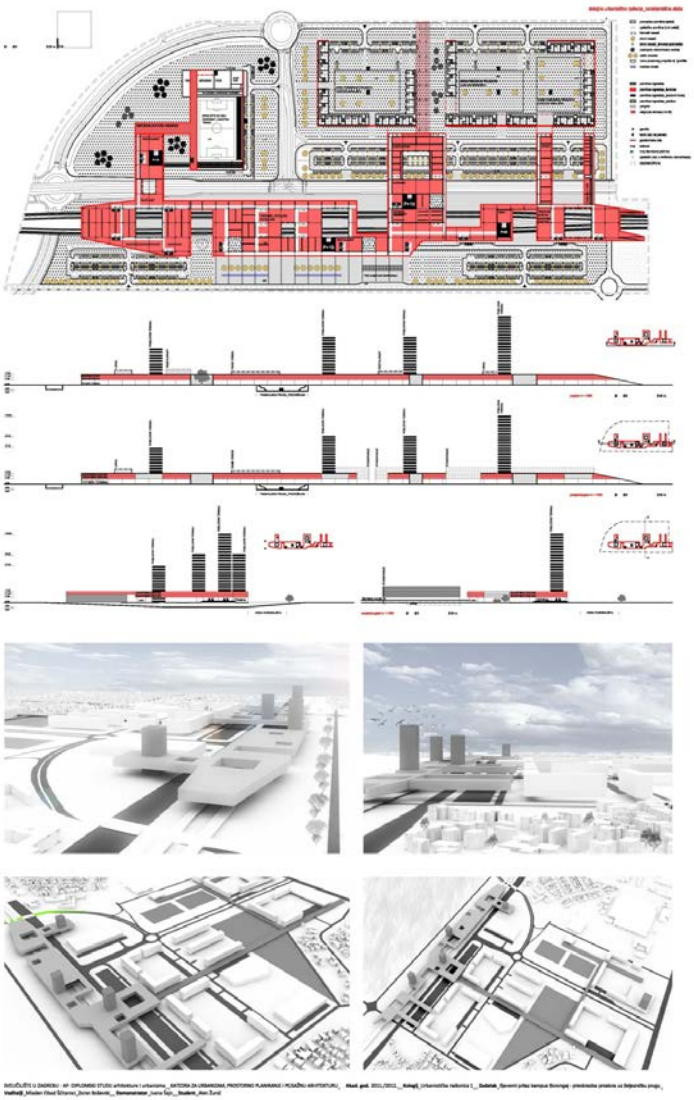
Figure 7. Student workshop - eastern part of railroad area

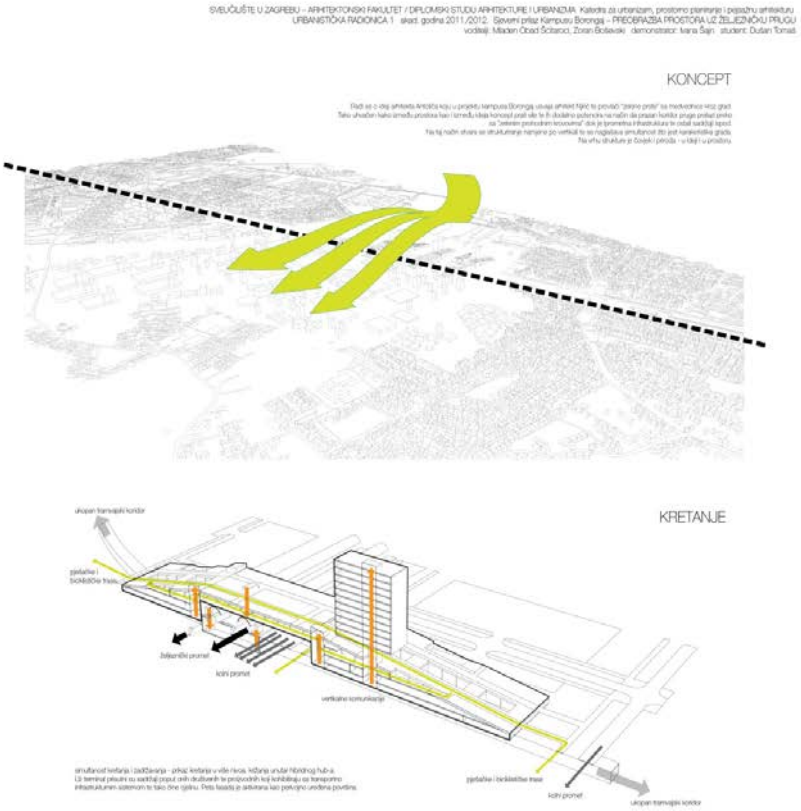
Students examined the potential initiatives for the urban reconstruction and affirmation of the city district, thereby setting in motion the process of transformation of the eastern part of the city, where industries have moved out and the railway is not adequately used, and which is still insufficiently articulated in urban planning terms.

While working at the urban student workshop, students questioned the possibilities for the affirmation of certain propulsive city areas in the east part of Zagreb, next to the city railroad. The task encompasses the research of the predominant meaning of this track (program, purporting and physiognomic) in the context of Zagreb's linear tracks as well as planning the urban area in its vicinity. The goals are qualitative structural and purporting subunits that fully fit in the city space. The task encompasses rational and functional seizing of planned surfaces for new city areas. The research process and creativity of ideas in planning the space in partly undeveloped and urbanistic unplanned areas is not limited to strictly defined borders.

With respect to zone planning offered within the City of Zagreb General Urban Plan, this proposal for a new city route will determine the precise purpose of these areas. New ideas for public areas suggested by students range from social and public to trading and economy to recreational and communal, with housing as the main substance of the city. This creative act of city planning is expected to yield results that will determine the qualitative and quantitative programs of utilization as well as elucidating the optimal

space capacity. In addition to new purposes, students also proposed new vertical city sizes and urban structures, with the proposition for basic urban rules that can control each architectural development (Figures 8-9).





Figures 8-9. Student work – proposal for railway metropolitan area

4 CONCLUSIONS

The research focuses on urban consolidation and urban renewal of the city, re-urbanization of the city as a whole, as well as on run-down, underused and neglected areas. Due to the student research projects, urban consolidation and city renewal do not mean, as in general urban development plans, a form of spatial planning of the earlier "left out" parts along the city railway, but a renewal of basic spatial characteristics and the identity of the urbanity of Zagreb — the renewal of urban culture and culture of urban development, and consolidation of the city structure as a whole.

In that way the future General urban development plan of Zagreb, in an entirely new context of the capital, should represent not only the fundamental regulating urban development plan but also the whole urban strategy for Zagreb, especially the strategy of managing and governing space as the fundamental benefit of the city. The urban strategy of Zagreb, as a synthesis of goals and measures for the city revitalization, reuse and development, is of an even greater importance bearing in mind the new context of Zagreb as an international, European and national center, its new role in the network of major European cities, and the need to ensure the continuity of its urban culture.

Finally, it should be noted that the whole area along the railroad is potentially interesting as the location for new central multifunctional zones. It is important to determine the strategy of relations towards certain points - train stations and their gravitating areas. Clearly, train stations and the surrounding gravitating areas do not have the same history, nor do they have the same current urban situation. In other words, the intensity of urbanity along the railway line decreases from the center to the east or west. If the goal is to use the railway to connect several urbanized points into a unique city called Zagreb, it is necessary to develop individual strategies for each of the points and a common strategy for the entire railroad based on common characteristics of all individual points. Therefore, for each station to function as a point of urbanity, the entire system should be approached complexly, respecting the characteristics and identity of each urban and suburban part, which can thus connect.

The stretch along the railway should be a territory linking the city margins, the margins of the planned city south of the railway (20th century) and the margins of the historic city (19th century). A chain of different locations along the railway offers a continuity of fragments constituting the real and potential urbanity of the city on the railway.

This research is part of the scientific project Heritage Urbanism - Urban and Spatial Planning Models for Revival and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage (2032), financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, which is being carried out at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb, under the project leadership of prof. Mladen Obad Šćitaroci, Ph.D. F.C.A.

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Chapter 4

Exclusion, diversity and conviviality at local scale

Maria Manuela Mendes
Olga Magano

Territories of exclusion the reproduction of social and urban inequalities in Lisbon Metropolitan Area

ABSTRACT:

Urban areas continue to be characterized by physical spaces that reproduce social inequalities arising from the economic and symbolic value attributed to different areas, owing both to the pressure of the real estate market and the higher classes or social elites who tend to gather on the "best" places in general more expensive and with good mobility. In contrast, economically poorest people are confined to urban spaces with unskilled population and to the outskirts of the urban fabric (poor accessibility, urban abandonment, lack of urban planning and no landscaping, dilapidated housing, etc.).
This latter context applies to the Gypsy/Roma population who is usually poorly housed and reside in disqualified urban areas. These territories are marked by a strong stigma, mainly due to the effects of hyper media coverage and by a strong isolation in relation to the surrounding areas. This reality impacts directly in the schools of these neighbourhoods, regarding the level of success and the continuity of the education pathways of children and young people, many of which are of Gypsy/ Roma origin. This paper intends to give an account of these existing urban concerns in specific territories (neighbourhood relocation) within the metropolitan areas of Lisbon. An ethnographic approach will be used in the analysis of space and its dimensions that reveal the reproduction of social inequalities in some social groups, particularly regarding the Gypsy/Roma population.

KEYWORDS: *territorial exclusion, urban inequalities, Gypsies/Roma, residential and social vulnerabilities, Lisbon Metropolitan Area*

1 INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, alongside the European Union enlargement process, the 'Roma/Gypsy issue' became central to European political debates. The inequalities that marked Gypsies across Europe were no longer confined to a set of countries, exposing the weakness of a Europe that although prosperous, has been unable to reduce the asymmetries between Gypsies and non-Gypsies for centuries. Even today, as a recent World Bank (2014) report shows, the disparities between a Gypsy family and an average European family broadens every day and a great majority is at high risk of poverty. Gypsies, either individuals or families, are in a position of socio-economic vulnerability (FRA, 2012) resulting from a complex set of interrelated factors. Gypsies are affected by a self-perpetuating cycle of unequal opportunities, ethnic discrimination and stifled aspirations. The launch in 2012 of the National Gypsies Integration Strategies fostered new possibilities to improve the living conditions of Gypsies in Europe. In Portugal, estimates suggest that there are about 40000 to 60000 *Ciganos* citizens (ACIDI, 2013), a small population size when compared to other countries, namely, in Central Europe. Nevertheless, the living conditions experienced by Portuguese Gypsies are very similar to those lived by other Gypsy across Europe (ERRC/NÚMENA 2007; FRA 2012). Portugal is now implementing its National 'Gypsies Communities' Integration Strategy, which is based on four fundamental aspects: education, employment, healthcare, and housing. This new political perspective is expected to bring important changes that might contribute to reduce the pressing inequalities between Gypsies and non-Gypsies.

This paper aims to present some results of a research about the impact of public policies on the living conditions related with the right to the city and with the housing of Portuguese Gypsies, including men and women, individuals and families. This study encompasses a literature review, document analysis centred on public policies, programmes and projects and interviews with individual and institutional stakeholders. An ethnographic approach is used for the analysis of the several dimensions that reveal the reproduction of social and space inequalities regarding Portuguese Gypsies/Roma.

Urban areas continue to be characterized by physical spaces that reproduce social inequalities related to the economic and symbolic values attributed to different areas under the pressure of the private housing estate market but also by the pressure of the classes with a higher status. Privileged classes tend to choose the "best places", usually more expensive and offering good mobility and quality of life. In opposition, poor people are relegated to the most unskilled urban spaces and to the outskirts of the urban fabric. Loïc Wacquant (2014) presented the concept of advanced marginalisation which does not describe a residual or transitive situation, but an organic and institutional one. In other words, it is a situation in which the state plays a strong role in the production of marginalization, for instance in the development of policies for the construction and location of social housing. The hyper-incarceration (Wacquant, 2000) is connected with the territorial stigmatization,

given that public policies (e.g. housing) generally tend to punish the poor. In urban space, side by side but without connection, gated communities exist: medium and large housing estates; spaces of ethnicity, or urban ethnic ghettos or spaces of exile (Castel, 2008). In Portugal, gypsy population, in general, tend to live in **marginal** urban areas in a context of severe social and residential vulnerability.

2 ETNOGRAPHIC APPROACH: BRIEF OVERVIEW

Ethnography has gained some importance in the social sciences, and not only in the anthropological field, conceived as a qualitative methodology of knowledge production which describes a particular social reality (Denzin et al. 2000). One of the key points of this method is the centrality of the field work, observation and intersubjectivity.

In this research, the ethnographic approach was carried out in three selected areas of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Loures, Lisbon and Amadora) and took place between June and December 2014, followed by a period of sporadic visits to the field (s). The ethnographic work field began during the phase of exploratory mapping and selection of territories that we wanted to know in a more in-depth way, involving short journeys to the field in order to carry out exploratory interviews and to participate in activities organized by the institutions that were our field liaison. The collaboration with institutional actors during the exploratory phase, specifically technicians and leaders of local intervention some of which were gypsies, was essential to the success of the work, since the period of time for this preliminary work was limited. As they knew the community well and had access to them, they introduced us to the local families and Gipsy people of these territories, facilitating the initial contact to the field and the identification of families that would be worthwhile knowing in accordance with the aims of the research project.

Despite the many advantages of this strategic approach to the field, some constraints were identified regarding how our presence in these territories was experienced by the Gypsies. Since we were seen as being closely connected with the technicians that bridged our first contact with them, some Gypsies considered that we were mostly committed to our research agenda, while others stated that they had either no ability, or competence to reply. On the other hand, the fieldwork allowed us to better understand the relationship between the Gypsies and those who intervene in these territories at the institutional level, as well as to identify the needs and difficulties of the community more directly.

The most challenging time in the field was faced when we extended the periods of observation of the everyday lives of the persons we met in these neighbourhoods. Some of the individuals raised questions about the reasons of our presence: "Why are you staying here? I've already answered to everything!"; "Look, they (technicians) are down there, why are you not there?". They expressed these doubts especially when asked about issues regarding the school environment. Despite being introduced to each other several times, and after posing some questions, we were at times

questioned whether we would be engaged in social work: "Listen, you're not studying to be a social worker, are you? You're not social worker, are you?".

Conducting ethnographic observation together with semi-structured interviews allowed us to collect several direct testimonies on the topics that interested us. However, if the relational informality that we built up allowed us to get insight into the everyday of Gypsy people who were known to us, it soon created some hindrances, either in terms of the difficulty of scheduling the activities in the field, or in keeping the timetable of the pre-arranged interviews.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Even though Gypsies have lived in Portugal for more than five centuries, they are still relatively unknown and unrecognised either as a national minority, or as an ethnic one. They are considered to be citizens with no special rights, guarantees or protection. The lack of recognition and the prejudiced incorrect 'knowledge' about them help in creating views that are confined and distorted, which convey feelings of disdain and superiority towards the Gypsies. These factors negatively affect and restrict their lives and can be considered as another form of oppression (Taylor, 1998). The inadequate or non-recognition of what it means to be a Gypsy and its way of life by institutions and public policies, as well as their social invisibility in the public space have adversely affected them (Bastos, 2007). Also, there is no statistical information about Gypsy citizens in the case of Portuguese communities. However, in the last decade, alongside the EU enlargement process, the 'Roma/Gypsy issue', as it is frequently called, became central to European political debates. In Portugal, until recently the political and public discussions around Gypsies remained minimal and at the margins of other EU Member-States efforts. The pervasive invisibility of Gypsies in society and the absence of regulation in public policies regarding their issues have been consistently reinforced by stereotypical negative representations. Such negative imagery helps explaining why Gypsy persons are still the largest rejected minority in Portugal. The refusal by the Portuguese State to participate in the first political commitment signed by several governments which directly addressed the socioeconomic situation and the social integration of Gypsies populations, known as the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) is a striking example of the non-recognition of the unequal situation experienced by Portuguese Gypsies. More recently, along with the intensification of the official discourse on the social integration of 'Roma' in Europe, the 'integration' of Portuguese Gypsies/Roma attained an unprecedented attention in the national context, culminating in the establishment of the first known National Strategy for the integration of the '*Comunidades Ciganas*' ('Gypsy/Roma Communities') in 2013 (Council of Ministers' Resolution no. 25/2013 of 27 March), this time following a direct request from the EU to its Member States (European Parliament 2011). Many criticisms were made against the ways in which the Strategy was conceived, raised by those who directly work with Gypsy families. Even among Gypsy representatives and mediators there was a lack of knowledge

about the Strategy. Despite all this, it is recognised as being an important political step that might contribute to reduce the persistent inequalities between Gypsies and non-Gypsies.

The living conditions and challenges experienced by Portuguese Gypsies are close to others in EU, particularly in terms of education, employment and vocational training, housing, health and discrimination they are subject to (ERRC/NÚMENA, 2007; FRA, 2012). The increasing wave of scientific work produced since the '90s, mainly qualitative and micro studies located in specific geographical areas made in the Master's and Doctoral Programmes, made evident the plurality of ways of living amongst the Gypsies, the exclusions and tensions experienced, the complexity of intra and inter-ethnic relations (Bastos el al. 2012, Mendes el al. 2013) and the changes and continuities between generations, of those who are considered by other Gypsies as living as 'Senhores' ('Gentlemen/as non gypsies) (Magano 2014). However, outside academia a lack of knowledge about them remains, including amongst the technicians who work with these communities and the social intervention project coordinators. For instance, there is a persistent social representation that associates the 'Gypsy way of life' with 'nomadism', despite the fact that a majority of Gypsies has been living, for decades, in the same places in urban areas (Mendes et al. 2013, Mendes et al. 2014).
Until recently, there was also an absence of studies with a more global view. The first national study conducted in 2014 corroborated previous research findings and, more than ever before, exposed the harsh reality of Gypsies' lives and the deep inequalities between them and the rest of the population, namely in relation to schooling paths (Mendes el al. 2014), as well as in other spheres, as housing. Specifically, the national study shows that in 1599 respondents, about one third did not exceed the first 4 years of school or never attended school; only 2.8% have secondary or higher education. But the study also shows important underway changes and its impacts in various dimensions, such as the growing interest in schooling, a strengthened relationship between the school and the families, a reduction of absenteeism and dropout rates via the Social Insertion Income policy and a higher presence of children in nurseries and kindergartens. It is worth while mentioning that there was an increase in the participation of women in adult literacy and courses.
However, the hostility and rejection towards Gypsies persists in different configurations, for example, it is manifest in the high visibility of their social and ethnic segregation, actually re-enacted by the relocation operations which result in their displacement to the periphery and to suburban areas. Empirical evidence reveals the high anti-Gypsy hostility in Europe, including Portugal; data shows that 48.9% of Portuguese say they do not want to have a Gypsy as a neighbour (Vitale, & Claps, (2010). The Gypsies continue to experience double discrimination in terms of housing: in the private sector of the housing market when seeking accommodation to rent or buy; and in the access to social housing. Nowadays, Gypsies generally live on the outskirts of cities, villages and localities. They dwell in profitability without land, next to industrial areas that are difficult to access, places where rubbish is dumped or where animals live. They are systematic separated from the rest of the

population in regard to the public facilities, including schools and health centres, which proves to be a disincentive to education and medical care (Neves, 2013).

4 RESIDENTIAL AND SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

Housing is one of four areas chosen by the National Strategy as key to operate the integration of Gypsies. The shaft housing, among other objectives, is reinforced by the need to promote non-discriminatory access to housing, including social housing. The importance of this dimension extends beyond the issues inherent to the problem of social housing since it also addresses the specific needs of Gypsies that are not sedentary (e.g. get access to adequate stopping places), including the persistence of "forced nomads" (Correia, 2012; Bastos, Correia and Rodrigues, 2007; Brazzabeni, 2013). It should be remembered that in Portugal there are still Gypsy people who did not have access to adequate housing, and therefore are still living in unhealthy environments, such as camps or dwellings with no sanitary conditions and without access to most basic public services (Nicolau, 2010; Parliamentary Commission, 2008).

Since 1993, through the implementation of the Special Re-housing Plan (PER), conceived as a solution to address the housing needs, with the ultimate purpose of proceeding to the eradication of the stalls and the relocation of the families (DL nº 163/93, 07 / 05). Many Gypsies families were re-housed in social housing neighbourhoods, promoting their sedentariness and facilitating the everyday coexistence in intercultural contexts.

According to RAXEN National Focal Point- Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers, the PER helped to reduce levels of segregation of immigrants and ethnic groups (NÚMENA, 2009), but there are problematic aspects associated with this program (Guerra, 1994; Malheiros and Mendes, 2005; Pereira et al, 2011), particularly the high concentration of Gypsies in social housing and strong residential vulnerabilities in the post-resettlement. Moreover, Gypsies are also over-represented in precarious housing situations. It is estimated that between 16% to 31% of the Gypsy population live in precarious conditions, while this data is 0.8% among Portuguese in general (Neves, 2013; Parliamentary Commission, 2008).

In a survey conducted in 2011 by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in 11 member countries, 80% of respondents were Gypsies households at risk of poverty, and the highest levels occurred in Portugal (almost 100%), Italy and France. In particular, as regards the living conditions in the homes of respondents Gypsies lived on average more than two people in a room; about 45% of the respondents lived in housings that did not have at least one of the following facilities inside: a kitchen, a bathroom, a shower, a bathtub, or electricity.

In 2011 the European Committee of Social Rights condemned the Portuguese State based on a complaint grounded on a comprehensive report of the European Centre for Roma Rights, between 2005 and 2011, which concluded that the way the Government viewed the Gypsies housing situation was "discriminatory". The sentence also mentions specific cases of "social and spatial segregation" of Gypsies in Portugal as it is the case of Pedreiras neighbourhood in the city of Beja "where local authorities walled-off the Gypsies "(Neves, 2013). More recently, the NGO European Roma Rights Centre denounced the eviction of 70 Gypsies in the municipality of Vidigueira (in Alentejo Region) through a public letter.

It was also made known by this letter that Almeirim municipality “is not for Gypsies”. Recently, on 8 of April, The Roma International Day, the Municipality of Almeirim began to raze the Gypsies camp in an industrial zone. For now, three tents were torn down, and approximately 40 children and 20 adults who have lived there for twelve years in wood and canvas tents with plate covers are under threat of expulsion.

According to a national study (Mendes el al. 2014), in terms of housing, although most of the 1599 respondents (67%) live in conventional dwellings (apartments and villas), about 28% still live in tents, rudimentary houses or wood. However, there are notably some regional differences. Thus, in the region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley, 94% of respondents are living in classic dwellings. This percentage drops to 71% in the North, while 68% of the Algarve's Gypsies live in tents or rudimentary houses. When asked about the occurrence of food deprivation which the household may have experienced last year, 48% said there were moments when they were starving, among these, 16% indicated that this had happened many times. Food deprivation is more common among the less educated, those with 65 or more years and especially among residents in the Algarve. Most of the respondents are tenants or sub state tenants. Although most of them live in relatively recent social housing, these have problems and pathologies, noise and the cold are the two problems more frequently mentioned by respondents. In our perspective, sometimes the resettlement can be one mechanism of social production of marginality where the state has a significant responsibility in producing the marginalization of these people and incorporating into the territory (Wacquant, 2014). The resettlement is in most cases a process which perpetuates the disadvantages of previous situations and segregation. Their relegation and segregation to disqualified spaces reveals the territorialisation of poverty and exclusion, constituting an obstacle to integration.

5 METROPOLITAN AREA OF LISBON - QUINTA DA FONTE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The ethnographic approach was conducted in some neighbourhoods with a strong presence of Gypsies, such us Quinta da Fonte, between June and December of 2014. This neighbourhood is located in the municipality of Loures, standing along the right bank of Tagus River in the North of Lisbon. Quinta da Fonte neighbourhood was created under the Special Plan of Resettlement (PER), between the years 1996 and 1998, and emerges as a response to the need to relocate the population that lived in slums along a highway named CRIL (Circular Regional Interior de Lisbon). Some of the residents came from the area of Expo 98, from which they were displaced. This resettlement resulted in a forced cohabitation and a forced ethic mix. The appraisal of this resolution by different institutions working on the ground is that the majority of the population that resides here is in a “great social exclusion”. Some are in position to meet the conditions to leave this place, while others cannot or do not want to leave.

Quinta da Fonte is geographically isolated (see photos) and closed off from the inner city. This is one of the neighbourhoods where the residents experience the most difficult access to the city of Lisbon (30 minutes by public transport to Campo Grande in Lisbon), where many of them work. This implies higher travel costs (price of normal travel by public transport EUR 3.25). It was not infrequent to find many people, gypsies and others, using this means of transport without paying or using a "borrowed” card.

This neighbourhood is composed by more than 500 houses, inhabited by families with different backgrounds. Here, in 2008, were living around 2,206 people, almost 40% of families were of African origin and 39% of Gypsy origin. In recent years, a drastic reduction occurred in the number of Gypsy families in this territory motivated by the sense of insecurity felt by families. Nowadays almost 200 Gypsies live here. This decrease of population size occurred after some conflicts between Gypsies and "Africans", one of which became known to the wider society as “the shooting case”. It became a very stigmatizing event to the whole neighbourhood and to those who lived there. The media coverage of these events in Quinta da Fonte had a negative influence in their lives (mainly in job search, when they call a taxi, etc.). The relationship with the media is a complex one, since they tend to over-reporting and sensationalism. According to the media, Quinta da Fonte is part of the cartography of prohibited neighbourhoods (Wacquant, 2000).

Therefore, in the field, especially in the first approaches of interaction between residents, particularly between "Gypsies" and "Africans", everyone (residents and institutions) are quick to contextualize what happened and to devaluate the relevance of the incident. However, relations between Gypsies and "Africans" are not peaceful. The interaction between Gypsies and "African" is a complex process, but not so problematic among the residents who know each other before the relocation. Gypsies tend to report that the problem is among the youngest, not among the oldest. In the interview

extract below conducted with a Gypsy resident and his wife, it is very evident the existence of mutual feelings of fear.

"R1: Many people left this place. So, it was stuffy, and they [Africans] know that if there is another war again it means to kill. And then they are also afraid, they know that there are people who kill. And then they are afraid… R2: We want to live in peace, that's it." (R1: João, Gypsy man, 42 years old, resident, unemployed; R2: his wife)

In this neighbourhood, Gypsies are a numeric and symbolic minority, while the "African" presence in is very marked. Social and ethic divisions are reflected in the use of public space. There is almost a division of space between Gypsies and Africans, not so much at the level of the dwellings (though some ethnic concentration was identified) but more in terms of the occupation of the territory. For example: some benches and stairs can solely be for use by Gypsy people, while some other areas tend to be monopolized by Africans. The Gypsies stay more time at the north end of the neighbourhood (one of the main entrances). The public space is perceived as very degraded and some Gypsies have shops in the neighbourhood, however, they failed to exploit them, choosing to rent the property of other non-Gypsies residents.

Very few Gypsies, and also non-Gypsies, are happy to live here. Many wanted to live elsewhere and often asked to be relocated, especially those who have no family in this place. Others say that they still live here because they reached "the end of the line". This is the case of people with heavy debts, or persons that have lost their business and their home.

5 CONCLUSION

All the way through the history of the gypsy population until now, the role of the state in producing their marginalization is significant. Moreover, the persistence of segregation processes in space reflects and reinforces strong social inequalities and divisions.

The consequences of the processes of resettlement housing indicate that this measure only transfers the same problems to other places. The social, cultural and economic problems that existed in pre-relocation tend to be reproduced in the post resettlement spaces, perpetuating negative stigmas. The marginalization that affects Gypsies is also incorporated into the new territories of resettlement. Therefore, to change this situation an integrated, participatory and multidimensional intervention and approach is needed, which would simultaneously promote structural development and social change.

This research confirms that there Portuguese Gypsies, which contradicts the essentialist and reifying images that still persist associated to people and Gypsy families including among social stakeholders, academics and policy makers.

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Maria Manuela Mendes

Mouraria quarter and Intendente area in Lisbon (Portugal): from infamous neighbourhood to a cosmopolitan place

ABSTRACT:

This article has as a basis in a wider research which deals with cultures of conviviality and super diversity, by other words, its conceptual matrix is lying on the theoretical proposals developed by P. Gilroy and S. Vertovec. Here we try to discuss some results obtained from the field research carried out in the Mouraria neighbourhood and in the Intendente area in Lisbon, which was based on the use of empirical material resulting from the mobilization of a methodological strategy of predominantly qualitative tendency, focused on documental analysis, and the observation of public spaces and events between 2010/ 2011 and 2014.

This discussion aims precisely at problematizing the main changes in course in these area of Lisbon and carry on with some research and interpretation lines which will contribute to a reflection about the processes of social construction of public images about Mouraria and Intendente, which have led some of the practices and policies concerning the socio-territorial intervention in order to transform these spaces in a more inclusive urban area.

KEYWORDS: *Mouraria quarter, Intendente area, conviviality, diversity, Lisbon, Portugal*

1 INTRODUCTION

This text is based on broader research conducted in the Mouraria quarter of Lisbon, whose core topic revolves around cultures of living together and super-diversity, with a conceptual matrix founded on the theoretical proposals by P. Gilroy and S. Vertovec.

The goal of the present reflection document is precisely to problematize the main transformations that are underway in this area of Lisbon, and to put forward some lines of interpretation that will help to think about the processes of the social construction of public images of Mouraria and the ways in which residents, workers, small businesspeople, politicians and technical specialists who intervene locally live together and interact.

If we start with the central issue – that we are in the presence of a territory which is marked by super-diversity – it is important to understand the extent to which those of the quarter's different practices, perceptions and meanings that are shared by social (residents, visitors, workers and small businesspeople) and socio-institutional (NGOs, churches, associations, intervention projects, local and municipal public departments and services) actors coexist or conflict with one another. One of the main goals precisely entails getting to know the relations involved in the cultural co-existence in a space in which migrations and diversity are part of daily life and take on an almost banal nature.

There are two articulated parts to our exposé: in the first, we weigh up the main conceptual and methodological instruments mobilised in the present research; in the second, we give an account of the preliminary results of the study itself. The conclusion broaches some questions for further reflection, which offer a contribution to the debate on the changes that are taking place in this area of Lisbon.

The analysis of the Mouraria quarter is founded on two key concepts: Paul Gilroy's (2004) *conviviality* (which we have translated into Portuguese as "*culturas de convivência*", or literally, "cultures of living together"); and Steven Vertovec's (2004, 2007a, 2007b) *super-diversity*. The first of the two seeks to reflect the processes of cohabitation and interaction that make multiculturalism a common and commonplace characteristic of the social life in urban centres – namely post-colonial cities marked by the "new migrations". In the *locus* of our own study, we have tried to apply this concept on a micro-local scale, more precisely that of a quarter or neighbourhood.

In turn, Vertovec has made an indelible contribution to the critical debate about multiculturalism by proposing the concept of super-diversity, which seeks to overcome the limitations linked to the use of ethnicity as the primary factor in the explanation of diversity. Although multiculturalism is sometimes taken as an equivalent of diversity, the term "super-diversity" invokes the importance of the "new combinations of and interactions between variables" that are present in contemporary societies. However, the variables in super-

diversity are not entirely new, nor are many of their correlations. This conceptual proposal implies taking a multidimensional approach (including: country of origin, ethnicity, languages and religion; migration channels and legal status; insertion into a given location; transnational practices; and the responses that are generally offered by local authorities, service providers and local residents).
In the context of the present research, the operationalisation of these concepts directly entails the design of the empirical research, which is predominantly qualitative in nature. One of our main goals was to identify, describe and analyse contexts in which there is super-diversity and cultural conviviality in areas where migrations and diversity are part of daily life. The methodological procedures we have adopted also seek to discern from residents, small businesspeople, workers and socio-institutional agents who intervene in the selected contexts first-hand person and on a daily basis, the perceptions they have constructed about Mouraria as a super-diverse context, the dominant ways in which they live together and interact, and also both the latent and the manifest tensions and forms of conflictuality in this *locus*.

Before we chose the study context, we made a number of exploratory visits to various parts of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (AML) and to associations and institutions that intervene there on a micro-local basis, and we also carried out a documentary analysis and mapping of the presence of immigrants, NGOs, intercultural events and relevant projects in the AML territory. Our final choice was the Mouraria quarter, which is part of the Lisbon Council Area.

2 THE MOURARIA QUARTER:"CITIES WITHIN THE CITY"

The empirical referential for the results presented here is the Mouraria quarter, which is one of the areas (others include Bica, Alfama, and Castelo [the medieval Castle]) that make up the group of Historic Quarters and Urban Ensembles that give Lisbon a particular identity. Mouraria occupies a singular position within the overall context of the city, and a number of recent official documents refer to it as a "landmark", "a place with a spirit of its own", which makes both this quarter and the city of Lisbon competitive within the networks of world cities, the tourist market in general, and the market for city tourism in particular (UP Mouraria, 2010, p. 3). Sharon Zukin (1995) says that there is a correlation between migrations and the urban economy, which contributes to the creation of an ethno-cultural economy that can change the shape of the urban economy by generating aspects like the creation of new markets, new products and services and new cultural dynamics. In this context, in cities like Miami (where around half the population was born elsewhere), Amsterdam (40%) and London (25%), it is possible to find a dynamic of hyper-diversity. In this respect, Richard Florida (2004) underlines the importance of diversity as a factor for differentiation and attractiveness with regard to the creative classes, and concludes that the most sought-after

cities are those in which there is the greatest ethnic and cultural diversity. In Florida's (2004) view, migrations give cities a cosmopolitan nature that makes them more desirable to the creative classes.
Mouraria's origins in the distant past as an Arab or "Moorish" suburb are part of the history of the city of Lisbon, while the "cultural diversity" associated with the more recent presence of immigrants in the quarter is seen as a key factor for Lisbon's competitiveness in relation to other cities. In a broader sense, this description of Lisbon as a city of diversity highlights the multiplicity of origins of both the people and the products and/or cultural services that exist in the city (Carvalho, 2006: 92). More specifically, the Mouraria Shopping Centre "represents an unparalleled centre of cosmopolitan activity" (*Agenda CML*, Apr. 2004: 6) and is "a lively market and a multi-ethnic melting pot" (*Time Out*, 2001: 166, *cit.* Carvalho, 2006: 93). More recently, in 2009, the Action Programme "Mouraria: cities within the city" was submitted for funding under the National Strategic Reference Framework (QREN). Attributes like the quarter's multiculturality and ethnic diversity have been significantly strengthened and broadened by the "Festival for All" (*Festival Todos*), and the initiatives undertaken by the "Renew Mouraria" Association, with thematic walking tours such as "Come and Get to Know the Chinese Mouraria", or "Mouraria: from its origins to today's multicultural: 900 years of history".

Our documentary analysis highlights the call for cosmopolitism that coexists and even works well with Lisbon's image as a city of quarters and neighbourhoods – popular, picturesque and typical – that has been persistently produced over the course of the 20th century (Cordeiro and Costa, 1999: 58).

In the opinion of Sharon Zukin (1995), this ethnic/cultural diversity on the part of cities has significant positive impacts. However, diversity can also be seen as a threat to social and territorial cohesion in some city areas that are composed of a multi-ethnic coexistence; yet, on the other hand, the same attribute can be capitalised in urban marketing campaigns associated with cosmopolitan lifestyles, which seek to promote the consumption of products and services with a certain "authenticity".

Albeit the notion of "quarter" is fluid and diffuse – sometimes an ensemble in its own right, sometimes part of something shared, or sometimes a part of a city with its own physiognomy and a certain unity, thereby configuring a singularity and a fragment of a whole (Clavel, 2004: 73); and it can even be considered an ideological notion (Lefebvre, 1967 *cit.* in Clavel, 2003,pp. 74-75), representing an ideal of community living as a natural framework for social life on a human scale. The quarter is a relative, subordinate sociological unit, which does not define social reality, but is necessary. "Without quarters, as without streets, there could be a built-up area, an urban fabric, a metropolis, but there is no city" (Lefebvre, 1971). This is the context in which the inhabitants' space and time take on shape and meaning within the urban space (Lefebvre, 1971). Cordeiro and Costa (1999, p. 60) agree that quarters "are real and imagined places, intrinsically articulated with other social units: from the small hubs of neighbourly interaction,

informal, sometimes structured into discrete networks, or polarised around a street, an association or a shop, to the parish– a broader political and administrative unit". In particular, the Mouraria quarter possesses an irregular urbanism with multiple street corners, alleys and narrow, winding streets, with a certain compactness of built spaces; its borders are hard to delimit, in that on the one hand it encompasses the whole of São Cristóvão e São Lourenço and Socorro parishes, while on the other it includes border areas, with parts of Graça, Anjos, and Santa Justa parishes.
The discourses about this territory reflect a number of contradictions that are expressed in tensions and forms of conflictuality and are organised around some core thematic axes: i) forms of conviviality between residents and small business owners with immigrant origins on the one hand, and autochthonous on the other; and ii) "typicity", exoticism and stigma.

3 FORMS OF CONVIVIALITY BETWEEN IMMIGRANTS AND AUTOCHTHONES

In Mouraria there coexists a certain diversity of statuses and practices among users, workers and residents, be they established autochthones, or newcomers, migrants or immigrants. In a study on the Mouraria quarter that she conducted between 1997 and 2001, Marluci Menezes (2003) emphasises the presence of two networks of sociability and local neighbourhood relations: that of proximity generated by residence, and that generated by work. This distinction is still quite pertinent today. In a recent study in which Paula Gésero (2011) looked at the Mouraria quarter and Praça Martim Moniz, she noted that there were tensions between the autochthonous residents and small businesspeople and those with foreign origins. The autochthones she interviewed sometimes used heated language to describe the lack of respect for the official rubbish collection times on the part of immigrant residents, and their unhygienic behaviour (dumping rubbish out of the window, general dirtiness, with a characteristic lack of cleanliness inside their buildings and homes).

In one of the field observations that we undertook as part of the project we are presenting here, one of the small business owners said that he was "not happy with the arrival of immigrants", and that there were "So many that it's already excessive"; and he went on to add that the Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, whom he called "pigs", put a huge number of rubbish bags outside their homes during the daytime.

The bad reputation of this quarter and of other, bordering areas, such as Praça do Intendente, is also linked to the presence of both small business owners and customers with immigrant origins. One of the interviewees, who was himself also a small business owner, emphasised that: *"The shopping centres they have there, on both sides, they're all a rough lot. Here, we're close to Intendente, which has a reputation that everyone knows about. The foundation stone of our business here was the Town Hall, which was down*

below here and moved away 6 or 7 years ago. And the clientele changed a lot. Our clientele... well, it's bad. It is a bad clientele because it's made up of people of every level"; "My wife, it's hard for her to come here. She comes once or twice a year. She arrives here and says: "Oh Zé, it seems like we're in another country." (autochthonous shopkeeper).

The difficulties involved in accepting alterity in a context of daily conviviality are also reflected at the level of smells and sounds, in terms of the spices used in the cooking of the various immigrant groups, and the sound of the different languages they speak – a situation which autochthones very often perceive as configuring a certain lack of respect, or even an attitude of resistance (particularly attributed to the Chinese), on the part of the immigrants towards their Portuguese neighbours (Gésero, 2011). One of the technical specialists who represent the Mouraria Project Unit (UPM) Unit highlighted the barriers to communication between autochthones and immigrants:

"Whereas the Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis speak English and people manage to gradually interact to a minimum extent, the Chinese do not speak it much and so things are more complicated…" (UPM).

But the misunderstanding and even rejection of "cultural difference" and the diversity of ways of life indicate the existence of latent and growing tensions in the daily existence of the quarter. One of the UPM specialists said that:

"the quarter is inhabited by many nationalities and races and the white community is also there. To me, there are two types of white community in there: there are those who were born there and live with a feeling of bitterness and difficulty towards the multicultural invasion the quarter has and displays. When it comes down to it, they find it difficult to live with Ramadan. The quarter has a series of mosques, and Ramadan means that people go to pray during the night, and as they can only eat at night, they also make a noise because they have small food gatherings so they can eat after they pray. This causes a situation in which there is a lot of noise in the street and the apartments. (…) Then there are African families who, instead of bringing the rubbish bag from the fifth floor to the rubbish bin, throw the rubbish bags into the backyard or into some space they consider to be a dump. The white people have their laundry, they get the chicken and the muamba sauce over it…

Although some of the Portuguese nationals among the interviewees display difficulties in understanding and accepting immigrants, there are others who make a question of saying that there are no "problems" or conflictual relations with their immigrant neighbours.

"Contrary to what people try to show, the people of the quarter and the immigrants 'have their backs turned to one another; let me explain this by saying that they are not hostile or aggressive; people may possibly say hello, but they do not relate with one another, or when they do relate, very often one hears complaints, for example about the Bangladeshis who throw their rubbish out any old how and late. That a neighbour is constantly cooking

curry and there's an intense smell in the building etc. Each person lives their own life, and well, there's no great friendship." (Renew Mouraria Association)

But it is the autochthones (and the more elderly) who mostly feel proud of their quarter (Fonseca, coord., 2010). The empirical evidence derived from a survey of 100 individuals with immigrant origins and 100 natives who lived in Mouraria and Martim Moniz in 2009-2010 indicates that there were high levels of interaction in public spaces (e.g. parks) and a small number of visits to people's homes, regardless of the respondent's origins (idem). Between 1991 and 2001, Mouraria attracted new residents who settled in São Cristóvão parish, forming around 11% of the people living there. According to the 2001 Censuses, 8.4% of Mouraria's (São Cristóvão parish) residents were foreigners, above all nationals of the Portuguese-Speaking African Countries (PALOPs, 25.3%), and of India, Pakistan and China (22.2%); it is also worth pointing to the presence of classic one or two-person families (72.4%), primarily widows living alone or elderly couples (*Censos*, 2001; UP Mouraria, 2010).

The public spaces in the quarter were mapped during the ethnographic research. The result indicates that there are different regimes for the occupation of public areas and that they do not overlap, that there is a segmented sociability, and that the use of public space is more ostensive among men. In this respect, Menezes (2003 p. 212) had already observed that the presence of men is more visible than that of women; and we may also recall that Bauman (2007:p. 60 and 133) said that urban life is lived by strangers among strangers, and that there are different forms of coexistence, including existing next door, existing with, and existing for. Our interviewees' testimonies seem to show that in Mouraria, existing next door is the most frequent format, and that it is reflected in fragmented or episodic contacts which only involve a small part of each individual's multiple desires and interests. The various socio-symbolic groups and universes coexist and live side-by-side, without knowing one another. This is clear from the following testimony:

"Mouraria is a culturally diversified quarter, there are a lot of groups ... People do not mix much; one distrusts the other and they do not want to" (Joana, ex-resident)

On the level of commercial and professional relations, Portuguese shopkeepers emphasise the "unfair" competition practised by their counterparts with immigrant origins, inasmuch as the latter enjoy tax benefits and the official inspections of their premises are more permissive (perception and feeling of injustice).

Irrespective of the criticisms that both sides may level at each other, the retail trade in this area of Lisbon has attracted new consumers, new businesspeople, new products, new services, and also new experiences. A restaurant owner with foreign origins clearly stated the juxtaposition of opportunities he found in Mouraria:

"Because they know the restaurants, they like the food. Now the internet is also helping quite a lot, because it has recipes, they know the products more. Indian food was always more savoury than the usual things. People have a lot of variety here too, in the products. (…) we have clients from almost everywhere in Portugal; we have clients from Leiria, Setúbal, Porto even; we also have clients from [Vila Nova da] Barquinha, from the Alentejo too; but the more regular clients are from Lisbon, the Lisbon district." (Restaurant owner, Bangladeshi national)

There are clearly heterogeneous and dissimilar representations and practices in this territory as a whole, with an overlap of specific territories, dynamics, people, trajectories and ways of life. There are thus "various voices" when people talk about the quarter (Menezes, 2003: 127), and it seems as though there are several Mourarias.

4 THE MOURARIA QUARTER: FROM "TYPICITY" AND EXOTICISM TO STIGMA

Another way of applying a naturalised categorisation to this territory is to see the Mouraria quarter as typical and bohemian, with popular traditions like Fado and the popular marches, festivals and processions (St. António, Our Lady of Health), charged to a certain degree with a "spirit of a quarter", and founding myths like those of Martim Moniz and Severa. The technical specialists who work in the local intervention services and projects clearly note that residents unite and get involved in popular cultural events.

"Mouraria has a high point in which the resident population gets quite involved – the Procession. They hold a vigil – a night vigil – and I have seen the people of the old part of Mouraria opening their windows and putting their mattresses there, and then being in the procession, and it's a popular expression." (UPM)

Emphasising Fado and recalling some of its most famous singers who lived in the quarter (Severa, Argentina Santos, Mariza, Fernando Maurício) is a strategy designed to make the landmarks of the Mouraria quarter's identity, history and inhabitants more visible. The QREN Action Programme that is underway in Mouraria includes plans to house the Sítio do Fado (literally, "Fado Place") in the house where Severa lived. With foreseeable effects on tourism and a boost to the local economy, this is expected to have positive consequences for the revitalisation of the quarter's economic and social fabric (UPM, 2010). These elements of Mouraria's mental landscape are clearly present in the discourse of the technical specialists who work there.

"The scoundrels of the Mouraria – let's say, the rascally fado singer, who has been the subject of many stereotypes; for other reasons I have been reading the descriptions in tourist guides, and, as described by foreigners, the Mouraria fado singer of the late 19th and early 20th centuries is absolutely delicious! But well, he's a scoundrel, a rip-off artist – that's the stereotype, I

do not mean they're thieves! – but, let's say that this nucleus is that population which has an index of relative poverty, with some social weaknesses, and extends from here to Rua das Amendoeiras, which is again a little piece of an old urban fabric. In this nucleus here, they are relatively closed from the urbanistic point of view, which brings together the fabric that likes Fado. Then, liking Fado extends further, but let's say that that's where the most quarter-minded nucleus lives, in the sense of the popular quarters' Lisbon mind-set. Then, it's like this, the São Cristóvão zone is already a zone that dilutes this popular, quarter-minded, roguish dimension of these places more, and already has a population that is more structured and economically favoured, and where the gentrification that exists in Alfama is already beginning to penetrate." (UPM)

This dimension of "typicity" is not in opposition to Mouraria's cosmopolitan nature, innate in which is the dialectic between the local and global scales and which promotes new lifestyles and new forms of cultural consumption. These can intensify economic and cultural opportunities and dynamics, thereby investing in the mercantilisation of ethnic/cultural references that are different and marked by some degree of exoticism. The image of Mouraria is emerging as being more and more marked by a certain hybridism associated with a city marketing strategy that portrays it as an idealised urban landscape, but also as a manipulated mental landscape.

One of the elements that are most often referred to is small business and consumption, given that in the past, Bastos (2004) identified 200 shops in the Martim Moniz area where the shopkeeper was of immigrant origins; a larger study by Socinova (Diversity Survey, 2006) of 457 ethnic owners of small businesses located in Lisbon observed that the dominant activities among them were gastronomy (40%), arts and crafts (15.9%), hairdressing (8.3%), bars (5.7%), food shops (5.5%), and artistic activities (4.4%) (Costa, 2011).

Mouraria has attracted small business owners with different ethnic/national origins at different points in time. After the Hindu and Muslim Indo-Portuguese, who began to move to the area in the mid-1970s and devoted themselves primarily to the sale of toys, jewellery, trinkets and furniture and to the import/export trade (Malheiros 1996; Mapril, 2010), in the 1990s the area became home to Guineans and Cape Verdeans, while more recent arrivals include not only Senegalese and Zairians (with shops in the cosmetics, music and foodstuffs fields, and cafés and restaurants), but also Chinese, most of whom came from Zhejiang province after the turn of the century (Bastos 2004; Mapril, 2010). It was also at this time that Mouraria saw an influx of small businesspeople from Pakistan (restaurant trade, bric-a-brac, audiovisual) and Bangladesh (ready-to-wear, restaurant trade, supermarkets, bric-a-brac) (Mapril, 2010, p. 249).

A 2000-2002 survey of retail businesses in the Mouraria Project Unit's (UPM) Intervention Area confirms these tendencies: 56.9% were run by Portuguese, 31.5% by Indians, 4.8% by persons of African origin, 3.6% by Chinese, and 2.4% by Pakistanis. The shops and other businesses in the two shopping centres were almost exclusively dominated by the Chinese (UP Mouraria, 2010, p. 20; Marluci, 2003). The latter tend to engage in wholesaling, and are the main suppliers of items for the itinerant trade

practised by gypsies (at markets and fairs). One of our interviewees referred to this professional conviviality between Chinese and gypsies:

"[The Chinese] Communicate more among themselves than they really (…) do with the gypsies, maybe it's the group they interact with most, but it's also quite simple, in business. I used to go to the Shopping Centre more often than I do now, but I do not remember any of the gypsies worrying about not being understood and vice versa, I do not think so." (UPM)

Being a small businessperson with immigrant origins in Mouraria doesn't always mean living there. It is worth remembering that most of the Indians with premises in the Calçada de St. André / Rua dos Cavaleiros / Rua do Benformoso / Rua da Mouraria axis who were interviewed by Marluci Menezes (2003: 113) lived outside Lisbon at the time, especially in Portela, Odivelas, and Santo António dos Cavaleiros (peripheral parts of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area).

As a place that is imbricated by otherness, multi-ethnic coexistence, and new consumptions associated with "ethnic trades, services and products", this quarter also seems to be a place that is marked by the insecurity linked to the degradation of its buildings and public spaces and the presence of homeless persons, prostitution, and drug traffickers and users. We should recall that Mouraria is charged with a stereotype that is set in the history of both the city of Lisbon and Portugal as a whole: the place where the Moors who did not leave the city after the Christian Reconquista (1170) went to live – a move that not only marked the formal beginning of the Mouraria quarter, but also that of the idea of the area as a territory which is stigmatised because the name represents the physical space that was destined to house the Moors, but also etiologically signifies the "valley of the vanquished" (Menezes, 2003).
This image of Mouraria is restated in a recent application by Lisbon Municipal Authority (CML) to join the Intercultural Cities Network: "historically a territory composed of social vulnerabilities – particularly groups that are at risk or in a situation of poverty or social exclusion, low quality-of-life indices, a degree of insecurity, and levels of territorial 'ghettoization' that are above the common and desirable in Lisbon (…) By the end of 2013, Mouraria will be the object of an urban rehabilitation that will be an excellent opportunity to undertake a parallel 'social revitalisation' " (CML, 2011).

The Mouraria Community Development Plan emphasises that that which this forthcoming urban and social rehabilitation will seek to "achieve is a reduction in the phenomena of exclusion and poverty, an improvement in the quality of life, and a greater openness of the territory to the city; quality of life and social cohesion." (CML, 2011).
In 2001, Menezes (2003: 204) already pointed out that of 101 respondents, 78.1% said there were specific places in the quarter that were marked by security problems, but that they also referred to the quarter as having been safer in the past. Today, insecurity continues to be a constant element in the discourse of the technical specialists, small businesspeople and residents we have interviewed – an element that generates tensions, but also

strategies with which the territory's residents and users avoid and separate themselves from one another:

"There is a complicated problem in the Mouraria quarter that has to do with drug trafficking, and there are families linked to the specific trade. The drug traffickers who do not mix with the Africans; what Fado calls the 'pure ones'. It's also quite a dark side, they do not let themselves be 'contaminated', they have that quite under control there because of the drugs. They're difficult. They're another type of whites, not the old folk, but that pure population that I think has a very strong Arab strain in there, with the taverns, dives and drugs as a means of subsistence, a business, the women who sell drugs, the children who are mules. There's a lot of nasty stuff happening and they keep it going. They have the police on their side; their police, their men." (Mouraria Project Unit)

Civil insecurity (**in relation to both property and people)** cannot be seen separately from social insecurity, inasmuch as the latter involves problems such as unemployment, social inequalities and racism, which have an effect on the former. The combination of labour precarity and the fragility of the forms of proximity support generates what Robert Castel (1998) calls "social vulnerability". This type of vulnerability is still very present in the quarter's daily life, despite the changes that are underway at the moment.
"*So there's very little time left, but four years ago there was quite a lot of consumption here in this area, and it used to become a real nuisance because there were cases of overdoses and deaths caused by overdoses and we saw a lot of misfortune here… Rua do Benformoso is a street where you already move around quite freely except at night. At night it's not safe to walk in Rua do Benformoso, but in the daytime it's safe …"* ("Renew Mouraria" Association)

According to a recent diagnosis by the Mouraria Project Unit, today's quarter presents a certain state of desertification (accommodation abandoned for long periods of time) and degraded buildings, although the basic inhabitability of the residential buildings has improved (an aspect that can be seen in the 1991 and 2001 censuses). In 2001, around 34% of all the family residential accommodation was empty. Mouraria continues to be a quarter where, albeit the proportion of owners has risen, most property is rented, with a reasonable concentration of public – namely municipal – property (UP Mouraria, 2010).
But given the degradation of the popular habitat, the overcrowding and the architectural language, the various social/territorial intervention projects that have been undertaken over the years have not managed to avoid the segregation of this territory – from the urban renovation plans of the 1930/40s, which entailed a "cleaning and beautification" of the ill-reputed Mouraria quarter (Menezes, 2003), via the 1960s and the Martim Moniz Modernisation Plan (PMMM), which accentuated the physical and social marginalisation and further reduced land values, to the Martim Moniz Urban Renovation Plan (PRUMM, which included the construction of the two shopping centres) of the 1980s. It was only in 1985 that the Mouraria Local Office (GLU, later renamed the Mouraria quarter Project Unit, UPM) was

created, with responsibilities that included rehabilitation, sociocultural revitalisation and the recuperation of the quarter's economic, urban and architectural heritage.The area thus became the "object of urban renewal" (Costa, Ribeiro, 1989 in Menezes, 2009, p. 308).

2009 saw the creation of the Action Programme (as part of the National Strategic Reference Framework, QREN), which is primarily investing in the requalification of public spaces and the urban environment – something that entails intervening in relation to the area's social fabric (UPM, 2010).

This Action Programme: Mouraria is subtitled "The Cities within the City". It essentially entails working with local associations to carry out interventions in relation to the area's architecture and the requalification of public areas and the urban environment. The goal is "to make this area of the city not only more attractive for small businesses, services, young people and families, but also safer and more sustainable for both residents and tourists" (UPM, 2009, p. 23). Within this overall framework of changes, the Mayor of Lisbon's new office is already functioning in Largo do Intendente, and the plan is for the Office of the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI) to also move its premises to this area. Notwithstanding the one-off nature of these initiatives, they are being seen as key actions for change.

"The fact that the Mayor is symbolically coming to live – not live, have his work office there in Largo no Intendente – is also making things go a little better where Mouraria is concerned, which is great; it's great he took this decision, and it means there is a political will to intervene in this zone; and the municipal department that is responsible for urban cleaning is quite concerned and has made an effort – and that's very clear to me! – from 2008 until now, the amount of rubbish has considerably decreased, and that, frankly, I think it was an effort by the municipality; now what is needed a bit is to educate people." (UPM)

Analysis of the documents included in this application clearly shows that this Programme is essentially seeking to intervene in public areas in ways that will promote security and the use of spaces in the quarter and the city, while indirectly trying to resolve some of the social problems that are acknowledged to be urban problems (Castells, 1973).

In reality, two key structural interventions have already taken place in 2012: i) one is a project designed to bring new life to Praça do Martim Moniz (at the entrance to the Mouraria quarter), with the creation of kiosks, esplanades and the so-called Fusion Market. Designed by a private architectural firm – CHP Arquitectos – the project's objective is to turn this square into Lisbon's new hot spot. This project is based on structures that already exist, which it transforms and complements with new functions, the creation of new areas of shade, and the division of the square into 3 zones: 1) two kiosks with their own esplanades (to the north); 2) in the centre there is a new restaurant and café area with food from various parts of the world, 8 kiosks, shady zones

and toilet facilities; and 3) a market zone with a variety of products that completes the squarewith 36 trade stands (dismantalable market).

Figure 1: Fusion market

ii) the other was the requalification of the disreputable Praça do Intendente, with the creation of pedestrian zones, new retail spaces, such as *As Joanas* and *Fábrica de Cerâmica da Viúva Lamego*, and also, with an eye on the importance of cultural tourism, the Largo das Residências Artísticas (literally, “Artistic Residences Plaza”, which belongs to Associação Sou, or again literally, the “I am Association”), where customers can also visit and take part in the association’s activities. The residences can accommodate up to 30 people, and also play host to larger tourist projects and support people who are looking for partners and start-up grants. In this Plaza, it’s possibleto see the artistic interventions in Public Art, as the permanent intervention "Garden Kit" from the artist Joana Vasconcelos, that "it is stated as a work of living and multifunctional art, simultaneously fulfilling the sculpture roles, bench and garden" , facility that attracts both tourists and the local curious (http://joanavasconcelos.com).

Figure 2."Garden Kit"(source: http://joanavasconcelos.com).

5 CONCLUSIONS

We are aware that so far we have done no more than broach hypotheses and put forward summarily explanatory elements regarding the perceptions and meanings of the convivial relations shared by social (residents, visitors, workers and small businesspeople) and socio-institutional (NGOs, churches, associations, intervention projects, local and municipal public departments and services) actors that intervene in this quarter of Lisbon.

In the guise of a conclusion, we would say that the concept of super-diversity seems to open up a field for reflection that is significantly more useful and operational and offers various types of potential guidance for new research projects. Mouraria appears to take the form of a privileged referent, in which it is possible to find multiple axes of differentiation, as a place where there is a confluence and coexistence of conjunctions and combinations of variables that illustrate this complex social jigsaw puzzle. The quarter's daily life is a confluence of autochthones, new immigrants and older immigrants, who represent a diversity of places of origin, with different migratory experiences, different statuses and life paths, different transnational practices and different ways of gaining access to public resources and state services. There appears to be a certain linguistic and religious pluralism, which is also reflected in different patterns of cultural conviviality, highlighting social and relational distances, tensions, fragmented sociabilities and episodic contacts. All of this means that we need to mobilise an analytical perspective that is multidimensional and interdisciplinary, with a need for theoretical (anti-essentialist and reifying), but also methodological (e.g. multi-situated ethnographies and multi-scale analyses), innovation. However, some questions require a clear response and it is important that we answer them during the course of the present research: how should we analyse the diversity and conviviality in a place that is culturally and ethnically diverse, without falling into the trap of a reductionist dualism: autochthone/Portuguese *versus* immigrant or foreigner? And how to provide

public spaces that generate dynamics of intergenerational and intercultural sociability?

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Chiara Massimino

Skopje. In need of alternatives: Investigations and scenarios

ABSTRACT:

Skopje is a fragmented city in many respects, physically, economically and socially. In a context of multi-layered fragmentation, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia has been experiencing an important phase of economic and physic growth in which the construction industry plays a very relevant role. Steering the urban growth is necessary in a city where the territory is being consumed, the vital differences between “fragments” cut and the multiple identities deleted through a massive densification and expansion policy.
First of all this paper aims to investigate the phenomenon of urban growth that the city has been experiencing in last years; phenomenon driven by dynamics that need to be analyzed and questioned, in their inclusivity and sustainability, often jeopardized in different respects.
As emblem of the processes of urban replacement and densification policies that are shaping many areas of Skopje in last decades, the neighborhood of Madzir Maalo will be investigated in the attempt of a deeper understanding of dynamics, stakeholders, processes which take place in a disputed city.
The two scenarios have been developed from the same guidelines and the same policy. Nevertheless, starting from two different ways to read the neighborhood, intended as urban fragment, and from two possible processes of transformation, the two scenarios take different directions and define two different urban forms. Lastly, the two proposed scenarios, the current state and the Detailed Urban Plan, drawn by the Municipality of Centar within the City of Skopje, have been compared through the Social Multi Criteria Evaluation, in order to explore possible coalitions and conflicts among stakeholders around the different scenarios.

KEYWORDS: *Skopje, Madzir Maalo, urban growth policies, stakeholders, scenarios proposal and evaluation*

1 INTRODUCTION

Skopje has been widely discussed in literature as a fragmented city that has been able anyway to keep the diversities that characterize its urban frame. Nevertheless following the dissolution of Yugoslavia the transition from socialism to capitalism has been leading to an unprecedented transformation: dynamics of urban growth driven today seem to be indifferent to the multiple identities of the city that highly risk to be deleted by an unsustainable urban growth.

Assuming that an insight but non-sectoral knowledge is the inescapable basis for any type of physical or non-physical urban intervention, to explore and investigate the city in different respects seem to be necessary. Nevertheless the present urban growth places us in the urgency of understanding first of all processes, dynamics, economic and social interests set behind this unprecedented transformation in order to look for alternatives, research and evaluate them for a more sustainable future.

2 SKOPJE URBAN GROWTH OF SKOPJE

2.1 Skopje grows. The weight of construction industry

During the twentieth century the city of Skopje has been experiencing a strong urban growth. In particular after the Second World War, the socialist modernization resulted in both physical and demographic growth that anyway turned out to be proportionate between Skopje and the rest of the country. On the contrary, since the dissolution of Yugoslavia and even before, population has been growing in the capital whereas has remained constant in the rest of Macedonia until the population in Skopje has reached one fourth of the total, not only because of the higher natural rate in the Region of Skopje but also and especially because of migration flows which occur from the rest of Macedonia to Skopje, demonstrating how the capital has been turning into a centralizing city, a sort of state-city.

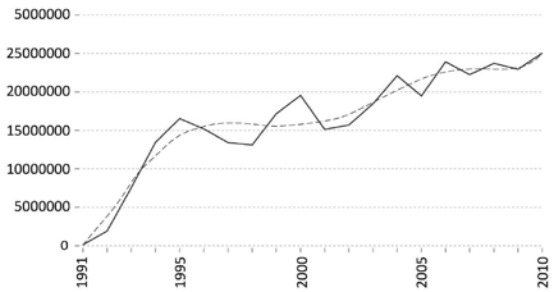

Figure 1. Value of completed construction works, in thousand denars (at current prices), from 1991 to 2010

Furthermore it is reasonably possible to say that Skopje is today in a phase of so called “turbo-urbanism” (Vöckler, 2008): since 1991 the

construction industry has been increasing the relevance of its role in Macedonian economy and particularly in its capital, as shown by the steady and continuing growth of values of completed construction works (Figure 1). Moreover the greatest capital formation is right in construction industry (37%), demonstrating the enormous weight of this sector in the economy of the country (Figure 2a), although the percentage of employed population in construction industry (7%) would suggest on the contrary it has a relatively modest role in real economy (Figure 2b).

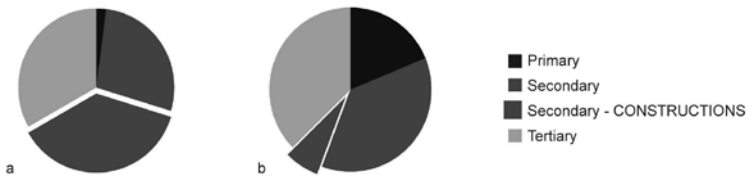

Figure 2a. Distribution of gross fixed capital formation by sector of activity, 2012
Figure 2b. Distribution of employed population by sector of activity, 2012

That said, this general overview would suggest a natural connection between demographic and urban growth in the city of Skopje, but to evaluate and compare them in a more specific way is a fundamental task. Nevertheless estimating the real demand of new housing, infrastructure, etc., being therefore able to answer to the question “How much is enough?” is not so easy. Knowing the numbers in Macedonia is in fact a quite difficult task. Even census is a politicized issue as a result of which census has been annulled in 2011 and charges have been levied against the census in 2002 too. After the ethnic conflict in 2001 and the Ohrid agreement, collective rights for ethnic minorities are linked to their proportion in their overall population. It means that even knowing the exact number of inhabitants is not so immediate because of ethnic fragmentation, which is a serious issue in many respects that anyway will not be discussed in this paper. Thus, in a country where many reliable data about basic issues are missing, evaluation and comparison among data are hard, despite their primary importance in order to plan the present and future growth. According to some estimations, in Skopje already in 2013 there were 4000-5000 unsold housing units. However data are unclear and the simplest data, the number of housing units sold monthly, is for example not publicly available (Karajkov, 2013).

The most crucial aspect that is anyway very important to highlight is on what and where the construction industry concentrates its energy: it is in fact shocking to see that all energies are put into construction of residential structures and especially in the capital (Figure 3), although not only Skopje but especially the rest of the country have a strong need to recover and maintain the existing estates and often lack of important infrastructural axis in particular outside Skopje.

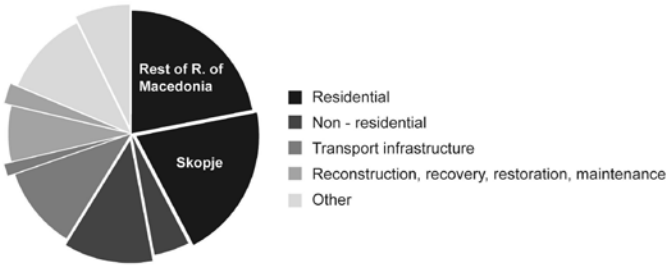

Figure 3. Distribution of values of completed construction works, by type of construction and location, 2013

2.2 How growth is driven

In all its history, since it was part of the Ottoman Empire, Skopje has been experiencing discontinued processes of urban growth, driven by different political and economic systems, in a circle of "writings and deletings" (Ruggieri, 2013) that have made Skopje a fragmented city in many respects (Bakalcev, 2004; Marina, Pencic, 2010; Ivanovski, 2008). Nevertheless urban transformation of Skopje today is unprecedented and is much deeper than any other past transformation. The complex and long transition from socialist to capitalist system has resulted in an aggressive approach to urban transformation that is eroding public spaces, demolishing the existence and rewriting entire quarters of the city, following a "model of regulated unsustainability" (Reaktor & Arhitektri, Skopje Raste, 2013).

2.2.1 Politic and administrative fragmentation: the new challenge of urban planning

Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Macedonia and its capital have been subject to an intense political and administrative process of fragmentation. In 1996 The Republic of Macedonia was indeed the first ex-Yugoslavian country to sign up to the European Charter for Local Self-government. Macedonian territory is divided today in 80 municipalities and the city of Skopje is in turn divided in 10 municipalities

Figure 4a. Municipalities of the Republic of Macedonia
Figure 4b. Municipalities of the City of Skopje

After Ohrid agreement process of decentralization has been further strengthened: after 2001 many competences have been transferred from the central government to the local ones and different laws concerning the financing and the territorial organization of local governments have been approved. Municipalities have received power of decision in different matters.

Urban planning is one of the most challenging competences transferred to local governments in 2005 and in 2009 municipalities have been allowed to administrate the building lands belonging to their territory. Therefore, within the process of decentralization, capabilities of local authorities have been strengthened, but financial aspects of decentralization are the most critical aspects: despite their hypothetical empowerment, municipalities have low capacities to collect economic resources. At the same time decentralization has highlighted deficiencies and flaws related to the new competences requested by urban planning issues. Many issues still are unsolved: by way of example, there is no municipality which has covered its territory with urban plans and all municipalities have illegal settlements or constructions of which there are no reliable data. Hence, although it is a political and administrative model accepted worldwide as a system able to capably meet local communities and better solve local issues, the process of decentralization has turned to be more difficult than expected since "post-socialist municipal offices lack sufficient institutional capacity, knowledge and funds for the new approaches to complex city governance because they were merely units subordinated to the state administration during the socialist era. Also, typically the new political elite at central government level is reluctant to allow local governments to develop as a powerful political entity and, therefore, is reluctant to bestow any substantial financial autonomy on them" (Harloe, 1996). Due to the empowerment of local governments on urban planning but at the same time the lack of financial resources other than those coming from taxes on new constructions, Macedonian municipalities have implicitly accepted to consume their territory, favoring private interests and neglecting public needs that would otherwise be an obstacle to planned growth.

2.2.2 Urban planning in Skopje: levels, contents, implications

Urban planning in Skopje is practiced on two levels: the first is within the City of Skopje's competence and the second is a matter of municipalities. The City of Skopje draws up the General Urban Plan (GUP) while municipalities are in charge of producing the Detail Urban Plans (DUP).

The General Urban Plan is articulated in two main maps, the first one representing the planned land use (Figure 5a) and the second one (called Synthesis Map) representing the infrastructural system (Figure 5b).

Figure 5a. GUP – Land use map (APP)
Figure 5b. GUP – Synthesis map (APP)

Basing their work on these single directives municipalities draft the Detail Urban Plans. Nevertheless one single DUP does not cover the entire municipality's territory: the whole area is in fact divided in different areas that usually have their borders coinciding with the infrastructural axes planned in GUP or already existent. As already enlightened no municipality has already covered its territory with urban plans, not even the Municipality of Centar (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Assembly of Detail Urban Plans in the central area located around the city train station.

Besides from the fragmentation existing in the urban planning practice and products, the total lack of strategic ideas and addresses of development and growth of the city is perceptible from the contents of detail urban plans themselves. They provide in fact transformation rules that substantially are the maximum eights and the minimum distances allowed for new constructions.

3 INSIGHT INTO MADZIR MAALO

3.1 A tiny disputed city

In order to understand and go into the substance of the actual issues related to the today's urban growth in Skopje and at the same time to go beyond investigations and in a later stage to propose alternatives, zooming into a smaller scale seems in this stage to be necessary.

Madzir Maalo is an historical neighborhood located just outside the perimeter of the big ring delimitating the new city center and close to the

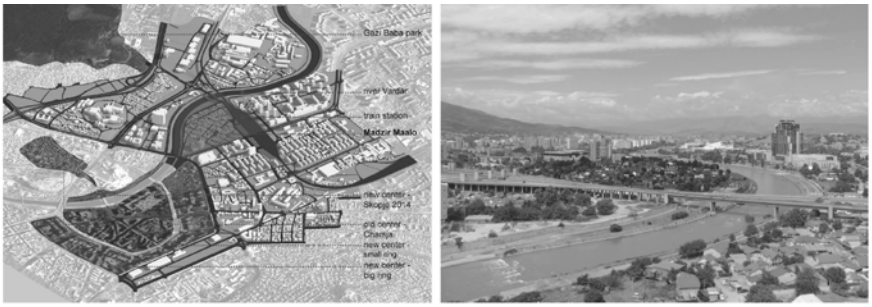

Figure 7. Location of Madzir Maalo

Built according to the plan dated 1878, the neighborhood today still preserves the urban and architectural frame as planned at the beginning. As happened in many historical neighbourhoods in the city, the troubled history of the twentieth century with its succession of different urban plans for Skopje has in fact left this neighborhood untouched as a city fragment among new quarters having total different features. This quarter is almost invisible, being delimitated by the river on the north side, the new lifted train station on the east and by one of the most important boulevard on the south side, elements that turn to be physical barriers for the neighborhood itself. Trying to briefly describe the neighborhood, it could be defined as a "tiny city": Madzir Maalo is a sort of village within the city, characterized by a homogeneous urban fabric having a minute infrastructural frame made of orthogonal narrow streets bordered by small plots divided into small private parcels typically characterized by low-rise houses having one or two stories and small yards mostly green arranged.

By analyzing local media articles in the last decade (Massimino, 2015), from 2005 until now, it is clear how they trace a history portrayed by controversies and conflicts among interests of inhabitants, investors and

institutions. A history that has been characterized by immobility and absolute lack of policies for many years to opt today for a doubtful happy ending. The neighborhood was in fact declared protected quarter for its historical value and its transformation has been blocked for many years without any possibility of intervention on existing structures. Hence Madzir Maalo is today in a state of serious physical deterioration generated by the lack of transformation policies which have moreover led to numerous illegal interventions enacted by private owners or to conditions far beyond the limits of human endurance. The neighborhood has been today released from the grip of this alleged conservation policy: the General Urban Plan provides the construction of the Boulevard Krusevska Republika, high traffic road which would consequently divide the area in two quarters, whereas the Detail Urban Plan provides the complete demolition and reconstruction of existing structure with volumes that are unimaginable in a tiny city like Madzir Maalo.

Hence it is possible to say that this questionable policies of absolute conservation in the past and urban replacement in the present (Figure 8) make Madzir Maalo an emblem of a disputed city, in which urban transformation is an exclusive power play against public interests.

Figure 8. Effects of absolute conservation policy (on the left) and demolition and reconstruction policy provided by DUP (on the right)

Today the transformation provided by the DUP in Madzir Maalo is at the beginning but a very similar process has been already experienced in Debar Maalo, a central neighborhood that has dramatically changed in last years. The process of transformation starts with the property purchase by a developer. Most commonly the developer compensates the market value of the land by giving back to the owner up to 20-25% of the total floor area of the building as soon as it is finished. When the owner accepts the developer's offer, the typical one story house is replaced by a profit oriented multi-story building and the total floor surface can rise up to 10 times or more (Ivanovski, 2008). In other words, "the investors act as a third party smoothening the negotiation process and leaving the table with a huge profit. The municipality got its share with communal taxes income leaving the citizens to negotiate even up to 30% of the total profit of the building project" (Reaktor & Arhitektri, Skopje Raste, 2013).

However it is surely not a footnote that Madzir Maalo and its inhabitants, called “Madzirmaalci” (inhabitants from Madzir Maalo), have a very strong sense of identity and belonging which will be destroyed by new transformation as provided at the moment by DUP. One-on-one interviews with inhabitants and users of the neighborhood (Massimino 2015) enlighten a negative perception of the neighborhood especially in terms of conditions of maintenance of houses and infrastructure, but all respondents declared to be satisfied with social aspects such as safety, cooperation among inhabitants, sense of belonging, etc. When they were asked if they were in favor of the transformation provided by the DUP, some showed to be totally disappointed by the plan while others declared to be favorable but on the basic argument of improving the conditions of degradation in which people live. Even one respondent which appeared to strongly disagree with the DUP, in a later stage affirmed to be willing to give his own property in exchange of one new flat. In these conflicting answers the most crucial unequal aspect of the process of transformation appears to be totally clear: the future transformation is in fact an urban replacement based on the enormous economic gap between investors/developers and owners. Therefore the substandard conditions in which properties are easily allow to predict the answer given by an owner asked to sell his property in exchange of one or two new flats.

3.2 Madzir Maalo stakeholders mapping

Public participation, inclusiveness, social sustainability, governance are themes that are today extensively discussed, nevertheless they raise several difficult issues and challenges especially in the case of Skopje, where these themes should be actually anticipated by a real political willing not only of public involvement in decision making processes but first of all of a sustainable transformation/growth of the city.

Identifying and mapping stakeholders should anyway be the first step in order to achieve the acknowledgment of real needs and interest, but it is not a very easy task, since “every situation is unique, shaped by the issues, the people, history, location, structures of organizations and institutions taking part, wider decision making processes and systems, and so on” (INVOLVE, 2005). This statement could appear obvious and it is actually the reason why a big part of this paper has been dedicated to generally describe the urban dynamics in the city of Skopje and after in Madzir Maalo. However identifying stakeholders in the case of Madzir Maalo is relatively easy, not because of the lack of hypothetical interested parties in its transformation, but because as previously described the process in its relative simplicity involve a very limited number of stakeholders.

The table below (Figure 9) summarizes the broad stakeholder types according to the three main categories: those who affect the project, those who are affected by the project and others who may be interested (Mathur et al., 2007), whereas the following Stakeholders Circle Diagram (Bourne, 2005) represents the relevance of each stakeholders in the whole process (Figure 10): concentric circles indicate distance of stakeholders from the

project, patterns used for each stakeholder indicate their homogeneity, the size of the wedge and its relative area indicate the stakeholders' scale and scope of influence, the radial depth indicate the power to kill the project.

Broad category	***Sub-category***	***Individuals/Groups***	
Those who affect the project	Those involved in delivery of the project	**1**	Investors
		2	Developers
		3	Resident house owners
		4	Non-resident house owners
		5	Owners of commercial and catering structures
		6	Clients (buyers of new flats)
		7	Financial institutions
		8	Professionals (designers, technical consultants, etc)
	Those who determine the context	**9**	Republic of Macedonia
		10	Ministry of “Transport and Comunications”
		11	City of Skopje
		12	Municipality of Centar
		13	Close municipalities
		14	Office of “Protection of cultural heritage”
		15	Office of “Urban Planning” of the City of Skopje and of Municipality of Centar
Those who are affected by the project	Directly affected	**16**	Residents e workers (non-owners)
	Indirectly affected	**17**	Residents of close areas
		18	Citizens of Skopje
Others who may be interested		**19**	Media and public opinion
		20	Environmental and social NGOs
		21	Reserchers / academics
		22	Future users and clients
		23	Tourists / Visitors

Figure 9. Stakeholders list

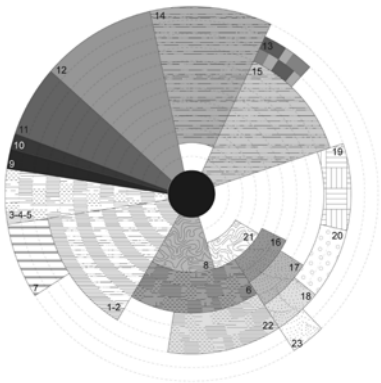

Figure 10. Stakeholders Circle Diagram

4 SCENARIOS OF TRANSFORMATION FOR MADZIR MAALO PROPOSALS AND EVALUATION

Transformation projects in existing contexts, especially in historic neighbourhoods like Madzir Maalo, imply not easily manageable aspects related to the dual and antithetical need to preserve the typological and morphological features of the long duration urban system and at the same time to combine restoration with the functional adaptation of the city.

In Madzir Maalo policies have been conducted through interventions ranging from absolute conservation to total demolition. Generally it is obvious and already widely observed that conservation without any kind of reconstruction intervention progressively leads the existing estates to a continuous deterioration and their consequent devaluation and depreciation. This is mostly due to the low interests of investors and developers in deteriorated and abandoned contexts that through an absolute conservation policy lose their attractiveness in terms of profitability of investments. On the other hand demolition and reconstruction policies have almost always led to a total overwriting of urban quarters that deletes historic traces, styles and ways to live to build new profit-oriented buildings. Conceived in this way conservation and new construction are disconnected and opposed but both lead to the dissolution of the historic city (Figure 11).

Policy	***Interest to invest***	***Effects***
conservation	low	deterioration, abandonment
demolition and reconstruction	high	profit-oriented urban growth

Figure 11. Policies and effects

Taking into account these considerations, it seems fair to state that urban plans in old historic neighbourhoods should imply processes able to add not to replace new meanings to the existing urban frame, conservation and transformation should be well integrated and balanced and the addition of new objects should be connected to the restoration of the existing ones. In this way it is possible to avoid the indifference and the skepticism of investors toward conservation and to activate transformation processes. Furthermore as already enlightened Skopje is demographically and physically growing and construction industry has such a relevance in Macedonian economy that thinking to pursue a policy of conservation without densification would turn to be at the moment a failing utopia.

Hence, the idea to work in parallel for the restoration of existing estates and the densification of the quarter aims to activate an alternative process that would prevent the abandonment and, at the same time, convey the speculative energies into actions able to guarantee a real improvement of conditions in an equilibrium of interests. Furthermore the proposed scenarios aim to give financial powers to owners and make them able to drive the transformation of the neighborhood through the restoration of their estates.

Therefore on the basis of the same policy of conservation and densification two scenarios have been developed. Nevertheless the two scenarios take different directions and define two different urban forms starting from two different ways to read the neighborhood conceived as urban fragment and from two possible processes of transformation.

4.1 Scenario 1. Juxtaposed transformation

The first proposed scenario aims to explore possibilities of transformation starting from the idea to conceive the project as addition of a new juxtaposed intervention (Figure 12). In other words, this scenario keeps the existing structures dividing the existing but restored quarter from a new densified quarter, reading the two interventions as two juxtaposed parts.

Figure 12. Juxtaposed transformation

Such transformation is based on an idea of process that divides densification from restoration, assuming that starting from a concentrate densification of a specific empty area it is possible to redistribute the wealth into the neighborhood by creating a “recovery fund”. According to this hypothesis of transformation process (Figure 13) the unbuilt and publicly owned land located in the south part of the neighborhood would remain publicly owned but built by private construction enterprises selected by way of an open tender procedure. Income from sales of new dwellings would cover established enterprise’s profit and form the so called recovery fund. Simultaneously the process should provide an insight mapping of the state of existing estates deterioration, on the basis of which a ranking of priorities and a program of allocation of funds should be drawn up. Therefore owners would access the fund to restore their own estates, not modifying the ownership structure of the existing urban fabric.

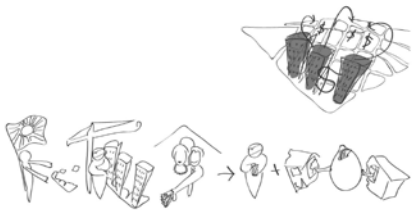

Figure 13. Concentrate densification – The process of “recovery fund”

Besides the need of an accurate phasing of the process, the difficulties are above all set in equity and transparency: the effectiveness of the process of restoration is entrusted to the equity of the ranking that if jeopardized would create further disparities among owners and inhabitants. Moreover the most controversial aspect might be connected to the creation of the fund itself: the Municipality would be in charge of establishing and allocating the fund, that implies transparency is the basic precondition for an effective transformation.

4.2 Scenario 2. Inside transformation

The second proposed scenario aims instead to explore possibilities of transformation starting from the idea to conceive the project as a reconfiguration of the existing state. In other words, this scenario does not divide restoration and densification: on the contrary densification becomes the tool to regenerate the existing estates. This reconfiguration is not driven by a deleting and overwriting approach but is rather based on the existing urban fabric, which becomes the physical guide for the design (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Inside transformation

Such transformation is based on an idea of process that strongly connects the phases of restoration and densification, assuming that it is possible to trigger the restoration of existing estates through a densification conceived as completion of the existing fabric. This hypothesis implies that owners become promoters and investors while construction enterprises enter in the process of transformation providing their know-how and getting their profit from the construction work (Figure 0). It is anyway essential to not reduce the whole process to interventions consisting in extending and raise the existing houses, reason why the process would require a guide draft on which to base the entire transformation and encourage inter-parcels agreements among owners in order to promote lands coownership.

The consequent completion of parcels would qualify as effective densification through construction of new dwellings, the proceeds from the sale of which would make the restoration possible (Figure 15).

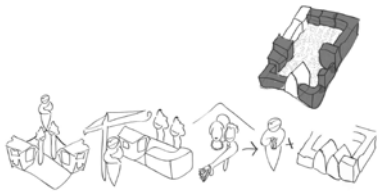

Figure 15. Completion densification – The process of " inter-parcels agreements"

This kind of process would surely require longer time of transformation, due above all to the unforeseeability of such agreements. Nevertheless it is based on the social potential of the neighborhood, on its sense of belonging and on the high owners' interest to the transformation. On these aspects the effectiveness of the process is untrusted although it would need to be promoted and carefully addressed by the Municipality.

4.3 Comparison and evaluation of scenarios

As clearly highlightened both scenarios have been conceived on the basis of an expressed policy of conservation and densification attempting to balance interests of different stakeholders, giving more legal and financial power to owners and conceiving a more sustainable transformation in terms of urban quality. Nevertheless a comparison the different scenarios are necessary in order to evaluate their validity. Therefore In this last stage, the two proposed scenarios, the current state and the Detailed Urban Plan (DUP), drawn by the Municipality of Centar have been compared (Figure 16)

.

Figure 16. Compared scenarios: juxtaposed transformation; Inside transformation, DUP, current state

The methodology of comparison and evaluation has been searched in order to explore possible positions of the different stakeholders in relation to the scenarios. Nevertheless, as Funtowicz and Ravetz point out, the nature of the problems faced today implies that very often we are confronting issues "where facts are uncertain, values in dispute, stakes high and decisions urgent" (1991). Hence the technical incommensurability of many aspects make the comparison a very difficult task. The Social Multi Criteria Evaluation - SMCE and in particular the so called Analysis of Equity within

the NAIADE method (Munda, 2004) is an experimental methodology aiming to evaluate possible coalitions and conflicts among stakeholders around different scenarios. It has therefore been used and very briefly shown in this paper to define through the software NAIADE (Munda, 2004) the coalitions of stakeholders and their rankings starting from their expected opinions related to each scenario. The opinion of each stakeholders group is based on various criteria representing the different interests in play (Figure 17).

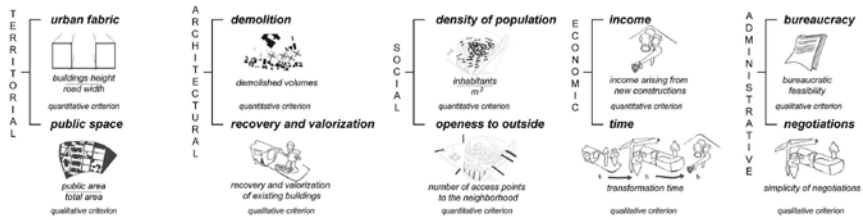

Figure 17. Evaluation criteria

Starting from the definition of the social matrix summarizing the expected opinions given by the stakeholders groups (Figure 18), the consequent deondogram of coalitions (Figure 19) show the degree of similarity of opinions through which it is possible to define wider groups of stakeholders (coalitions) having the same ranking of scenarios (Figure 19).

Scenarios ***Stakeholders***	***Juxtaposed transformation***	***Inside transformation***	***DUP***	***No project***
G1 - Investors	± good	medium	perfect	extremely bad
G2 - Owners	± bad	very good	± bad	extremely bad
G3 - Clients	medium	good	medium	extremely bad
G4 - City of Skopje and Municipality of Centar	medium	medium	very good	extremely bad
G5 - Office of “Protection of cultural heritage”	good	medium	extremely bad	bad
G6 - Residents and workers (non-owners)	medium	very good	± bad	extremely bad
G7 - Environmental and social NGO / Researchers and academics	± good	good	very bad	extremely bad
G8 - Tourists / Users	good	very good	bad	± bad

Figure 18. Social matrix: stakeholders opinions on the different scenarios

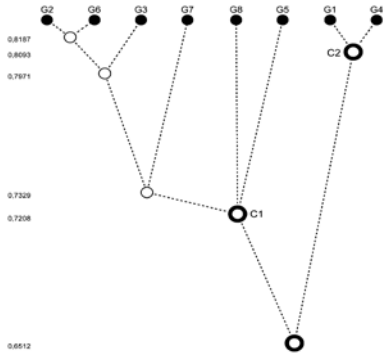

Figure 19. Deondogram (coalitions of stakeholders) and social rankings

Although applying various participatory techniques such as focus groups and interviews can be an important step to define the social matrix and the consequent deondogram, the results obtained from the Equity Analysis give the possibility to express important considerations. The analysis highlight two main coalitions: one scenario having a degree of similarity of opinions higher than 80% and constituted by the City of Skopje, the Municipality of Centar and investors (C2); the other one having a degree of similarity of about 70% and constituted by all the others groups of stakeholders (C1). And if C2 favors the scenario provided by the DUP, C1 privileges the Inside Transformation. In other words, these results highlight once again a dynamic that in Skopje is absolutely clear: strong powers (institutional and economic) drive an unsustainable growth and a change of direction is possible only through a committed and sincere political choice.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Madzir Maalo is in the initial phase of transformation: maybe in some years it will probably be deleted and change its face or maybe speculation will arrive to an end determined by bigger and higher economic aspects. Anyway a shift into planning practices and transformation processes is needed not only in Madzir Maalo which is an actual example in the city but generally in Skopje and further investigations and scenarios are needed in order to pursue a sustainable transformation starting from a sincere akwoldgement of real needs, interests and potentials.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Edoardo Bruno

Community, real estate pressure and the spatial reorganization: the case study of the “village in the city” of Lijiao in Guangzhou

ABSTRACT:

The paper wants to explore the relationship between the Lijiao village in the city community, located in Haizhu District of Guangzhou, and the promoters of its redevelopment. The literature around the topic of the “villages in the city” has strongly emerged in the last 10 years, due to many case studies of relocations inside the Pearl River Delta Metropolis urban expansion. A combination of field of interests like social inequalities, rural urban migrations, urban planning in a transforming spatial economy and strong administrative bureaucracy, find their combination in a specific site with a long history of land settlement and social practices.
The case study of Lijiao village it’s crucial in order to understand the equilibriums between the local community administration system and the top-down and rhetorical visions of the urban planning. In fact the strong volunteer promote by the Local Government to continue the North-South axis of the Central Business District of Guangzhou, will effect in the future this location suspended between the peri-urban interface and an expanding central core. Because the transformation is not yet occurred, the research wants to map these spatial struggles between the parties now disposed around an unstable negotiations, rhetorical participation processes and media consensus.

KEYWORDS: *village in the cities*, *participation, urban expansion, resettlement compensation, rural migrations.*

1 INTRODUCTION

The extraordinary economic and subsequently urban growth of China has brought the debate around its cities at a crucial level in the Western countries. Phenomena yet occurred over the last two centuries around the topics of rural urban migrations and urban transition inside the European and North American industrial areas, have emerged in China under an unusual pace. They have reached the goal of combining both the necessities for becoming a strategic country inside the globalization game, both the challenge of restricting the time and space upgrade of its cities at an unsustainable rhythm for the rest of the world.

The Chinese urban space transformation is definitely the most astonishing aspect capable of shocking the collective imaginary thanks to the contraposition of the growing machine and its resilience territory. It has to be analysed through its institutions, local policies, informal networks, in order to find which are the instruments and processes behind the fast changes. A researcher coming from the West, immersed in a post-industrial environment, couldn't avoid the necessity to underline that China is the favoured location to map the inner conflicts of the transformation that of course produces spatial effects but, above all, derived from deep institutional struggles. Reporting the land-use improvements basically confronting who guide them and who suffer the transformation, could lose the multiple implications of the multi layered Chinese institutions and regulations.

Observing the Chinese urban space transition, it is undeniable to recognise the formalized elements deriving from the planning instruments opposing the persistence of informal settlements that don't permit any specific comparison, escaping homogeneity and generating a chaotic environment. Urban studies have understood, by the passage of time, and call them "villages in the cities" (*chengzhongcun*). The definition connotes not only a specific urban landscape, but also the former rural institution of the Chinese village that, after the big expansion of the cities, has been absorbed into the urban sphere. In this process the "villages in the cities" (hereinafter called VICs), have lost their rural character, passing from managing the countryside to a more and more involving role into urban affairs, becoming renters, entrepreneurs for commercial and small industrial activities. In the last 30 years, VIC-events were marked by forced expropriations, demolitions and cadres corruptions, becoming crucial not only for the scientific research but also for daily news. The debate around VICs has so emerged into Chinese society, to identify a separation between who try to protect their integrity versus urban growing and others that brand them as an obstacle to the dream of modernity, caused by their corruption (Ai, 2014).

In this sense the image of a "nail building" (Figure1) opposing itself to a huge demolition, creates both the discourse among which build the consensus for individual rights, but at the same shifts the debate from an institutional and processes study focusing only to social diseases and inequalities. Scientific literature has underlined the topic of VICs from various

points of views that, despite the complex debate around them, has often created only little narratives. Obviously the sociological perspective is the most diffuse, striving to reveal the migrants' bad living conditions (Liu et al., 2012), the informal networks of the inhabitants or the capabilities in creating bottom-up processes (Lin et al., 2011).

Other outlooks are based on describing the particular land-use and property rights measures (Lai et al., 2014), or concentrating to urban transformations (Lin & De Meulder, 2012), crossing the local government policies and new city visions. On the contrary, the possibility to understand the economic outputs of the VICs appears difficult and rare, and eludes the official statistical measurements, the mechanisms of resettlement and compensation during their transformation. There are various methods and a progressive improvement in the local policies to manage this complex situation, and not support the capability of constructing a homogenous description between different case studies, even if located in the same city. In this sense the city of Guangzhou, political and administrative centre for Guangdong Province and first test-area for the market reforms in 1978, identified itself with the issue promoting in 2002 the principle of "one village – one policy", dealing with the VICs transformation in a more win-win perspective.

The literature could appear so conflicting to don't permit a clear interpretation of which are, at the present conditions, the procedures that could be classified as "top-down" (the local government? the Urban or District Planning Bureau? the real estate developers?) or simply "bottom-up (the cadres of the village? The inhabitants? the evolving web media channels?) in the debate.

Figure 1. A "nail building" in VIC in the middle of a demolition process.
Source: Ai, S. A. (2014). Villages in the City. A Guide to South China's Informal Settlements. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

This specific condition suggests rewriting the relationship inside the decision-making process, considering the multilevel aspect of institutions

more or less formalized. They represent the fundamental basis for carrying on processes that otherwise could turn non convenient in terms of political and economical aspects. The objective of this paper is to put at the core of the debate around VICs, which are the institutions, the rules and the communication methodologies that manage the process of transformation. The key point of the current discussion concerns more the compensation money claimed by the villagers than their social conditions or when the poor urban environment is used as an excuse to pursue a discourse that modern housing apparel is the “only way” to escape exclusion.

VICs have their own institutions to manage their governance practices. They always depend on the City and District level apparatus, but effectively they have a certain level of independency in managing education, welfare, security and finance of the collective property sharing. The three main figures inside VICs, the Chief of the Village, the Party Secretary and the Collective Ownership Company Chief, not always separated by a different person, have the responsibility to manage the collective land ownership nature of the village. The perspective that the land belongs to the villagers, and not to the State, is crucial to understanding their position inside the game of transformation. Their financial weakness to support a land conversion is compensated by land ownership, affecting the entire debate in terms of money compensation, in opposition to the city desire to recover these urban areas. In this way, VICs institutions have to find a balance between the villagers’ requests, often derived from the biggest clan’s struggles, and the city planning activities. The cooperation with a real-estate developer, sometimes selected by a public auction, is the key point to promoting transformation and finding an institutional bridge between the different levels. They can provide financial investments, expert skills and connection with the local government. On the other side the village institutions take care of the local affairs, managing the process and sharing the opportunities with the entire community. At the end money compensation is still the crucial node around which the debate is carried on.

The paper has selected to explore the case study of Lijaio village, located in the District of Haizhu in the city of Guangzhou, because of its capability to put into perspective its strategic position in the city with the local government’s urban visions. In the same way, its position inside the Pearl River Delta Economic Region, core of the thirty-year market reforms, its long history along the river and its continuous urban regeneration and expansion, could reveal to urban studies a multi-level perspective inside the Chinese cityscape. Since 2011, Lijiao village has yet not found the necessary support of the 80% of villagers to start its transformation: money compensation is still the main issue; meanwhile the land value is increasing, making the real estate company investor check whether its investment is still favourable.

2 WHAT IS THE MEANING OF BEING A "VIC" IN GUANGZHOU CITY

2.1 Guangzhou and its role inside Pearl River Delta growth

The market reforms promoted by former Chinese President Deng Xiaoping since 1978, in order to open the country to a process of modernization and international trade thanks to its cheap land and labour cost to attract foreign capitals, have selected the Provinces of Guangdong and Fuijian as testing area to create what was called "capitalism with Chinese nature" (Vogel, 1995). Guangzhou is recognized over the centuries as the "South Gate of China" through which many important trading flows were stabilized. Its historical commercial aim, consequently based on a "petit-bourgeois" social composition, was overturned during the first period of the 1949 Revolution: the earliest fifth-year plans have always supported the industrialization into inner and remote areas of the country, far from the possibility of foreigners' attacks and close to the indispensable collaboration with Soviet Union (Lin, 1997).

Despite this marginalisation, the city has hosted in 1957, and several times further on, the China Import and Export Fair, demonstrating its ability to be the showcase for foreign markets. Deng's economic policies have been able to answer if these peculiar territorial aspects could really questioning the former system, knowing that was crucial to leverage the Party leadership skills (Vogel, 2013). The totality of Foreign Direct Investment, the introduction of the Household Production Responsibility System at the beginning of the Eighties in order to transfer the using of the land, and a continuous decentralization of the power from the Central State to Local Governments concerning fiscal matters, were the grounds for boosting the entire regional economy. The "open-door policies" have generated over the last 30 years a growing process where the accumulation of capital generated by the manufacturing sector, was able to fund the transformation of the urban areas, emerging into the international attention as the "factory of the world".

Guangzhou is one of the node of what is called the "9+2 System" of the Pearl River Economic Zone, that resembled nine "cities" (two of them are Special Economic Zones - SEZs), Jiangmen, Zhongshan, Foshan, Zhaoqing, Guangzhou, Dongguan, Huizhou, Zhuhai and Shenzhen, plus the two Special Administrative Regions of Hong Kong and Macao. Nevertheless the localization of the two Special Economic Zones in the cities of Shenzhen and Zhuhai has undermined over the time its political leadership. Even though this is not explicitly stated in the statistical sources, it's possible to define how the issue of inter competitiveness between different local administrations is essential. The reflection on their capability of establishing long-term growth visions is a valid key to understand the pressures of territorial transformation (Xu & Yeh, 2005).

For these reasons Guangzhou is the first city in entire China that has promoted in 2000, inviting five planning design institutes, the "Guangzhou

Urban Strategic Development Plan", thus promoting spatial restructuration in a territorial view, in order to create a more efficient and business oriented landscape for foreign investments (Wu, 2007). The most successful operations of this long term visions was the possibility to enlarge its municipality, absorbing the Districts of Panyu in 2000, and Nansha in 2012: low developed areas capable to intercept new trading possibilities due to their position in the Delta. In 2012 Nansha New Town was approved as "state-level key project", strengthening the competition with the other coastal cities. Understanding the strategic visions of Guangzhou means to recognize how the political and economical games have been mostly played on the spatial reorganization, in order to assure a continuous growth with very relevant urban consequences.

In this large-scale background, VICs have played a crucial role: being involved in the urban expansion, seeing the loss of large amount of rural areas, taking advantages from the illegal migrations to the cities, reorganizing themselves as real urban stakeholders. VICs have become, inside the rigid demographic control of the "hukou system" (Yusuf, 2008), ones of the most efficient low-income housing suppliers. Through a process of space densification, due to illegal building practices, they have changed their substantial paradigm from rural keepers to managers of a secondary housing market in the city. In this way we can affirm that the creation of VICs is the product of the last three decades of China's rapid urbanization (Song & Zenou, 2012), never forgetting their institutional position that formally segregated them out from the primary urban services.

2.2 VIC and informal settlements: informal perspectives versus institutional paradigm

Looking at the formal features of VICs, it is possible to record similarities with many of the informal settlements in the developing countries. The relatively low quality of the materials used in construction, the high density, the lack of the basic public infrastructure, the lower income social classes of the population, make them highly suitable areas to perform all the main conflicting aspects of the urban transition. At the same time is necessary determining an important distinction that, if it's not fully declared, risks producing an improper point of view. First of all VICs differ from other typologies of peri-urban settlements for their significant historical pattern, built on precise family lineages and collective building for traditional rituals, that has created the basic social structure. Chinese villages were, over the centuries, milestones of the rural society, where continuous migration and land reclamation processes have deeply transformed the territory (Marks, 1997). The new role of VICs, in the middle of the migrant flows and the real estate speculations, has to be seen as creation of new spaces of agglomeration into a weak, but fully formalized institutional framework. For this reason it's not correct describe them only as places in which are condensed marginalization phenomena, but rather as a consuming space (He, 2015), based on its inner renting market, little-scale commercial

activities or small manufacturer entrepreneurships built on social interactions.

In this way, VICs show themselves not only as poor areas generated by individual informal practices, but rather by weak autonomous institutions compared to the big urban stakeholders. Their weakness is financial, but at the same time still able to manage the decision-making processes in security, planning and welfare. In majority of cases, VIC institutions are composed by three authorities controlled by specific and nominal cadres. The Party Secretary of the Village, nominated by the local government, is instructed to exercise control on the respect of local policies; the Chief of the Village is responsible for the administrative affairs and the relationships with the different clans; the Collective Ownership Company Chief has to manage and control the shared productive activities of the village. Despite this rigid division, this is the really common situation where they are not headed by different people. In different locations, especially in the remote areas of the peri-urban interface, there are officials controlling more than one position, increasing the danger of corruption and avoiding transparency in the collective affairs.

Starting from the distinction between Party Secretary and Chief of the Village, it's important noting that two figures in the same place, interpreting the vocation of systems that have very different historical reasons. On one side, there is a title searching legitimacy from family relationships, and on the other, there is a government cadre generated from the local bureaucracy managing the negotiations among various political levels. However, as reported above, it is erroneous to consider them as two opposing figures, since they are rather interconnected into village's affairs. In order to survive the real estate pressures, VICs need to intersect the ability of constructing social relationships and attracting the attention of the local government in resolving issues in a more comprehensive framework.

These reflexions show that exists an institutional paradigm, fundamental in the daily political affairs of the village, that has to perform in adherence with a series of flexible practices that strengthen collective cohesion. The resettlement situation is the most critical, because of its completely redesigning of the future consistency of the whole village. The lack of certain regulations (Yanjing & Webster, 2011) and structured powerful hierarchies put in damage the transparency of the procedures: in this way corruptions circumstances that distort any participation or bottom-up perspective are incited, supporting the media in visioning the VICs as the "cancer of the cities" (Ai, 2015).

2.3 Guangzhou and its attempts in VICs regulations

Considering the big territorial city of Guangzhou, having a great deal of low-cost land in its peri-urban areas for housing and industrial conversion, it is possible to delineate why there have not been yet an integrated plan for the redevelopment of VICs. Since 2002 Guangzhou has approved two important policies to convey the transformation of its VICs. The first was the

introduction the principle "one village, one policy", useful to outline case-by-case witch type of intervention has to be selected in order to avoid strong local conflicts. Meanwhile the second rule was obtaining at least 80% of residents positive voting for the transformation plan in order to become effective. Due to the inherent difficulties in developing specific policies in accordance with the local government and the hard achievement of a so compact share, since 2009 Guangzhou has guided the policy called "three olds redevelopment". In 2008, Wang Yang, the Provincial Party Secretary of Guangdong promoted this policy after his visit in the near city of Foshan: he noted that all the city environment has to be improved in order to create a more business-oriented scape. The Provincial Government, thanks to the support of the Ministry of Land and Resources, supported an experimental document underlining that the transformation has to start by redesigning the old urban patterns. The “three olds” policy refers to the historical city centre, the former brownfields and the old villages. What could be regarded as a new common vision on the redevelopment of VICs proved the secondary objective: convert critical areas into land for the growing the real estate market searching new cheap lands areas. Forced demolitions, which have found support from the new rule, caused controversy especially in the central areas, underlining at the same time a negative impact on labour migrants.

For this reason the discourse beyond transformation has recently passed to search new ways for dealing with the issue, creating instruments like the “integrated regeneration” or “beautiful villages”, in order to refer to new large scale programs of urban regeneration. In 2015 the local Government is testing a new system of practices and rules for a program called 3+1, searching a link between the village redevelopment and the whole city vision. Thus the draft condition of the rule, it was adopted by Lijaio Village for its transformation as a test field: the main idea was to illustrate how good practices adopted at the local scales could be useful to promote the entire urban upgrading, connecting the real estate pressures with the local community desires.

The City Local Government is still continuing in compiling lists of villages in which it could invest by redevelopment projects. Despite these operations there has not yet been any declaration to follow the formal procedure, thus creating differences and autonomous decision-making processes without the possibility to create a unique framework.

3 THE CASE STUDY OF LIJIAO VILLAGE IN HAIZHU DISTRICT, GUANGZHOU

3.1 Historical background: morphology and lineages

Lijiao village has a long history of settlement along one of the branch of Pearl River Delta, dating back at least 900 years ago. The geographical localization, between land reclamation areas and the close relationship with the river, has declined the same naming of the village where “li” means “water to drain “ and “jiao” signify “branch of the river”. The morphological

construction of Lijiao had a double value, based both on the consolidation of precise clans relationship and the strategic control of the river trades. By the passing of the time the village has built its legitimation level thanks to two import clans, respectively named “Wei” and “Luoshi”, able to share the control of the rural lands, create temples to sea polytheistic gods and ancestor halls. The Pearl River Delta, whit its large amount of navigable waterways useful also for overseas trades, was stopped by many strategic check points: one of them was exactly located in Lijiao village, that controlled the Southern gate of the branch that lead directly to Guangzhou. The position was so crucial that during the Opium wars it was uses as military defence creating stone damps in the middle of the river, remained on the waterway until 1955 (Figure2).

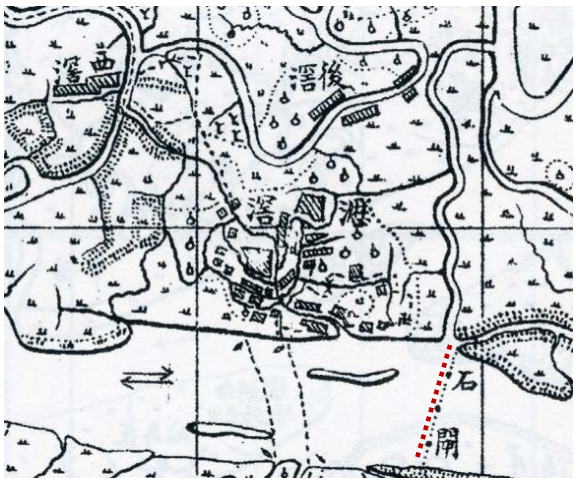

Figure 2. Stone military defence in front of Lijiao village.
Source: "Panyu County Local Records" (1931)

The village built its structural morphology starting from few key local elements as the localization of the different clan, taking in mind that the marriage between people meant a sensible transfer from one to another place, the position of the temples and the network composed by the many canals. A cadastral map drawn in 1929 by the native Republic of China, which had in Guangzhou one of the most important administrative power centre, shows the village as independent settlement in the middle of the countryside fully based on the control and disposition of its water resources (Figure 3).

Figure 2. The settlement of Lijiao village in the military cadastral map of the 1929
Source: Guangdong Province Library

The industrial upgrade promoted by the Popular Republic of China since 1949 has pushed Lijiao village to host many shipbuilding factories, due to its geographical position on a branch of the Pearl River. The post-reform period, the housing booming and demographical migration to the cities, shifted the village from the rural sphere into the urban one. Heritage elements like the temples has survived, as expression of the local traditions, but caged into residential densification, waterways and canals for agriculture has been substituted by the coverage of little roads, and the existing ones go through bad hygienic conditions.

The image of the village has changed from the traditional pattern, due to integrate in itself the effects of the growing surrounding city, through densification and commercialization of its spaces. In this view the only heritage elements are constituted by the localization of the many ancient building for the traditional rituals and the morphological settlement disposition, while the rest housing property are extremely poor, and densely built for informal business, not by segregation. Since 2007 Lijaio village, according to a local government strategy that wanted to resolve the issue of many informal settlement in the south and east part of the city, has been channelled into a redevelopment process that until now has not achieved appreciable effect, but that has moved and questioned the institutional apparatus in facing the transformation.

3.2 The new axis of Guangzhou: from event-led to urban reconsolidation

In the last fifteen years the city of Guangzhou has built its new modern image strengthen the urban environment planning efficiency, upgrading its infrastructures, creating a financial centre in order to advocate international standards for becoming a global city. The planning of the modern Tianhe District, located in the East part of the city, was seen by the planners as the natural expansion area, where testing a new scale of urban organization and

built huge residential units along new important traffic boulevards. A first concept was conceived in 1959 in the 10th masterplan of the city, the imagined a strategical infrastructural hub, commercial and leisure activities: during the Nineties under the new possibilities of the new urban growing market, the plan was reinforced and fully carried on after 2000 (Lin, 2013). The coexistence of overturning the congestion problems weakening the city at the beginning of the new millennium and the necessity to carry victoriously the hosting of the 2010 Asian Games, key point in financing the city transformation, has allowed the local government to promote the realization of a new modern axis, fully built in the middle of the countryside and rhetorically opposing the old one in the city centre date back of the Republic period. What known is internationally known as Zhuijiang New Town, is a planned axis that collects around its 5 kilometres the most important administrative, commercial and financial activities of the city. It was inaugurated just before the opening of the 2010 Asian Games and by now is one of the most important landmark of the city, iconic symbol for promoting modernization. The urban vision desires to extend its line towards the Southern area of the city crossing the island of Haizhu District where, after having overcome a complex urban composition of industrial buildings, villages, wetlands and residential areas, will arrive to a second river branch. Just at the end of this huge urban project, is located Lijiao village, material obstacle to the land transformation (Figure3).

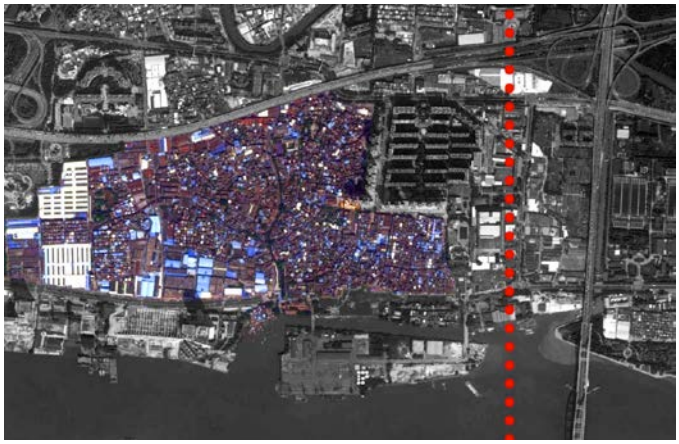

Figure 3. Aerial view of Lijiao village in 2015. The red dotted line rapresent the future Southern path of the axis. Source: Google Earth – 21/10/2015

Actually the planning for these southern modifications consists of a rough land-use plan approved by the Guangzhou local authorities and some specific studies, even if the rendering images of the extension are public domain.

The first planning explorations intends to subdivide the southern axes crossing Haizhu District into 4 distinctive functional areas that, starting from the North, are:

- City Tourism District: museum and leisure hub of the future city

- Administrative Culture: cultural and commercial activities centre

- Wetland and forestation: green areas designated to become the Guangzhou biggest natural asset

- Waterfront: commercial and residential area that take advantage of the river proximity, in order to promote an “ecological” way of living.

The planning operations for the second portion of the axis thus become the possibility to reorganize the complexity of the existing urban patterns, resulted from the older less planned urbanization practices and subsidiary easy allocation to speculative real estate developers. The objectives are to locate different key project along the axis line that, despite the deep urban pattern substitution, want to promote the vision of a new type of city, “eco-friend”, “low-carbon”, “efficiently connected” that takes care of the “leisure advantages”.

Lijiao village is one of these key project that appeared before 2012 under the signature of “Town Redevelopmen Area” and “Comprehensive development area” in its latest version promoting the Haizhu Eco-City. The meaning changing depends on the different political framework thought which carry on the transformation. What emerged from the documentation is the desire of promoting the new southern gate of the axis, as the occasion to use the powerful imaginary of the riverfront as the link between the upgrading of the living condition and the preservation of the natural resources (Figure4). But the presence of the village, the biggest in Haizhu District, is not ordinary and had to be “supported” by the local political stakeholders in order to obtain a complete redesign.

Figure 4. Rendering perspective of the proposal for the redevelopment of Lijiao village at the end of the axis. Source: Lijiao Village, poster from a public wall.

3.3 Voting and visiting: the discourse in partecipation

The “Lijaio Village Redevelopment Project Work Team”, supported by the ZhuGuang Group Real Estate, created in December 2014 a promotional page, trough the messaging social application WeChat (the most popular in China), in order to promote the village transformation activities. The aim was to speed up the transformation process. In fact, although it has been identified since 2007 as a strategic operation to develop Haizhu District, it has been interrupted several times due to agreement issues about habitat-substitution compensation. The promotion is strongly rhetoric and aimed to obtain more consensuses and instil confidence in the involved institutions, removing prejudices and stereotypes thanks to open communication. The selected tool does not allow active participation, with comments and debates about pertaining issues, and the communicated message is aimed at promoting an integral transformation and reaching what is called the “Lijiao dream”. At the same time, the will to obtain the target, by broadcasting information to everyone who will be directly involved, considering the delicate context of village transformation, is important.

The promotional page has also a recordable target: reaching 80% of favourable voting for the planned transformation, that otherwise would remain in the District lists and could be forced to use coercive instruments to reach the city vision. In one year of published contents, there are a series of actions suggesting which ways can be useful to consolidate favourable opinions.

- Regulations update: the page itemizes in a detailed way the rules applicable to the village transformation. So, the passing of the “policy of 3 olds” is widely debated, often criticized for its compulsory intervention, up to the “3+1”, where questioning of the entire image of the city has been conceived, where declared actions are strategic at large scale, and a wrongdoing of the speculative willingness for a single territorial purpose.

- Meetings: all public interventions involving village cadres, local politicians, media or the land developer debating the transformation have been fully publicized. The projects presentation, the upgrades and the new actions that in their opinion are strongly promoted. It is necessary to underline that the meetings are never anticipating public interests, suggesting their technical and restricted nature.

- Q&A: the most influential doubts on the voting process, on money compensation or village reconstruction are collected and fully explored. It is interesting to note the controversial repetition that without a large positive voting, many of the positive effects of the political support will disappear, endangering the entire community.

- Street promotion: door to door updating by the promotion team, where people are asked to compile surveys or express their vote. One noticeable element is the coupling of many activities with the most heartfelt public festivals of the village, involving even those who, like the children, are not entitled to vote.

- Organized tours: the village community between the months of July and August of 2015 was invited to participate to guided tours to the Wuhan village where the real estate company has recently completed a transformation project. The detailed accounts of the study visits have enhanced the substantial differences of the existing resources, always putting in perspective the poorly built environment of Lijiao.

- Village dangers: they are often denounced due to the presence in the village of many illegal construction and infrastructure. Frequent fires, difficulties in water supply, and electrical overloads, are used to demonstrate the potential of a project that will provide a modern and rational planning, seen as a social and security benefit for its inhabitants.

- Comparisons: one of the most used and abused for propaganda. A series of case studies successfully completed in Guangzhou are the starting point for understanding what the most fruitful path to be pursued is. Contrary to the complicated case of Xiancun, another VIC in Guangzhou fully immersed in the new CBD and resisting since 2008 an intense urban transformation and forced strong demolitions, is described as a situation which should be avoided. The resulting isolation is showed more as an onerous resistance, rather than a showcase for real positive effects.

All these elements bring out a discourse that conceives the reorganization of the space, the adherence to whole city strategies, as the most economical convenient way for the villagers. The promoting team concentrated all ideological efforts on achieving quality, and recombining traditional rituals with modern life. On 13 September 2015 2360 voters have expressed their opinion in favour of the transformation reaching the 60%. There is no limitation on the number of voting time; there is no regulation over this issue: the event could be organized at the required time in order to take the quota. The success of the operation has been posted on all the streets of the village, inviting all those who had participated in the voting process to show up to receive a “moon cake” as a gift. The rules of participation seem far from being completely autonomous or bottom-up driven.

4 COMPENSATIONS: THE REINVENTION OF THE SPACE

In September 2015, on the walls and in every public spaces of Lijiao, series of posters promoted by the “Lijaio Village Redevelopment Project Work Team” appeared that, in addition to inviting the vote for transformation, summarized some examples of surface compensation for each household (Figure6). Their observation can bring out a set of guiding principles that are followed in the compensation calculations, recounting all the contradictions of the actors involved.

On one side, there is the local government that wants to pursue its project of urban regeneration, by healing the large amount of illegal constructions, and on the other side, there are the villagers who know their resistance power and seek to maximize all of their surface rights. The

posters showed only few examples but they are exemplary in underlying the concepts beyond the transformation. The compensation is primarily based on measurements made and recorded by the local government in 2009 and not by the in hand declarative documentation owned by the villagers. The position is clear: the government intends to carry out the transformation based on the spatial consistency and not on historical statements. This means both strict control to highlight where illegal buildings are concentrated (in case the documentation shows a property lower than it is in reality), and seeking illegal documentation trying to enforce a bigger compensation (the statement possessed shows higher values than the actual building). A survey conducted by the local government officials became the main instrument for conducting calculation, leaving an indirect approach that could create considerable room for corruption.

Figure 6. The posters concerning the voting and compensation procedures on the walls of Lijiao village. Source: made by the author

Another key factor is the recognition of the stores to be compensated. The question appears tricky because the village over time has densified itself in order to provide housing for migrants, thus creating illegal construction. The village has grown on itself creating also safety hazards. The posters show the parameter of 4 stores as an average within which the households are rewarded. This means that those who built less of 4 floors will have the opportunity to have priority purchase of the difference in the market after redevelopment. Conversely, those who have built more will receive no more than the surfaces within the limit of 4 stores, also excluding any terrace area. The compensation deals not only with the built up surfaces, but also with the land area occupied by the house, giving it a real economic value. Similarly it's interesting to note that some additional elements, such as balconies, are included in the calculations.

Figure 7. The different housing typologies proposed by the real estate company to the villagers if they support the transformation (above), compared to the poor habitat condition of the existing village along the last remaining canal (below). Source: Schemes elaborated by the author starting from a poster on wall in Lijiao Village. Photo taken in Lijiao in September 2015

During the demolition, the villagers have to move to other areas of the city waiting to get the new properties. This means receiving a monetary compensation for renting a new house for the period. The monetary

compensation is made on the basis of the same area calculated for the future resettlement, multiplied by a factor that varies depending on the district in which the village is located. In October 16 the promoting team posted on WeChat the "Guangzhou City, farmers collectively owned land expropriation and compensation pilot scheme", listing all ranges of monetary compensation as per the location within Guangzhou Districts. With an average value of 21.73 RMB/sqm*month (nearly 3,36 $/smq*month) Lijiaio ranks itself pretty high with a value of 30 RMB/smq*month (4,63$/smq*month). Higher values are allocated to the Yuexiu District, in the old downtown, and near the Tianhe District where the new CBD ranges up to 40 RMB/sqm*month. In this way, as compensation for 320 sqm of ownership, a villager will receive back 1482 $ at a monthly level for the next two years after the beginning of the project.

We must add the case where some owners do not live in their own houses, which are intended only for renting. A special poster shows that the revenues derived from the current rental market within the village, will never reach the rate that would instead be received with the compensation of 30 RMB/sqm*month for the whole duration of the construction. Similarly, if in the future one puts its new properties into the new real estate market, one would receive back even more, the campaign says. The implied message for those landlords, who do not live in the village, but use their properties only as an investment, is to come and vote positively for the transformations, since their proceeds would be very fruitful in any case. The compensation rules displayed on the streets promote receiving big economic benefits, and at the same time declare that any increase in compensation caused by the illegal stock over the four stores will not be tolerated. The strategy is to economically reassure pursuing the goal of reaching 80% of favourable opinions, thus assuring a future where despite the loss of the collective ownership of land, the new social positioning and quality of life is exhibited as the most convenient solution.

5 CONCLUSIONS: SOCIAL SATISFACTION AND THE CONTROL OF THE URBAN FORM

An interesting image derived from a street poster, shows the interior distribution of the new apartments that villagers could obtain after the transformation process (Figure7). Divided by size, in order to find the satisfaction of heterogeneous households, they show a modern distribution, with large spaces, many toilets and even the ability to have walk-in closets.

Comparing these housing solutions with those present in the whole village, it is possible to realize how the prospectus shows an immeasurable upgrade in the quality of the buildings space for living. But what is missing in the discussion, and in the urban studies, has to put back in the centre of its debates, it is the lack of urban spatial correlation between the old town and its redesign. The values in compensation are numerically advantageous for the inhabitants and, noting the widespread volumetric illegal buildings, are likewise able to monitor the extent to which this is lawful. Unfortunately, the

result that comes out is a value that abstracts the environment since it is simply numerical. The image of the "small house" used in the promotion corresponds in reality to the relocation of high towers with 30 to 35 stores, relocating people in a completely new typology. It expresses the desire of modernity, but also homogenisation in the urban context, enabling to re-establish the “human scale” connections typical of VICs.

If in the disorderly and unsafe streets of the village, a person can move along the streets and still get in contact with the micro activities, this is no longer possible in the new gated neighbourhood: the possession of the machine and the stabilization of new type of businesses become the new background in which human relations have to be still tested (Liu et al., 2010). For this reason, the inclusion or exclusion of VICs has to be verified within the process of the voting that would eventually express the desire or not for a new spatial model, completely different from daily life (Figure8). The villagers will lose collective ownership for entering in a 70-year real estate housing ownership and becoming urban residents (with all the fiscal consequences). In addition, the city will perform its new urban visions upgrading its settlements, and despite putting all the efforts to safe its heritage asset, it will destroy its historical urban stratifications. For example the morphology of the canal disposition of Lijiao village, with its typical “tree” shape, is a unique exemplar in the Pearl River Delta. A process based on erasing, rather then connecting, will strongly affect the future image of the city. The proposed model is the replacement of the historic boundaries of the village with those of a gated community (He, 2013), which certainly affords security to the private citizens, but interposes a completely new spatial order.

By the way, the participation process made up in Lijiao by the real estate company is an important element for reconsideration of the top-down perspective, often occurring in the debates around VICs. The possibility to create a bottom-up approach in which the community is informed about the procedures, the regulations, and the future development of their land, is an instrument both to create consensus both to readdress the role of the community as an important player in the transformation process. The upgrading of the city passes by also from these approaches, crossing business opportunities to a reconsolidation at local level to support them. Of course the rhetoric instrument is strongly used beyond the debate, but villagers’ requirements are becoming even stronger due to the consciousness of their ownership power inside the urban transformation game.

Participation created by those who promote the transformation has placed at the centre of the debate the spatial quality as discourse within which consensus is built, but there are other aspects that should be considered. First of all, the fate of migrant workers, real absents and silent protagonists of the conflict, who are intended to move elsewhere. In this sense the problem of floating population is not resolved at all, generating a progressive gentrification of the central areas of the city. In addition, the focus of the debate has moved more and more to a sensibility for avoiding all costs of any direct clash with the local community, promoting activities to

encourage the process of transformation. There is symptom of desire to create a broader consensus on the new image of the city, where heritage assets are preserved in the same way, but all the rest has to be transformed in a more efficient machine.

Figure 8. People putting renting advertises on the rendering of the new Lijiao village. Source: Lijiao village, made by the author

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Enhancing participation in Macedonian Detailed Urban Plans: The case of Novo Maalo, Skopje

ABSTRACT:

After a concise account of the Macedonian urban planning system, the paper introduces the Detailed Urban Plans (DUPs) focussing on their legal structure and on the participatory aspects characterising them. Participation in the DUP's approval is broken down into the elementary parts composing the process in order to expose their lacks and shortcomings. This deconstruction process tackles also the structure of the documents composing DUPs, showing how their organisation and graphic appearance hinders the understanding of planning decision and therefore the participation of the general public. After demonstrating the generic planning that largely results from the lack of participation through the case study of the DUP for Novo Maalo, an old characteristic neighbourhood in Skopje, the paper proceeds to suggest more effect instruments for participation that could be introduced without altering the existing national planning legal framework. Based on some innovative actions taken in the developing world, the paper lists a series of community engagement techniques which could be experimented in and adapted to the Macedonian context in its current configuration.

KEYWORDS: *community, detailed plans, participation*

1 INTRODUCTION

The Macedonian planning system stems out from the Yugoslav one, and was based on the regulatory planning framework and the planning methodologies of its predecessor. Many characteristics of the Yugoslav planning model that was influenced by American and Western modern planning, still remain in place in the planning legal framework of contemporary Macedonia. Nevertheless, as is the case for many aspects of state organisation and regulations in post-socialist contexts, urban planning underwent major modifications. These modifications are both procedural and structural and mirror the trend towards private market-based urbanisms common in many post-socialist countries that allow and encourage private intervention, often at the expense of quality of spatial standards and achievement of long term objectives for planning policies (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009). In the Macedonian case in particular, urban planning has been further clouded by on-demand legal and institutional adaptations driven by politically relevant urban projects.

The subsequent and sudden revisions of the Law on Spatial and Urban Planning, a total of 11 amendments between 2006 and 2015, demonstrate its contentious nature and the habit of government representatives of initiating ad-hoc law changes based on specific obstacles. And yet, in spite of the numerous changes over a short span of time, the part of the law regarding participation has not been changed, keeping the possibility of bottom up input from communities and of citizen participation at a very low level and circumscribed to a very specific circumstance: the process of approval of Detailed Urban Plans (from now on DUPs).

2 DETAILED URBAN PLANS IN THE MACEDONIAN PLANNING SYSTEM

In the state organisation of Macedonia, municipalities are the main local administrative bodies: 80 overall, out of which 34 are urban municipalities and 10 are gathered under the special administrative unit of the City of Skopje. The Macedonian planning system envisages different types of urban plans which mirror this administrative subdivision. Urban municipalities have an overall comprehensive plan called General Urban Plan, while the ten municipalities of Skopje all fall under a single comprehensive plan, regulating and coordinating development on the territory of the whole city. The City of Skopje is currently planned according to the General Urban Plan for Skopje 2012-2022 that sets the overall zoning guidelines, major infrastructure layout, population, density and building parameters etc. The General Urban Plan (GUP) sets the framework and conditions for drafting and realization of the lower level plans, the DUPs - regarding city quarters and neighbourhoods. Detailed Urban Plans are legally binding plans that set the details and conditions based on which building permits are issued. DUPs fall under the jurisdiction of municipalities, and the territory of each municipality is divided in many DUPs - they never cross the border between

municipalities and are only coordinated between each other by the conditions set by the GUP.

2.1 Overview of the current legislation and participation in DUPs

The timing and procedure for drafting, adoption and approval of DUPs are stated in the *Law on Spatial and Urban Planning*. According to current regulations, the making of DUPs can be initiated by a public initiative (the council or the mayor of each municipality), or more rarely by a private or community initiative. In both cases the planning firm to draft the plan is selected through an online public auction system. The mayor of the municipality adopts the programme for the DUP, previously drafted by a commission of experts appointed by the municipality council. This programme informs the drafting of the plan itself carried out by the appointed firm, which is also assisted by the input of representatives from the public infrastructure enterprises in order to ensure conformity and compatibility of the new plan with the existing infrastructure (e.g. sewerage, gas pipes, electricity grid. etc.). Upon completion, the draft plan is ready for the citizen consultation, the so called public survey, the only envisaged participatory segment of the entire planning procedure.

The DUP consists of a *background documentation*, all the data regarding the current state of the area to be planned and a *plan documentation* that refers to the future planned situation. Both documentations, in turn, consist of three parts: a written part, numeric tables and graphic maps (Guidebook on content, form and graphic representation of urban plans (...), 2015). On the public consultation, only one segment of the entire documentation is presented: a comprehensive map (an overlay of all graphic maps) of the planned situation in a scale of 1:1000.

The public consultation is announced in two newspapers three days prior to the consultation itself, as stipulated by the law. The consultation proper involves a first day of public presentation of the plan in a public venue, often a room in the municipality itself, followed by ten more days of exposure of the plan to the citizenry for DUPs in cities, and five days for DUPs for villages or outside of inhabited areas. Within these ten days, citizens can file specific observations through dedicated forms regarding cadastral parcels affected by the plan, asking for revisions or amendments. This process is referred to as a public survey. Within the fifth day after the conclusion of the public survey, a professional commission named by the municipality has to come up with a report stating which comments should be addressed and incorporated into the new version of the plan and which should be dismissed, and why. Each citizen that has submitted a comment receives a letter responding to the request either positively or negatively. Within the tenth day from the publication of this report, the plan is revised by the commission suggesting how to incorporate eventual amendments and eventually send it back to the firm for re-drafting.

Parallel to the public survey, the plan needs to be approved by few ministries - depending on the nature of the plan (Ministry of Environment if

there is an environmentally sensitive context, Ministry of Defence if the area is of strategic relevance), and it gets the final stamp of approval by the Ministry of Transport and Communications under whose jurisdiction urban planning lies. The draft of the Detailed Urban Plan is than voted and approved by the Municipality Council, after which it becomes official.

According to the latest changes in the Law on Spatial and Urban Planning, electronic planning is being introduced. However this not only has not been implemented yet, but it also essentially reproduces the standard procedure, only through an electronic system. No substantial changes in the process or in modes of participation have been introduced.

3 SHORTCOMINGS OF THE DUPS

There are many shortcomings and flaws in the DUPs, regarding both the inherent structure and nature of these plans as they are currently conceived, and their procedure. This means that the shortcomings regard both accessibility, visual clarity and readability on one hand and effective modes of participation on the other hand.

3.1 Shortcomings of the DUPs accessibility

There are many shortcomings and flaws in the DUPs, regarding both the inherent structure and nature of these plans as they are currently conceived, and their procedure. This means that the shortcomings regard accessibility, visual clarity and readability on one hand and effective modes of participation on the other hand.

3.1 Shortcomings of the DUPs accessibility

The problems of the DUPs' accessibility begin from the insufficient information and means of publicity regarding the public surveys. The ad announcing the time and place of the survey published in two newspapers - and sometimes the municipalities' web page - is insufficient and often goes unnoticed. Actively informing the citizens and encouraging them to participate is only occasionally enhanced with additional means of information such as flyers or posters in the neighbourhoods. However, even though the public surveys are generally poorly visited, only some municipalities have taken action to increase the attendance of the surveys, while often they are treated as a mere legal obligation, one that is mandatory to take place only as far as organizing the survey goes - without thorough commitment to actually engage and take action on the comments. There is no official data on the attendance and success rate of the public surveys, therefore all observations are suggestive; there are however singled out experiences demonstrating the fact that the municipalities are in no way obliged to give more than lip service to the citizen comments, regardless of their number, intensity or relevance. For example, a group of more than thirty citizens in an initiative triggered by the Association of Architects of Macedonia in 2010 made the identical comment disputing the Gate Macedonia (so called Triumphal Gate) in the DUP "Mal Ring" in the

municipality Centar with the idea that with joined forces on one thing, the municipality would be obliged to respond. However, they all got the same letter notification explaining why their comment will not be considered - and the Gate was smoothly built soon after.

Moreover, as mentioned, only one part of the DUP (the comprehensive plan of the plan documentation) is presented at the public surveys, omitting both the documents regarding the existing situation, as well as the textual and numeric document on the planned situation that enable a more comprehensive understanding of many aspects of the plan. The lack of a map of the current situation makes it difficult for anyone that doesn't have complete knowledge of the area to compare the introduced changes with the existing situation. Furthermore, the written document that is not publicly available contains the detailed data on the specific regulations regarding each building parcel. This means that with the graphic map only one part of the information on what is planned is presented. The written document contains, for example, the percentage of required greenery per parcel in the entire DUP area, or the details of facade reconstructions or special building allowances for a specific building parcel.

Finally, the citizens are given little facilitation to understand the plans in-depth: for instance there is an urban planner to present the plan only the first day of the survey, while the remaining days the citizens are left to understand and decipher the graphic plan on their own.

3.2 Shortcomings of the DUPs as urban planning documents

The publicly presented comprehensive plan has a legal value and puts in graphic form the binding regulations that have a spatial effect in the plan (e.g. building parameters and parcels, volume of construction, alignments, re-blocking). The plan is accompanied by a table with numeric parameters for each building parcel listing the allowed categories and functions of the buildings, heights and floor area ratios. Aside from the graphic plan, the same graphic document prescribes minimum requirements for street profiles.

The main problem of the graphic plan itself is its visual incomprehensibility. The plan combines the several legally required categories of the plan (land use plan, regulation and building parcel plan, infrastructure plan, basic services plan, greenery plan, plan of cultural heritage) into one comprehensive document, which is all but accessible and readable planning information. Rather, the plan has become a complex image in which all this information is chaotically overlapped. Apart from the messy overlapping layers, the plan includes unnecessary additional graphic and numeric information that further reduces its clarity (sewage lines, construction lines, geodetic numeration etc.). The plan represents the buildings and a dense table of numeric parameters, difficult to read and understand for most citizens. There are also often chaotic or missing legends, or mistaken colour patterns in the plan, making it difficult to read even for professional planners and architects.

Finally, the plan is not accompanied by a 3D visualization, renderings or a physical 3D model, which would aid the citizens to understand its three-dimensionality, its full scope and the spatial effects of its realization in the actual space.

3.3. Shortcomings of the concepts of participation as envisaged by the DUP procedure

The existing model of participation limits the citizens input to an *a posteriori* participation and foresees no real opportunity to express needs, wishes, problems or visions prior to the drafting of the plan, in order to inform it and steer at least partially its decision making process. The form of participation is narrowed down to information and consultation. On the widely referenced eight step ladder of participation of Arnstein, 'information and consultation' as a type of participation are in the fifth place, and are preceded by the more inclusive steps of partnership, delegated power and citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). The system of information and consultation as means of participation has pretty much remained unchanged from the post-WWII formation of Macedonia, as these measures were included in the first laws on urban and spatial planning (Basic Law on General Urban Plan, 1949). The progress that has been made on a global scale with regard to methods of participation has not been replicated in Macedonia, where each following planning law maintained the same principles of participation.

Moreover, within the framework of consultation, i.e. the public survey, the possibilities are even more limited. Namely, the citizens are given the possibility to express their opinions, complaints and demands through the limited means of a survey template, in which only the following questions are asked: 'number of the contested building parcel' and 'comment'.

This template encourages the individual parcel-based complaint system and discourages neighbourhood scale, overall environment thinking and criticizing, only further exacerbating the private market domination over urban planning. And even after this step, the time for the professional commission to review and respond to the complaints is minimal, giving the sense that the entire participation procedure gives very little decision making power to the citizens and it does not offer a suitable platform for citizen inclusion.

4 POOR PARTICIPATION AND GENERIC URBAN PLANS: THE CASE OF NOVO MAALO

Novo Maalo, meaning 'New Neighbourhood' is one of the oldest urban city quarters of Skopje. It used to be called Novo Chivchi Maalo, from the word 'chivchi' (agriculture worker in Turkish) related to the profession of the majority of the population - agriculture and gardening. At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, Skopje was divided in neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods were mostly built and inhabited by groups of people

with the same geographic or ethnic origin, occupation or other common trace. The neighbourhoods were administrative units while Skopje was under the Ottoman rule, but they remained, in a modified manner, after the Ottomans, and continued to exist as urban toponyms, each with their own landmarks, characteristics and local meeting points. This neighbourhood structure significantly determined not only the urban lifestyle at the citizens of Skopje at the time, but also the cultural and social dynamics of everyday life. All these aspects of the urban character of Skopje developed until the beginning of the Second World War, when the city's growth was violently halted. Novo Maalo is one of the few remaining old Skopje neighbourhood still surviving remaining its original urban form.

The neighbourhood grew quickly in its time, as most of the people in the area came with an influx of rural-urban migration from the rural areas of the country. The mixed newcomers would build new houses, leading to the name of the area that remains until today. It is located near the Vardar river bank, and is still standing since its formation in the end of the 18th century. The neighbourhood is a densely built area, with mostly one floor single family houses with gardens - it was an area known for the most beautiful family gardens in the city (Kacheva, Hristova and Gorgiovska, 2006).

Despite consistent and radical building substitutions - e.g. the construction of a mall in the northern part of the neighbourhood - and the on-going demolitions, today the core of Novo Maalo is one of the few remainders of the old urban structure and architecture of the early 20th century Skopje. White and yellow houses, with wooden window frames and iron fence balconies and wooden roof constructions that are visible in the facades, and wooden gates leading to the gardens can still be seen standing in the area. Both the houses and the overall area are now in extremely poor state of conservation and are ostensibly decaying since many houses remaining non-renovated for almost a century. Even though in poor conditions, the neighbourhood's spatial qualities still remain visible. The human scale of the narrow, intimate streets, as well as the strong community spirit and identity linked to the neighbourhood make Novo Maalo a unique part of the city. Its role in the urban history of wider the city context, and its morphology and architecture should qualify it to be protected as cultural heritage. However, this is not the case.

The changes foreseen by Detailed Urban Plan for Novo Maalo can be outlined through several defining characteristics. The existing street network is maintained and extended, as several streets are extended to connect to the surrounding main boulevards. Moreover, a new major street is introduced cutting the neighbourhood in two and disrupting its existing pattern. The 18m wide street is out of proportion considering the current scale of the neighbourhood, however it has been introduced to cater to the two major newly introduced buildings along the main boulevard north from the neighbourhood. These 11 floor buildings are just one part of the complete restructuring of the scale and typology of the neighbourhood. The historical morphological and typological character of the area of single family 1 to 2 floor houses with gardens is now being replaced with large multi-

residential 7 floor high buildings. These new buildings are based on the merged building parcels of the single family houses, and introduce a complete shift in the lifestyle of the area, both in the use of private as well as communal spaces. Aiming for maximum use of profitable space, the new plan fills the surface area with residential and commercial buildings, leading to destruction of the many existing permeable and green spaces (today mostly private gardens and one bigger public greenery), as there are no open, public nor green spaces predicted with the new plan. Moreover, a 6 floor parking garage is planned, even though the scale of the new buildings would allow for the parking needs to be managed within each building parcel.

As a result, apart from part of the existing street network pattern, nothing else out of the character of the neighbourhood is preserved. It becomes uncomparable to its current state, as not a single defining urban, morphological or architectural element (scale, height, small grain, open spaces, gardens) is maintained. The specificity of this old unique Skopje neighbourhood is thus killed, a process that has already been seen for years in the city, and particularly in two other old Skopje neighbourhoods - Debar Maalo and Bunjakovec (Skopje raste, 2015), where even though most of the street network has been maintained, the complete change of height, scale, style, public space, proportions, open spaces etc., makes the reconstructed streets unrecognizable and emptied out of all character. The disregard of the existing character of a neighbourhood, as well as the poor attention paid to public, green open spaces and pedestrian and bike infrastructure as well as overall street quality are unfortunately typical for most urban plans in Skopje in the past decades.

Figure 1a. Novo Maalo, current situation

Figure 1b. Novo Maalo, planned situation
Source: DUP Novo Maalo

The DUP for Novo Maalo is a paradigmatic example of the generic approach to planning which has been characterising Skopje DUPs over the past 10-15 years in the aftermath of the post-socialist transition and under the influence of private market-based urbanism. This process has turned considerable increases in built volumes, and the subsequent rise in profits, into the norm for plan drafting, if not the accepted aim of it, with questions of quality completely neglected in the public discourse. This has been accepted in last decades as a natural occurrence connected to the economic wealth generated by urban transformation. A new sensitivity to the quality of spatial transformation has arisen only after the spatial results of past DUPs have become evident in the above mentioned historical neighbourhood.

A new social demand for real participation and the approval of negotiated urban policies, leading to balanced and quality spatial results has emerged in Skopje through initiatives such as the *Opshtina po merka na gragjanite [Municipality friends of the citizens]* (Municipality of Centar, 2012) attempting to introduce different forms of citizen participation, such as a budgeting forum where citizens decide on part of the investments to be done; or the bottom up informal citizen initiative *Vo Odbrana na Debar Maalo [Defending Debar Maalo]* which lobbied in the municipal council and obtained a signed commitment from the Municipality Centar to enhance participation in decision making regarding the local DUP; or another neighbourhood initiative *Nie sme Karposh 4 [We are Karposh 4]* that organized many protests on the current DUP in their neighbourhood and facilitated a local tree census and a feasibility study in order to contest the destruction of trees foreseen by the DUP. These developments in citizen engagement, compared with the poorly carried out and unfruitful results brought about by

business as usual in DUP planning indicate a stronger sensitivity towards the matters of planning interest.

This suggests that participation in the context of Skopje needs to have an even bigger role in order to introduce more comprehensive measures, rather than tackling single thematic issues (e.g. single project budgeting; greenery) in bottom up initiatives. There is a need to advertise the fact that the problems relating to spatial transformation can be tackled comprehensively through better DUPs - the tool that superintends to them - and publicise that plans different from the current profit-oriented model, are possible and viable within the existing legal framework. More participatory plans have the potential to reconcile the natural social and economic evolution of the city, coming with change in typologies and urban form, and the preservation of urban heritage and relevant characteristics of neighbourhoods, according to shared decision making and long term plans.

It is nevertheless hard to change the current patterns in plan drafting, since there is a strong inertia of the system which can be illustrated by a duality of issues plans have to deal with across Macedonia and in particular in Skopje where real estate values press towards rapid transformations. This double pressure is composed of, on one hand, the requests of citizens who are aware of the economic benefits deriving from higher floor area ratios and increases in land value which has benefited many landowners in the past decades; on the other hand, of a collective realisation of the externalities that sudden and unruly increases in built volumes involve, such as the loss of spatial quality of neighbourhoods, congestion, overexploitation and free riding of public spaces and assets (e.g. parking spaces). Participative process, which comes in variety of methods and approaches, are a way to respond to these seemingly irreconcilable problems.

5 POSSIBILITIES FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN SKOPJE: INTRODUCING INNOVATIVE PARTICIPATION TECHNIQUES

While for a comprehensive change of the rigid planning model, a thorough change of the national legislation would be required, improvement can be achieved by modifying the day to day practices. The power to change these, largely lies in the hands of municipalities, a situation rich in possibilities as indicated by UN-Habitat, UCLG and other international organizations in recent decades, pointing at and encouraging decentralization and local scale decision making as necessary tools for democratic urban planning (UN-Habitat, 2007).

In Skopje, the *Law on Local Self Governance*, enables the introduction of inclusive planning processes on a local scale, within the existing national legal framework. This approach of attempting to improve and enhance participation in Skopje by sticking to techniques that do not require changes

in the legal framework helps make any intervention immediately fruitful. This arrangement though, would require a strong commitment and political will on the side of the municipality, as the promoting body of these processes, which would be the only body guaranteeing their validity. Furthermore, new practices of citizen participation should aim, despite the limitations of acting within the rigid and outdated legal system of Macedonia, at introducing up to date and effective techniques which not only have had recognised positive results in other contexts, but can also be smoothly used in the Macedonian context. The municipal authorities along with civil society, can find in Novo Maalo a fertile ground for experimentations due to the above specified characteristics of the area.

The paper suggests a series of approaches based on the specificity of the area, the possibilities of the current legal framework, and the possibilities given within the Statute of the Municipality Centar, all the while keeping in mind the potentially limited financial resources. The paradigmatic practices and techniques are chosen in order to fit within two specific steps of the procedure of the DUP:

1) ex-ante, before and during the drafting of the 'program for the plan', in order to include the citizens demands and needs from the onset of the plan making.
2) ex-post, after the draft DUP is ready for the public survey, in order to make the DUP accessible, readable and open for citizen consultation, observations and eventually amendments.

5.1. Ex-ante participation techniques

The procedure of drafting and passing of each DUP begins with the making of a 'program for the plan' by an expert commission approved by the mayor of a given municipality. According to the *Law on Spatial and Urban Planning*, a 'program for the plan' is a 'program that defines the confines and contents of the plan area' (2016). The program is a document based on current conditions and problems of the area in question, and has the goal to establish a system of aims and strategies for the DUP. The program analyses how the previous plan, or the lack thereof, has contributed to the current patterns of development in the area, and deduces a set of necessary actions and quantifiable goals for the DUP. It is then handed to the selected planning firm that drafts the DUP, based on the program.

The Law on Local Self Governance gives the municipalities the legal right and obligation to manage and define the details of actions falling within the areas of the municipalities' jurisdiction that have not been specified in the appropriate law. Neither the *Law on Spatial and Urban Planning*, nor the *Guidebook on norms and standards for urban planning* define the exact scope and content of the program for the plan. The municipality therefore has the right to define how the 'program for the plan' is drafted. This has been commonly based on practice and experience, and the working methods have varied between different municipalities. For this reason the

paper suggests the ‘program for the plan’ as the key step in the DUP making procedure, where ‘ex-ante’ participation techniques should be introduced. This would not only open a real inclusive process of urban planning rather than a consultation after the deed, but also would potentially give the plan a completely new direction, with inputs that have until now been overlooked.

At the same time, the management of this potentially new, extended process could be managed by a coordination body that has already been envisaged by the Statute of the Municipality of Centar, but never implemented. According to it, the Municipality of Centar forms a *Participatory Body* for urbanism with the aim to ‘infuse the positions and opinions of the citizens and organizations into the process of urban planning, and to keep track of the conditions [on the ground relating to urban transformations], taking initiatives, giving directions and suggestions in the process of planning’ (Municipality of Centar, 2006).

The never-formed *Participatory Body* would have 7 members, including Municipality council members, professionals and community representatives. The fact that this body has not been formed yet, gives an even bigger opportunity for the Municipality to predict the inclusion of participatory planning as one of the tasks of the *Participatory Body*. The Body could be responsible for coordinating the new participatory methods to be introduced as an aid for compiling the ‘programs for the plans’ - estimating the needs, thoroughly collecting information about the situation on the ground and about the main issues at stake, so as to choose the participatory methods accordingly, manage and keep communication with all affected stakeholders in the planned areas, as well as function as an interface between the stakeholders on one hand and the experts and consultants from different fields on the other, contributing to draft the program and later the plans.

As models for the ex-ante techniques to be implemented in Skopje, two international practices are here suggested:

1. Community mappings and enumeration techniques.

These are practices of survey and gathering of statistical or spatial information conducted involving the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods as collectors. The idea is to involve them from the very beginning of the planning process, let them own the data and collectively identify relevant issues and problems within the area under the jurisdiction of a plan. These techniques have been used in several countries in development to involve communities from informal settlements into planning process with considerable success (D'Cruz, Fadrigo Cadornigara and Satterwhaite 2014; Muller and Mbanga 2012), and are now considered best practices of community engagement, possibly useful in more formalised situations, where conditions apply. In the case of the municipality Centar in Skopje, the lack of reliable census data (not carried out since 2002) and the demands for early involvement make such approach quite fit for the objectives here described. At the same time, the small scale of Novo Maalo neighbourhood and the familiarity amongst the neighbours would make the process easily

achievable. Community mapping in this context could map the presence of greenery, counting trees, or the amount of public space and parking spots (both formal and informal), etc.

2. Community visioning workshops.

These are practices that aim at making the way institutions choose urban planning goals, transparent and open. They are carried out seeking the involvement of all stakeholders affected by the urban plan, making them come together, open a conversation and come up with shared visions about future urban transformations. This method has been used extensively in developed contexts, as well as developing ones, with different degrees of inclusiveness (open assemblies, round tables of representatives of the stakeholders, etc.) and has shown significant positive results in making urban plans accepted by the stakeholders and building consensus around them. In the case of Novo Maalo, the stakeholders would primarily be the residents in the area, then the people visiting or working nearby, and - very importantly - the interested investors and real estate developers. In these workshops the city officials receive the input of the community and manage to convey change of different scenarios of urban transformation in understandable ways, while incorporating inputs into early stages of decision making processes, negotiating and finding common ground between the positions of different stakeholders and interest groups. In Novo Maalo, particularly considering the need for a shift in the solely profit-based urbanism patterns, a carefully facilitated discussion, debate and negotiation between the residents and the interested investors might result in alternative possibilities for urban transformation that would benefit all, without turning it into another generic post-1990s Skopje neighbourhood. Examples of *Community Visioning* workshops have been held in the region under the auspices of the UN (UN Habitat, KOSOVO). Other types of Community visioning workshops, used in different contexts, such as the United States, could also offer interesting precedents (Walzer 1996, Cuthill 2004).

5.2 Ex-post participation techniques

Introducing changes in the way that the DUPs are communicated to the citizenry would take even less demanding efforts, all of which possible within the current processes and with the existing resources. These slight modifications that, again, require no legal changes could in turn have significant impact, influencing not only the direction taken by urban transformations in the neighbourhoods, but also mark a new transparency and inclusivity in the relationship between the municipality and the citizens.

As models for the ex-post techniques to be implemented in Skopje, some practices and proposals are here listed, relating to shortcomings of DUPs previously highlighted. In particular these tackle two groups of issues:

1. The accessibility of the drafted DUP.

-making existing data publicly available - On the initiative of the municipality, parts of the DUP currently unavailable (the written text, the

report on the current conditions), could be made open for public consultation - this requires no additional work, it is merely an action for the access to information that is already classified as “information of public interest”. Moreover, extending the time frame for consultation would further enable a bigger number of citizens to gain access to the DUP information.

2. The democratisation of the DUP approval

The DUP graphic parts could be rendered readable and understandable to enhance participation. Modes of participation could be expanded by facilitating the fulfilling of forms for observations about matters of public interest. A new format of forms to present observations to the plan reshaped as citizen-friendly graphic maps could be tested in consultation with the citizens, and then simply replicated for each DUP public survey. This information could be made more understandable by complementing it with different types of models: 3D renders, axonometric drawings or physical 3D models that would help the citizens get a deeper understanding of the plan. This approach has been undertaken in different contexts namely as Community Plans (Wates 2014) or with slightly different purposes in experimental upgrade projects where inhabitants were trained to read the spatial outcomes of a plan and give input - the so called Community Architects (UN-Habitat 2014). To make change smoother institutional activities could be complemented by the contribution of civil society groups and NGO’s or investing in expert external advice. For example, interesting examples of DUP thematic redrawing, aimed at making clear and visible specific policy outcomes of DUPs have already been conducted in Skopje: such as the tree census coordinated by the NGO Ploshtad Sloboda (2014) to visualise the changes in greenery resulting from the adoption and coming into effect of the DUP Mal Ring in the Municipality of Centar.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The paper has given an account of the participation envisaged within the Macedonian planning system, focussing on the legal and procedural details of the only type of planning instruments that involves direct participation: the DUP. The analysis of DUP has made different shortcomings and problems emerge in the effective and true deployment of participation, detailing their different aspects. Subsequently the paper shows how bottom up initiative in Skopje demonstrate a felt need in the citizenry for more effective means of democratic control and engagement in planning, in general, and in DUPs, in particular.

Taking a pragmatic stance, the paper suggests that, despite overall flaws in the planning laws, change and improvement could be better achieved, for the short term, and tested for comprehensive legal change, in the long term, by working within the existing legal framework on a municipal scale. The suggested techniques working both the ex-ante and ex-post parts of the DUP procedure of drafting, approval and adoption could, without major efforts and investments, trigger substantial changes in both the patterns of

urban transformation, as well as the models of the planning practice in Skopje.

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Chapter 5

Inclusive citizens exclusive cities

Frank Eckardt
Ivana Sidzimovska

Creativity for Integration: Contested integration of refugees and the art project “My house is your house!” in Gera, Germany

ABSTRACT

Gera has only recently starting to accept refugees. As part of the former East of Germany, the city is situated in a peripheral area and bears heavy social costs from the transformation as a former mining city. Today, tensions between German inhabitants and newly arriving migrants and refugees can be identified in many ways. Most evident, a citizen’s protest movement wanted to prevent the government to open up a refugee house. With a broad open debate, some social acceptance have been established and a small group of pro-refugee activists has been founded. Since many years, the authors are undertaking social research in the city in Gera and have been interviewing actors and refugees this year about the local situation. As consequence, a creative project called “My House Is Your House” has been initiated with the local theatre group. The paper will first present the local situation of Gera and its mayor subjects of social transformation. It will then document the results of the fieldwork undertaken by the authors. A main part of the paper will present the work of the project. It will finally draw conclusions in howfar creative projects can have a positive effect on situations where integration policies are contested. It will pay thereby particular attention to the aspect of how refugees and citizens can be brought into contact, how communication can be fostered and framed and what the long term effects on the mutual perception can be.

KEYWORDS: *art, refugees, East-Germany, perception, urban transformation*

1 INTRODUCTION

Being once the main mining center for uranium mining during the socialist period, the city of Gera and its region have been subject to substantial urban transformation. The city has thereby lived through different periods of planning paradigms and political approach to cope with the situation. In the year 2015, the recent influx of refugees to Europe has also reached Gera. Unknown to foreigners, the reactions have become increasingly hostile while a group of citizens have also started to deploy activities for the establishment of a “welcoming cultures”. One of the projets has been started by artists and students of the Bauhaus-University Weimar. The major idea is that cities can only be developed to be integrative if patterns of perception on the urban society are enabling a differentiated view on newcomers and autochthon citizens alike. The project is motivated by the idea that creative approaches can enlarge perceptive concepts of local identity and thereby contribute to the inclusive strength of the city.

This chapter will first sketch the urban transformation of Gera (Eckardt, 2011) and the experiences with different political and planning approaches (Chapter 2). It will then present research on the “Welcoming cities” in Thuringia undertaken in 2015 with a special focus on Gera (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 presents the ongoing project “My house is your house”. In the concluding part, the experiences made so far in Gera will be discussed with regard to the question whether creative projects can have an impact on the perception on urban life and what possible conclusions can be drawn from the case of Gera with regard to the subject of inclusion of foreigners.

2 THE URBAN SOCIOLOGY OF GERA

Understanding a city requires a complex set of orientations. For the sake of description, a choice has to be made regarding the importance of factors that can be discussed explaining urban changes. In this regard, the city has to been first in the light of its embedding into a society that has undergone a profound transformation into a new and all-encompassing political and economy system. This means that the city has been conceptualized to serve the societal objectives of a socialist idea and which needed to be re-oriented towards a free market economy and the West-German political system of democracy. Economically, the urban transformation implied a profound change of ownership and the implementation of the concept of competition. This has led to a severe process of deindustrialisation, as the key industrial basis of the city could not keep up against the global competition. Not only has the privatization of formerly state owned companies pushed Gera to a status of low production capacities and thus producing a high level of unemployment, but also the soft factors of economy like the value of the labor competences and the place bound qualities (infrastructure, housing, social and cultural services) were increasingly devalorized.

The political transformation of the city after the German reunification was systematically organized to take over the institutional settings as worked out

so far in the West-German democracy. While the process of institutional adaptation has been accomplished in the first ten years, the innovation of the local political culture underwent different phases and might not be regarded as strong as it would be needed. While political parties have been set up in the style usual for a democratic system, the empowerment of the former GDR citizen to take up responsibility beyond the forms of representation has started but not achieved a level that could be called a civil society. An active participation in the sense that citizens self-organize for their interests and for the bonum commune has only slowly increased in the last 25 years. To mention are initiatives for cultural projects like the support for the underground cellar rooms ("Höhler") which are used for artist exhibitions. Another important area of citizen's engagement for the green spaces at the edge of the inner city which is connected to the former mining area. Again, this has been initiated by a top-down project that has been enabling the organization of the National Gardening Exhibition (BUGA) which needed to be sustainably followed up and thereby is given into the hands of an association consisting of a group of engaged citizens. Participation has often been requested by federal or European funding institution as a prerequest. Gera as many East-German cities have fulfilled this obligation in a formal manner and often by setting up citiezn's organisations which were dominated by officials.

From the observations on the particular situation in East-Germany, one needs to take into account that the local and regional discourses where predominated until now by the assumed imperatives of demographic change (Nipper, 2013). As East-Germany has lost many inhabitants in the last two and half decades, the predictions foresee that this process will continue. Coping with "shrinkage" meant firstly, that political actors and the broader public have to recognize the ongoing process and the difficulties implied for financing the infrastructure, keeping up the social and cultural institutions and psychologically to destroy larger parts of the cities that has been building up before German reunification. Until today, the discussions on how to plan and to live in a city that has no option to grow, start new projects and thereby organize collective experience to shape an authentic local identity (cp. Richter, 2012), and place attachment remains extremely difficult.

While undeniably the shrinkage of East Germany in terms of population will continue as the economic pull factors from the more competitive West German cities will remain and the birth rate is not assumed to rise (with less young people remaining), the social geography of East Germany has developed an own logic. This has led to a pattern where differences between cities in Thuringia have become more important. Since 2005, there is an urban core along a major motorway (Erfurt-Weimar-Jena) that not only stabilized demographically but even were regarded as growth poles economically. Here, affordable housing becomes a critical subject. In contrast, North and South from this imaginary "urban line", the shrinkages are taking shape even sharper. With 2,5 million inhabitants, the state of Thuringian has to expect a further loss of 400,000 inhabitants in the next ten years.

The predominance of the idea of shrinkage has narrowed down the general perspectives on state and local level (Bürkner, 2012). Even in 2014, when Germany in total received as many foreigners as never before since the German reunification, no public debate can be identified that this might change also the very basic logic of development in Thuringia. While this discursive failure is charged by all East German cities and states, however, Thuringia needs to be looked at more closely. Since the 2000 years, the emergence of life style diversity in Thuringian cities can be observed. This is due to the fact that a more intensive interaction with West German metropolises takes place. The geographical nearness – in contrast to Saxony for examply – enables for many people to integrate the experience of working and visiting West German cities. This has prevented in many border regions to Hessia, Lower Saxony and Baveria that inhabitants of small and economically weak cities are leaving their home town and instead commute daily.

Being geographically situated in the East of Thuringia, the city of Gera is rather disconnected to the rest of the country (Freistaat). Symbolically, the city in one of the few cities in Germany which still lack access to the electric railway lines. Train connections are hindered also by partly one line narrowings. Psychologically, the feeling having lost status has been underlined by the fact that the former mining town no longer holds the position of a “Bezirksstadt” of the GDR but as second largest town of Thuringia has not been granted any mayor regional institution like a university or government buildings.

Today more a psychological than a real barrier, the city has often been seen as embodying the “death triangle” of the contaminated earth left over from the uranium mining. Gera was seen as one angle of a territory forming a triangle of intoxicated landscape. While the process of decontamination has been extremely intensive and expensive, the stigma of being “deadly” is regarded as a hinder for investors, visitors and foreigners to settle down, so far. Feeling treated unfairly by the outside world has led to a certain resentment against anything from “outside”. Early reports on racism in the high rise estates on the fringe point at a high level of unsolved social problems. As there were few opportunities for higher educated youth to built up a professional career, citizens with an above average degree were leaving the city. Who remained can be characterized with a social profile as being rather less educated, male, and with a strong orientation towards the local culture. The later derived from a classical working class orientation where the value of loyalty was kept upright in the first place. Living together in one place for a very long time without much disturbance from the outside has created a local life world where many not explicit rules for the daily life have been developed and internalized.

With the collapse of the uranium industry and the massive loss of jobs, this local culture had to undergo a devaluation of its very substance. One can describe this process as a classical crisis of local identity which has not been solved by the measurements undertaken “from above”. The idea of branding the city according to a local painter (Otto Dix) has not produced an offer

which has meaning in everyday life. Accompanying investors into culture and urban planning like the re-installation of the tramway did not work economically. On the contrary, the city had to close many social offers, when in 2015 Gera hardly could prevent to become bankrupt.

3 WELCOME TO GERA

In the run of the last 15 years, there has been substantial research undertaken at the Institute for European Urban Studies regarding the transformation of urban life in Thuringia. Early, a representative survey indicated the change of meaning of cities in a transformed landscape of lifestyles (Eckardt, 2002). Intensive studies have been undertaken with regard to different aspects of urban transformation in the following years leading to the installation of the "Workshop Social Space Analysis" in 2014. As part of this workshop, indications of difficulties regarding the hosting of refugees have been reported from different places. As consequence, we started exploratory studies in six cities, one of them was Gera. The selection was motivated by the access to key actors and to the refugees. As we have the chance to include Arabic speaking students in our study groups, the work is focused on experiences with this particular refugee group.

In 2014 the first government of the left ("Die Linke") has been elected in Thuringia. With this political change, a new discourse have been installed that formulates the objective of an "welcoming culture" especially towards refugees. The political turn to three parties of the Left has however not been motivated by any kind of position on the subject of migration. While it can be said that the voters could have known the general position of these parties concerning integration, it did not play a role in the election campaign then. It is clear however that this would have been different already one year after the election and the clear positioning of the leftist government in favor of refugees. The new attention for the subject can be related not only to the pro asylum-attitude of the new government and the real influx of app. 20,000 refugees in 2014 but has to be seen in the light of wide spread xenophobia in the East of Germany. With regard to East Germany (cp. Behrends & Poutrus 2005), this contextualisation is publically difficult as an often formulated "argument" against pronouncing potential particularities of the East-German situation is motivated by the attempt to not-stigmatizing East-Germans as being more racist than West-Germans. Academically spoken, however, there can be doubt whether the contact hypothesis (implying that having contact with foreigners reduces prejudices) is applicable everywhere, the contrary cannot be said either. The statistical likeness to become a victim of racist attacks is 50 times higher in the East – where the presence of foreigners is nearly everywhere below five percent (in contrast to West German cities with 20 per cent). This fact at least allows asking whether the missing personal encounters with foreigners in Gera so far and the above national average of racism are somehow related to each other. When looking at the behavior of local actors, it is therefore reasonable to expect a lacking "know how" and a wide spread of individual and institutional

uncertainty. This assumption is supported by the experiences we have made in the welcoming cities project in early 2015 (Eckardt , 2015).

From the interviews and observations undertaken, a wide range of difficulties have been identified with regard of the local integration of refuges. The most of them have not been regarded as being special for Gera but can be as common to all six case studies. In general, the local political and public debates have not been adopted to the necessities deriving from the lacking experiences with foreigners (and “otherness” more generally) but are a product of rather abstract concepts prevailable in the city before the arrival of the refugees. We found furthermore that ideas of “integration” and the action of the administration are decoupled from each. Neither the logic of the administrative organization nor the role understanding of its personal has been directed by a “problem solving”-attitude but by the continuity of more etatist approaches where the citizen is a receiver of state deliveries and where he is not regarded as a communicate and controlling self-aware person. The refugee therefore is firstly regarded as a fixed case of burdening which will not develop to a self-aware citizen. This follows the logic of the remaining authoritarian idea of the citizen being a receiver of public goods and not the basis of democratic society. The idea of empowerment is completely absent.

The refugee as “burden” is a very common concept even shared by people who organize help for the refugees. This leads to a certain patronizing behavior where the experience of the refugees is not the starting point of the relationship with the few inhabitants who want to welcome them. In many interviews, the refugees feel lost between well-intended “help” – mostly offered to them in forms of clothes and other practical goods – and open or subtle forms of rejection in public life. Apparently, the lack of experiences in communication in situations of open encounters, citizens is not used to develop the empathy that is needed to include the perspective of the refugees. This leads to the fact that many refugees have complained that nobody takes time to listen to their story. “We do not need more clothes, we need an open ear”, one Syrian refugee told us. The situation is described in terms like “we are living here in a refrigerator” or as being “voiceless”. As English is not available for the middle aged and older population, the language barrier is often mentioned to be the reason for the miscommunication between refugees and local citizens. However, the deeper reason for the non-emphatical contacts might rather lie in the different definitions of situation. Asked what the main problems are, most social workers reported that there are conflicts on subjects of housekeeping, garbage separation and noise. The concrete examples for these conflicts show mostly that these conflicts are soon seen as very symbolically by the German citizens. In this regard, the underlying issue is an assumed argument on norms and control of the existing norms in a place. Neighbors are not willing to negotiate the existing rules and do not want to develop an understanding for the needs of newcomers. The constant call for more “Demut” (humility) on the side of the refugees points into this direction as well.

In Gera, the situation first escalated when the Thuringian Ministry for Migration announced to set up a new asylum center in a village formerly attached to Gera. Citizens mobilized themselves with a signature list against this plan. The debate was motivated by a diffuse concern with no major aspect put in front of the resistance. In our observation, this protest came from the inhabitants themselves and has not been embedded into a wider xenophobic discourse. In contrast to other protests against refugees in Thuringia, any kind of influence of the right wing party NPD or the neo-conservative AFD has not been noticed. To meet the concerns of the citizens, a public debate with the local politicians and the minister was organized. In an interview with the authors, the minister later said that he had the impression that he could break the resistance by promising a better communication with the affected citizens. Furthermore, he reported that the protest organizers rejected heavily to be seen as racist or right-wing extremists. They felt stigmatized by those who are in favor of the asylum center.

While this conflict seemed to be solved to some extent, the later plans for using a former hospital of the uranium miners to host 2,000 refugees had evoked a larger protest in Gera. This protest again was announced in a non-racist terminology by putting their concern positive. The demonstrations were organized “in love for Gera”. As the hospital is more centrally placed, well-known to the citizenry and embodying a lost past, the protests have been shared by a larger group of people. More than 1,000 citizens joined these activities regularly. It seems that this form of camouflaged xenopbobia is able to articulate itself in a way that is acceptable for a larger part of the city. It can be assumed that this means a discoursive hegemony of a narrative where the idea of a fixed identity of Gera has become strong. This has led to an increasing confusion how to act. It seems that many actors in the city are waiting of this discourse will lead to success and will therefore avoid the settlement of more refugees in the city. The city of Gera officially cancelled the cooperation with our institute “for the moment” without further explanation.

4 “MY HOUSE IS YOUR HOUSE”

“My House Is Your House” is an expression used in many cultures to denote a welcoming gesture for someone visiting or staying temporarily in your house. Whereas the general public, informed by daily and social media, is very much aware about the arrival of newcomers in the cities it seems that the newcomers actual presence in public space is rather absent and that contacts with newcomers are almost non-existent. Despite the fact that newcomers have arrived informal debates with citizens often show that the newcomers are nearly invisible, or in other words, that they are somewhere there (in clearly designated “refugee centers”) rather than among the inhabitants in public spaces. Having no place in and being absent from public space also means being unrepresented and marginalized. Related to

this, devising new and creative strategies of coexistence between newcomers and inhabitants and materialization and localization of these practices in urban space is therefore more than substantial at the moment.

Concerning current social and political debates on “Welcoming culture”, the seminar “My House Is Your House” takes a closer insight into the actual coexistence between newcomers and residents, the every day lives of newcomers and the impact that these have on urban space production. The research focus has been laid on the relation that newcomers have with a particular city in Thuringia, in terms of social encounters and interactions with local citizens as well as subjective perceptions, experiences and feelings of urban space. In the collection of essays titled “Urbanographien” Elke Krasny and Irene Nierhaus argue that “in everyday practice and cumulation of emotions, moods, atmospheres, assurances, myths and assumptions everyone produces the city according to individual, subjective and social understanding as well as based on personal experience.”[65] (Krasny & Nierhaus, 2008:7) In reference to this, the seminar aims to investigate and question heterogeneous modes of urban production, understanding the “right to heterogeneity as a strategy of radical inclusion in the city”[66] (Krasny & Nierhaus, 2008:8)

Departing conceptual notion and theoretical approach is Vilém Flussser's proposal that exile and creativity are inter-related. Flusser, who has been a refugee himself and lived in exile for most of his life, claims that the expellee actually does not have other choice but to be creative. (Flusser, 2003:81) In Flusser's terms exile can be explained as life led outside of the habitual order, which in turn is a positive and informative assumption because it forces us to think about what is usual. Flusser argues that habits prevents us from perceiving and noticing information and that precisely due to the “misunderstanding” caused by different cultural, religious and social habits of the expellee and the settled inhabitant a creative dialogue can be developed. The objection of this creative dialogue is the production of new information, he notes, that is, when external dialogues caused by the arrival of the expellee, and internal dialogues in the expellee, involving exchange of previous and new information, are harmonized and resonate with each other, there is a fertile ground for a creative activity. (Flusser 2003:86).

In order to help synchronize these external and internal dialogues and bring about creative possibilities of coexistence, culturally mixed group of students (most of them recently arrived in Thuringia as well) with architectural background, explores both the local inhabitants' and the newcomers' perspective of the city by considering social and spatial relations; cultural and religious differences but also parallels embodied in daily life; common place identities, including female identity, that reflect upon shared and

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[65] Author's own translation. The original text reads: Im täglichen Handeln und Ansammeln von Emotionen, Stimungen, Atmosphären, Gewissheiten, Gerüchten und Vermutungen erzeugt jede/r nach individuellem, subjektivem und sozialem Wissen sowie aufgrund eigener Erfahrung “Stadt”.

[66] Author's own translation. The original text reads: Recht auf Heterogenität als Strategie radikaler Inklusionen

segregated forms of urban production and appropriation of the urban; the immediate surrounding and living conditions of the newcomers etc. By processing and translating the research findings into artistic projects the objective is to bridge gaps and initiate contacts and communication between the population through aesthetic experience in and of the urban space.

Furthermore, in light of the so called “mobility turn” and concerned with the influence that currents of global movements have on local urban space production as well as the social implication of these movements, the seminar deploys mobile methods of urban research that rely upon ethnographically informed exploration. In other words, the research blueprint is that each student explores in tandem with one newcomer one area or a place, a certain route or walking path, daily activities, immediate surroundings etc. on foot and while moving through the city. At the same time informal and intimate dialogues between the research partners are to be developed and these concerning, but not limited to, subjective experiences and perceptions of the city, personal biographies and memories as well as future imaginations concerning the life at home and in Germany.

Through this collaboration, besides experiencing the city by walking and anew, physical movements in the city but also on the way to Germany, overlapping or divergence of mental routes and paths, emotional relations and cultural connections between homeland and newland and locals and newcomers are being traced. Additionally, accompanying the newcomers on their daily routes (“the go-along method”[67]), participating in their daily activities (i.e. regular meetings at the “Caritas International Cafe”), doing leisure activities with them (i.e. playing chess, football, listening to music, visiting certain places of interests, etc.), mapping memories of distant and places in immediate surroundings, locating activities of appropriation and re-appropriation in public space are also some of the actions that the students undertook with their research partners. At the same time, going along and accompanying the newcomers and the locals and listening to their ways and stories allows the students to develop a closer relation with the newcomers, see the city through the eyes of “the other” and better understand possible instances of de-alienation.

In this approach, and by documenting with video, photography and mapping, on one hand research material is obtained and on the other, through the very act of walking through and talking about the city new urban space is produced. In other words, the ways and the activities which the students, the newcomers and the locals jointly undertook in the city are important elements of individual and collective understanding of urban social production. Through everyday practices in the city personal areas and territories are build in which memories and experiences are situated and located. By walking over and articulating and narrating the (unspoken) personal space biographies are localized in urban space and own, subjective cities are produced. The bodily movements in public space

67 Kusenbach, Margarethe (2003). Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool. London:Sage Publications

additionally help reveal what is invisible and highlight presence in public space. In this vein also, by combining the act of walking, narrating and listening, not only a diversity of many cities is created in one urban space, but also claims to inclusion of different perspectives and experiences of the urban are integrated in the city as well.

Concerning establishing contacts and communication with the newcomers the most frequent problem reported by the students was the language barrier as many of the students, besides their mother tongues (i.e. Chinese, Persian, French, Portuguese, Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic), speak only English which in turn not all newcomers could. The other difficulty was the unresponsiveness by the NGO's working with newcomers, which the students contacted and asked for support. The only place and strategy that allowed them to establish an immediate contact with newcomers was the “Caritas International Cafe” and the regular meetings organized with newcomers there. Alternative possibilities were using the online platform “Weimar Connect” where a personal profile is created and people get connected according to common interests, as well as using already existing contacts of either Syrian students or other students at the Bauhaus-University working on the same thematic.

Worth mentioning is that all of the students were interested in getting to know the newcomers on a more personal and friendly level as well as learning more about their biographies, interests and hobbies. In this sense, they have also managed, in a very short time, not only to earn their trust but also to undertake activities with them that go beyond the framework of scientific and artistic research. Through their research practice, in fact, they have created good examples of co-existence and welcoming culture. So for instance, the students took the newcomers to their favorite places, shared their usual walking paths and short-cuts in the city, gave them information about their personal city space, organized diners and shared cooking of traditional meals, made new connections to other newcomers and organizations for them, and more importantly, they encouraged them to imagine and experience a nice future in the city. In addition, they have learned a lot from the newcomers too, about their places and ways in the city, their culture, food, tradition, life-style, everyday problems and aspirations.

Related to mapping and walking in the city several issues and points of interests have been raised and developed. Whereas some projects focused on the present time and space and subjective perceptions of the city, that is, quotidian interactions with and encounters in urban space, experienced through walking along common paths and visiting places integrated in daily life, other projects focused on creating relational spaces, overlaying past and present experiences and merging them into heterotopical spaces. So for example, one project used mapping in order to transfer the route from Syria to Germany onto a walking route in Weimar. The route involving different stations in many countries (i.e. Turkey, Macedonia, Croatia, Austria) was overlayed on a city map in Weimar and was walked through. The stops or stations that the newcomers made on their way to Germany were also

mapped and used as stops while walking, which allowed for many coincidences and chances for new (unexpected) relations between two distant places to emerge. For instance, a one-story houses neighborhood in the suburbs of Weimar could be compared with a similar one in Hama, Syria or a spot at the river Ilm in Weimar to be related to a spot in the Mediterranean sea.

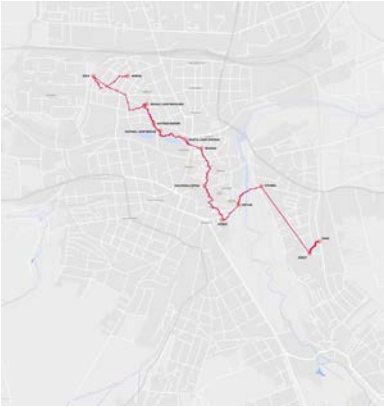

Figure 1 by Helena Pooch

Similarly, in another project the newcomer's memories evoked by certain places in the city were explored. Both research partners proposed places which have a mnemonic effect and remind of similar places in their hometown. Besides visiting these places, i.e. a Shisha bar and a bridge on the river Ilm, the student and the newcomer shared their memories stirred by these particular places and at the same time also created new memories by experiencing these places together. In this way, they have both brought memories of their life before coming to Germany and have localized them in the city. Moreover, they have produced new moments and memories and captured them photographically and textually, thus linking present places and past times.

Furthermore issues of identity and representation have also been an important topic of discussion and research. This included on one hand issues concerned with self-identification, considering both the perspective of newcomers and the locals, and female identity on the other, casting light on women empowerment and self-confidence among muslim women. The former project questioned ideas about self-perception and the fine differences between words that make distinctions between categories, such as: “refugee”, “foreigner”, “stranger”, “outsider”, “expelled”, “emigrant”, referring to the newcomers and “citizen”, “native”, “resident”, “local” related to the inhabitants. By asking various people to introduce themselves and chose and say out loud one the proposed identifications in front of a video camera instances of construction and reproduction of self-perception and -identity were tackled.

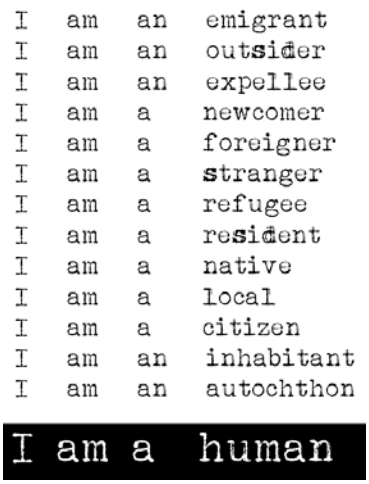

Figure 2 by Mahgol Motallebi

The later project dealt particularly with female self-identification and representation by taking a deeper insight into the life of one Syrian newcomer. By obtaining an extensive biographical information, following actively her daily life and analyzing the living conditions in the refugee centre where she lives, the project's intention is to incorporate the woman's own observations and perceptions of the living surrounding in Germany. Important research findings, to be gathered in a documentary video, show her strength and determination to have a successful life and a professional carrier in Germany, which in turn break stereotypic images of muslim women. In addition, and related to topics on integration in Germany, they show her difficulties when interacting with other newcomers living in the refugee centre, which break stereotypic beliefs that differences between people are culturally and nationally based and that newcomers, often perceived as one homogenous mass of people, do not necessarily better co-exist and integrate with each other rather than with locals. The creative organization of her living space and the privacy thereof, was an inspiration for a possible model of designing architectural spaces for shared living.

Figure 3 by Hala Ghatasheh

Exploring the religious practices of the newcomers and finding ways of their accommodation in the daily life in Germany was also a point of interest. The

intention of this project is to learn from the perspective of the newcomer and hear his voice and his opinion on how to improve and facilitate practicing religious rituals in Germany. A small house adopted into a mosque near the refugee centre was taken as an example in order to analyze and experiment with possibilities of re-appropriation. Another project seeks to re-define the relation between people and the built environment in terms of place identity. The “Caritas International Cafe” was taken as a source and a successful example of multicultural coexistence and social interaction between newcomers and locals. By taking a closer insight into the meetings and events that this place offers and by talking to people who participated regularly in these gatherings, the aim is to transfer and implement the activities and experiences in the cafe to a wider public space and in this vein to also disperse positive practices of co-existence.

Although still ongoing the creative project “My House Is Your House” allows for several conclusions to be drawn. Due to the sensitive approach to the topic that the students adopted, in the sense that besides extracting research material first and foremost they have concentrated on meeting new people and establishing inter-human relations with them, the research results presented through their artistic projects offer different images of newcomers than the ones spread through the daily media. They show and highlight the individuals behind the all-embracing term “refugees” and in this manner also challenge and question the common perception that people have of the newcomers. While many projects shared very similar interests and working approaches, the fine differences between the methodologies the students deployed allowed for many diverse artistic formats to emerge. By presenting them to a general audience these works of art bring about new forms and possibilities of getting informed on the topic and entering a creative dialogue with newcomers, namely, through aesthetic experience.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we developed an understanding on how a creative approach to stimulate integration needs to be framed and contextualized. It has been worked out that the particular situation of a city is determining the opportunities for this. Approaches to answer the general question on the potentials of art interventions, public art, artistic projects and cultural initiatives cannot be outlined on the basis of single case studies. Nevertheless, the findings presented from our work might point at the necessities and limitations of such an approach at least for cities in a post-socialist society with so far little experience with “otherness” and foreigners. The case presented is moreover embodying the particularity of cities in(economic) decline. In both regards, the case of Gera might be helping to reflect on many similar cities in Europe.

When trying to come to general conclusions in the light of the project presented, one has to recognize the constraints of the available (human) resources in the first place. It is evident that bringing in students – and even more important: international students with an informed view on refugees

and personal experiences in intercultural communication – is an asset and probably a precondition for any kind of inclusive project to build on some “bridging knowledge” which enables a common understanding of the perspectives of refugees and autochthon inhabitants. In “My house” this is brought in by students deriving from an internationally oriented course of an external university.

Although the ongoing work of the project presented here does not allow to foresee its impact on the general perception of refugees in the city, the approach to include the view of the refugees has been experienced as the right starting point. In this sense, the exploratory approach followed in “My house…” has been proven to enable at least to create a path of possible further steps in one way or the other, so to improve the visibility of the “other” perspective on Gera. What can be learned is that any kind of inclusiveness starts with the recognition of the diversity of perception.

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Accessibility as Exclusivity

ABSTRACT

According to statistics around 80 million Europeans or over 10% of Europe's population have some form of disability. In the past, this group of citizens was discriminated, often hidden from the world becoming "prisoners" of their own homes. In recent history the awareness for the needs of the disabled was raised and this subject has since been regulated in numerous laws, regulations and acts against discrimination which recommend that the disabled should have the same rights and opportunities as all the others.
Skopje like, most of European cities, is old and was dominantly built in times when accessibility was not a design issue and due to that, although the new buildings are built accessible, the problem with the rest of the city persists and it should be adapted to meet the needs of the disabled.
The awareness of the society for the disabled is connected to their visibility and presence in our environment, their visibility and presence depend on the accessibility of the environment which is connected to the awareness of the society, creating a system in which the elements are in circular causal relation.
This paper proposes service learning and learning by doing as methods for breaking this circle and by implementing accessibility design problems for adaptation of existing buildings in the education of future architects creating solutions to the problem.

KEYWORDS: *accessibility, service learning, adaptation, architectural education*

1 INTRODUCTION

The conditions and quality of everyday life depend very much on the environment we live in, including buildings and transport.

To have a home which is adapted to one`s capabilities, to be able to come and go without meeting obstacles and to use public buildings and public space as one wishes – these are natural aspirations which some people take for granted.

However, over 10% of Europe`s population lives with some kind of disability, varying in degree, which prevents it taking part in daily life, or makes it difficult to do so. For medical arid demographic reasons, the number of people who are losing their autonomy will increase more and more in the coming years. Their social integration is, therefore, a major challenge in societies which value solidarity and openness and which respect individual freedoms.

In a constantly changing world, the society is increasingly mobile, lifestyles evolve, disabilities change and the aspirations of people with disabilities and their families increase. In such a world much remains to be done to create an environment which is accessible to everyone, which promotes choice of lifestyle at school, at work and at leisure and which avoids isolating and marginalizing an increasing proportion of the population.

Often, the concept of accessibility is being exclusively related to the disabled persons. This point of view is completely wrong. (Korobar) 2006. There should not be “THEM” and “US” in this equation. Creating a barrier free environment should be considered a gain for everyone. In perspective we are all potentially, periodically or permanently with special needs, disabled or handicapped due to parenthood, old age, obesity, injury…

2 THE PROBLEM OF ACCESSIBILITY

2.1 Accessibility legislative

There are so many laws, regulations and acts which attempt to regulate the problem of inaccessible environments that “Designing a barrier – free environment may be easier than understanding the law and regulation that attempt to define what is needed to ensure accessibility for persons with disabilities.” (Ramsey/Sleeper) 2000. This in our opinion is a very accurate description of the current situation. Some of these acts address the issue of accessibility from an antidiscrimination point of view, some of them from a medical point of view, some of them from an architectural or planner’s point of view but most of them are in the form of recommendations - not obligatory by character.

According to “Accessibility, principles and guidelines: Adaptation of buildings in an accessible built environment” one of the early documents by the

Council of Europe (1993) that deals with the issue of accessibility from an architects and planners perspective defines the major objectives to pursue:

- Integrated solutions - All countries should encourage the development of integrated solutions to this problem in the home, the workplace, public buildings and the external environment. It may also be necessary to introduce or revise national or local regulations to achieve proper accessibility for everyone.
- Building for everyone - The existence of architectural barriers is not only of concern to people with physical, sensory or intellectual disabilities. Account should be taken off all handicaps caused by particular situations. Designing and building for everyone is a socially and economically profitable investment.
- Accessibility charts for existing areas - It is necessary to establish parameters and criteria for evaluating and potential accessibility. In this context, a regularly updated 'Accessibility Chart' is an important instrument which should be adopted as standard procedure in urban planning.
- Monitoring - It is necessary to evaluate each solution. Rather than assume that models will always work as intended, they should be tested periodically. Monitoring the usage of space should be seen as a fundamental research need. Methods, parameters and tools for analysis and monitoring should be developed.
- Integration in architectural education - It is important that the concepts of integrated accessibility and interactivity are incorporated into architectural education.
- International cooperation - In all countries, the number of people with reduced mobility is increasing. Moreover, however paradoxical it may seem, they are more and more mobile. It is necessary, therefore, to exchange experience on access standards and legislation and their implementation.

The level of fulfilment of these objectives varies in different countries.

2.2 Local context

The accessibility concept founded on the idea of creating environments without architectural barriers is relatively new in Macedonia. As a matter of fact, although on many different levels the local and central government declaratively support the tendency of positive change regarding this issue, the absence of awareness for the moral and legal obligations for creating a barrier free environment of every relevant instance is evident.

In the past, this group of citizens was discriminated, often hidden from the world becoming “imprisoned” in their own homes. Although today the perception towards this marginalized group of citizens has changed, as a result of the inaccessibility of the city and its buildings this group of people still remains almost invisible.

The awareness of the society for the problems that the disabled are facing is directly connected with the visibility and presence of this marginalized group of people in everyday life, their visibility and presence are connected with the accessibility of the environment and the accessibility of the environment is connected to the awareness of the society. All the elements of this system create a paradoxically circular causal relation between them (Figure 1). The question is how and where to intervene in order to brake this circle?

Figure 1. Causal relation of accessibility, awareness and visibility

2.3 Inaccessible education

Most of the buildings of the University of “Ss. Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje (including the Faculty of Architecture) are located in old buildings, built in a time when accessibility was not a design issue and because of that are inaccessible for the disabled.

According to Kochoska (2014) in 2011 only 47 students with some form of disability out of 20000 students were evidented studying at the University Ss. Cyril and Methodius; 30 of them with physical disability, 2 with hearing problems, 5 with seeing disability 5 with chronic conditions and 5 with combined disabilities. She states that amongst other problems the architectural barriers have been identified as one of the main problems for the integration of the disabled in the system of higher education. All of the 24 individual Faculties within the University Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Skopje are completely inaccessible for the disabled (Report about the condition of the handicapped people, Polio Plus, 2011).

It is a human disaster to have potential students choose what, or even if will they study, according to weather the specific building for higher education is accessible or not, and not according to their wishes, aspirations and talents.

3 EQUAL ACCESS PROJECT

3.1 Architectural education for accessibility through service learning and design build methodology

The topic of accessibility within the curriculum of the faculty of Architecture in Skopje is not a part of a specific course. Nevertheless, the issues related to accessibility are addressed by the teachers on the margins of the courses that deal primarily with other architectural problems. The students get the information about how to design a new building without architectural barriers, but the problem of adaptation of the existing built stock of the city is being addressed by the teachers very rarely.

In our opinion, a small modification of the existing curriculum of the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje is needed in order to raise the awareness for the needs of the disabled citizens amongst the professionals concerned and involved in creation of our physical environment and simultaneously create design projects and documentation for the adaptation of the existing buildings in order to meet those needs.

By doing a course project, a student competition, a workshop or a studio project the students, semester after semester, will design the adaptation of an existing building to overcome the architectural barriers and meet the needs of the disabled but also producing a certain quantity of material for adaptation of the built environment of the city (analysis, projects, documentation) which could later be used for raising funds for its possible realization.

Figure 2. Inaccessible main entrance to the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje

Service-learning is a form of experiential education (learning by doing) in which students engage in activities that address human and community needs together with structured opportunities for reflection designed to

achieve desired learning outcomes. The critical difference and distinguishing characteristic of service learning is its reciprocal and balanced emphasis on both students learning and addressing real needs in the community. On the other hand design - build methodology in education, is teaching architecture through designing and building structures, where students have an opportunity to get hands-on experience developing their designs, as an opposition to traditionally mostly hypothetical or theoretical work in architecture schools. We believe that the combination of these two teaching methodologies is ideal for the problem of accessibility in architectural education.

3.2 The Project

In 2012 a group of teachers from our school organized a workshop within the course of public buildings on the topic of “Equal access” with a group of 7 fourth year architecture students. The students were required to design a project for the adaptation of the inaccessible building of the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje, a building the students are familiar with and use on a daily basis, to meet the needs of the physically disabled (people with mobility problems).

The project started with documenting, analyzing, locating and mapping the accessibility problems outside and inside of the building.

We worked in different scales. Public transport, pedestrian trajectories for approaching the building, parking and all the entrance points of the building were analyzed in smaller scale and taken into consideration as a part of the design. In bigger scales the interior of the building including the problems for horizontal and vertical communication in the building, inaccessible toilets, classrooms, offices… and in even bigger scale the door transparency, door knobs, denivelations…(Figure 2).

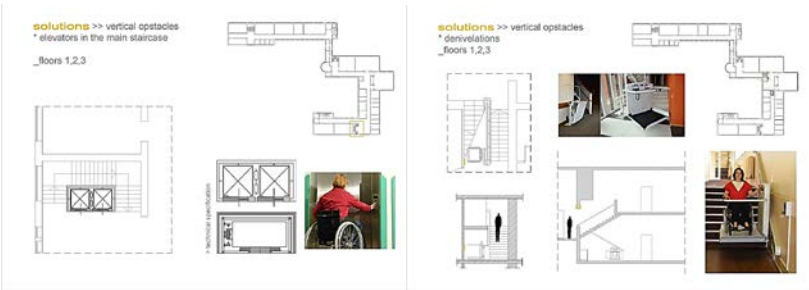

Figure 2. Some of the proposed solutions

Imrie and Hall suggest that achieving a more accessible built environment might be accomplished by specifying technical design solutions that meet the requirements but embracing a more inclusive approach to design has the potential to achieve far more in terms of social justice and inclusion. In this context, the pedagogical team insisted that the design was not supposed to only propose a solution for the problem of the physical inaccessibility of the building but also deal with the issue of perception of the society for the disabled as a marginalized group of citizens. Because of that, as a part of the initial program, the access ramps for the building were designed to have an additional use for all the users of the building and by that the existence of these architectural elements would not be exclusively addressing the problem of physical access for the disabled and isolating them from the rest of the users, but rather becoming a place for social integration between all the users of the building. Some of the ramps were designed to include benches in natural shade of the existing trees; some included bicycle parking, etc (Figure 3).

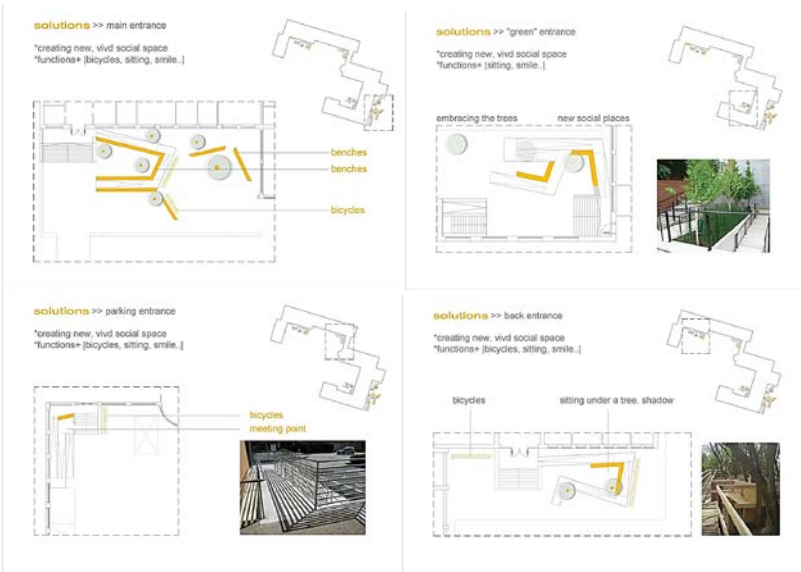

Figure 3. Accessible ramps at the building entrances

The pedagogical team also insisted that the proposed solution should integrate phases, steps of its realization according to the importance of the specific group of architectural elements for the achieving the final goal, as well as more than one solution for every located design problem in order to enable coping with the financial aspect of the realization of the design more easily. (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Realization steps

At the end the students presented the project for adaptation of the Faculty of Architecture for the disabled not only before the pedagogical team but also at a conference for equal access of the disabled to higher education, meaning that the project was reviewed by the people that deal with the problems of inaccessible environment daily, as a part of their everyday life, and received very positive critiques.

Having in mind that the problem of inaccessible education is not exclusively Macedonian and all the neighboring countries share similar problems, this type of projects have potential to grow outside of the borders of our country and become regional.

The main problems are fundraising and the inertness of the institutions.

Figure 5. Rendering of the design for the main entrance to the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje

4 CONCLUSION

Unfortunately, the final step of the actual realization and building of the student design did not happen yet. The reasons for this condition could be traced to the inertness of the concerned institutions, as well as to the lack of awareness for accessibility problems in our society. In our opinion the way to address this problem would be by making an effort to include other professionals with different expertize in projects of this type besides architects.

Still, the positive outcome is that we have started producing material and documentation which could further down the road be used for promoting the idea and slowly, by baby steps, raising the awareness for this troubling issue, leading towards creating an environment which is accessible to everyone.

In these geopolitically and economically turbulent times it seems that the problem of inaccessible higher education is low on the list of priorities of the decision makers. Although declaratively everybody supports the idea behind this project in our reality accessibility is still treated as exclusivity and much more has to be done in order to change this condition.

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Zsófia Hannemann-Tamás

International Students: Included or Excluded Social Groups?

ABSTRACT

A legal framework to live abroad is provided by university studies. Actually, students from all over the world are attracted from universities of foreign countries. Also in Germany, the number of international students is continuously increasing. This imposes even more responsibilities of the higher education system, and the local society toward the foreign students.
This study seeks the voice of international students at the Aachen University of Applied Sciences. To this end, qualitative interviews with international students have been conducted to ask, how they: interact with the local society, local students and the university staff; deal with language deficits; find new contacts; come to terms with official matters by public authorities and by administration at the university; can improve, if at all, their access to information according to studies and everyday life; overcome difficulties with house-hunting; how they adapt to the local food; in case of illnesses manage to consult a physician; feel about safety and self-confidence in the host country.
The evaluation of the interviews reveals successful and unsuccessful efforts of the international students for a prosperous conviviality in a multicultural neighbourhood.

KEYWORDS: *international students, intercultural communication, social contacts, living conditions*

1 INTRODUCTION

The international migration of students is continuously expanding. The Number of global mobile students has grown between 2000 and 2007 from 1.8 to 3 million, and this number is expected to rise to 5.8 million by the year 2020 and 7.2 million by 2025, according to the OECD evaluation of Rumbley, Altbach & Reisberg (2012 p.7).

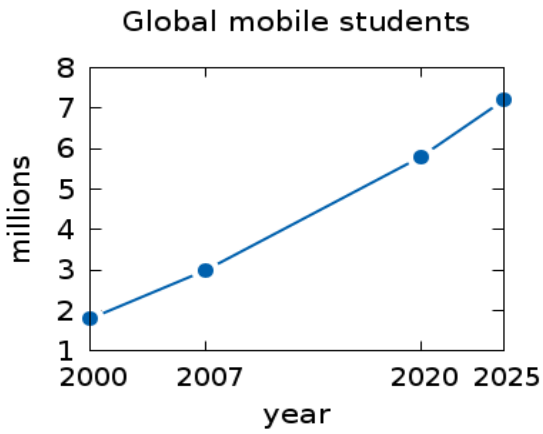

Figure 1. Source: Rumbley et al. (2012, p.7): Number of global mobile students

It is a fact: international students remain often only temporarily in the host country. But are they just visitors there? Marginson argues that "[...] international student experience is mediated by non-citizen outsider status [...]" (2012 p.207). De jure these students are foreign nationals, and their adaptation in the local community is a complex issue, which is affected amongst others by social, political, economic, education matters and by human rights.

Universities and governments are attracting cross-border students. The presence of these students makes financial benefits for the cities as well. Transnational students are, by the use of their transnational existence and by the use of their hybrid character, a powerful leverage factor in the increasing complex social formations, and have an important role in international networks (Knight 2012 p.40). Banks & Bahardi (2012) explain in this context: "Many host countries provide post study work opportunities for graduating international students, and this can become the first step in a *two-step pathway* to skilled migration" (p.392). In addition, foreign students act as important strategic element by the mediation of human capital (Kováts 2013).

Nevertheless, is there a place for international students in our cities and communities?

The urban aspects of the inclusivity and exclusivity – like successful communication, daily practices and everyday environment as well as the

opportunity to make local-social contacts – are affected by the implementation of student mobility (Figure 2).

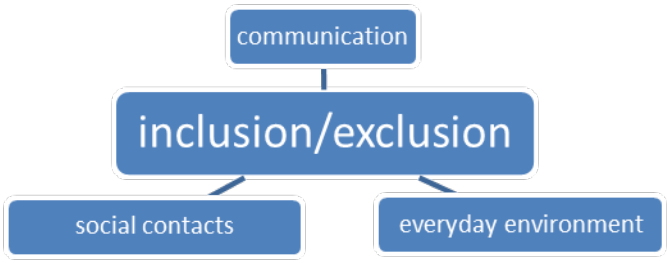

Figure 2. Aspects of inclusion in the host community

This contribution concentrates qualitatively on the voice of international students on a micro-scale. It analyses experiences and practices of transnational students in general based on the literature and particularly based on focus group interviews in region Aachen.

It is organized as follows. Section 2 is a brief statement according to the research method. Section 3-5 will discuss the three basic aspects of inclusion or exclusion shown in Figure 2. Section 3 summarizes some aspects of inclusivity or even exclusivity in the context of communication. Section 4 will concentrate in particular on the necessary and desired “new social contacts” of international students in the host community. In Section 5, the everyday environment of the international students is discussed. In Section 6, the conclusion is drawn. Acknowledgements and references can be found in Sections 7 and 8, respectively.

2 RESEARCH METHOD

There are some good reasons for choosing qualitative focus-group-interviews. My research interest is to understand reflexions of international students and how they affect to each other in a conversation. I am looking for new aspects, complex opinions, motivations, communication style, and group dynamics. Furthermore, it interested me what kind of vocabulary the students use, when they speak about their life. Focus groups interviews are a suitable research method to determine the scale of opinions, points of views and experiences. The interview setting should be a kind of simulation of everyday-conversation between the members of the focus group. To this end the interviewer only gives impulses, so that the group members feel free to use their everyday language and to represent their everyday positions. It is to be assumed that students with language difficulties work better in groups, to overcome their inhibitions (Vicsek 2006 p.45-46; Atteslander 2010 p.141).

Focus groups generate hypotheses, and help to find the most interesting aspects of a study (Fuhs 2007; Henecka 2009). The objective of the investigation is exploration (Babbie 2008 p.340).

3 COMMUNICATION

Although international students stay in the host community mostly temporarily, they face essentially the same problems as migrants. These problems are related to the closely interwoven elements of communication: language difficulties, (lack of) intercultural competences and self-awareness.

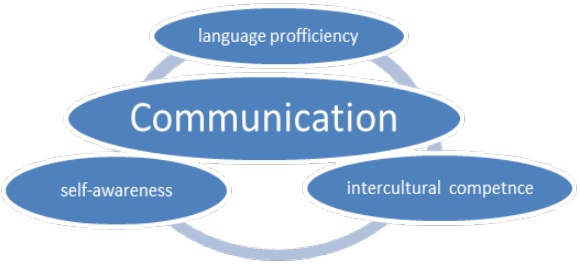

Figure 3. Successful communication in the host community

3.1 Language Proficiency

There exists a positive prejudice according to language skills of international students. However, the reality is, students are – if at all – prepared for language tests, for university entrance tests. But language proficiency in both academic and everyday speech of many international students is premature.

Effective language skills provide a basis for successful university and everyday life. Marginson (2012) declares that “communication difficulties and problems of cross cultural separation or segregation are circularly linked” (p.212). In other words, students with language deficiencies will avoid cross-cultural relations, local students and local acquaintances. If they avoid local contacts, they use and strengthen the local language rarely.

In the case of Germany, the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research[68] and the German Association of Student Services Organisations[69] present every three years a long-term time-series analysis of the economic and social conditions of students in Germany. In this analysis the conditions of international students are surveyed as well. From the 20th Social Survey of 2012 we know that the number of students from the Asia-Pacific Region is growing. At the same time 53% of international students from the East Asia-Pacific Region have twice as many language problems than students with European origin (Apolinarski & Posowski 2012). This is just one example out of many that underlines the importance of language and linguistic development.

[68] Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung
[69] Deutsches Studentenwerk

Language and cultural differences complicate to ask the right questions and complicate the intellectual development of students (McLean, Murdoch & Shaben 2013). At the same time they impend the integration and orientation in the current life situation. The desired orientation is complicated through an asymmetry of access to information with respect to international and local students (Bøyum 2014).

Some of the students I interviewed have constant language difficulties in their studies and less problems in daily conversations. The student interviews were conducted in the German language. Here and in the following the students' statements given in the interviews are translated and printed in *italics*.

"The professor speaks very-very quickly and he doesn´t wait, he doesn´t realize, what and if you have understood. (And what do you do then?) *We ask, and we ask, and some professors explain it long, and some repeat it, what he has said, and I understand still not yet."* (male Student, 21)

"Usually we understand 50% of the lecture, the rest we have to understand by ourselves." (male student, 21)

Other students explain that they use German only for engineering, only for technical language. An outcome of this is:

"A fellow student tells a simple joke, and I do not understand." (female student, 22)

3.2 Intercultural Competence

The development of intercultural competences is generally based on effective communication. But language skills alone are not enough for the implementation of cross-cultural relationships. Deardorff & Jones (2012) define intercultural competences broadly as "effective and appropriate behaviour and communication in intercultural situations (p.287)", in particular they categorize the elements of intercultural competences "into attitudes, knowledge, skills, and internal/external outcomes" (p.287). The Intercultural Competence Model of Deardorff and Jones (2012) is also based on these five elements and they declare that "It is important to note that the development of intercultural competences is a lifelong process and that there is no point at which one becomes fully intercultural competent" (p.288). Linked to the process-oriented character, Krajewski (2011) defines the development of intercultural competence: "is not a linear, orderly process but one that is influenced by various personal as well as circumstantial factors. To reach the most positive outcomes of internationalisation efforts, there is a need for more overall awareness of cultural diversity and the circumstances that shape this diversity." (p.138).

The process-oriented concept of developing intercultural competences requests first of all a comprehensive approach including every level of the community (international, national, regional, urban-policy, institutional, and individual stakeholder). Hudzik and Stohl (2012) analyse the U.S. Higher

Education System relating to comprehensive internationalisation. “Comprehensive internationalisation (CI) is not a synonym for student mobility, exchange, or international education; rather, these are parts of the larger CI concept. [...] CI is an organizing paradigm to think and act systemically and holistically about higher education internationalization in all institutional missions. It influences all academic units and content and pedagogy throughout curricula and involves all students, all institutional clientele, and all faculty [...] institutional rules and regulations” (p.66). Moreover it influences the regional and local decisions of authorities and the surrounding civilian population. According to Knight (2012) “Internationalisation at the national/sector/institutional levels is defined as: the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (p.29). This is realized at the local level. The process-oriented character and the comprehensive approach of internationalisation beg for individual-local solutions by intercultural conflict management.

“Furthermore, the —process of development becomes crucial through self-reflection and mindfulness. Knowledge [...] must be combined with other elements such as the requisite attitudes of openness, curiosity, and respect” (Deardorff & Jones, p.288). Intercultural competence also includes curiosity and understanding for the other’s behaviour. In this case we can find an example, how intercultural awareness creates self-awareness and self-confidence. This understanding helps to overcome conflicts or bad experiences. *“Maybe, they don´t like Chinese people, [...] but sometimes people just have a bad day and have stress.”* (female student 20).

3.3 Self-awareness

International students with good language and intercultural skills are more stress-free. Language skills create anymore self-confidence and self-awareness (McLean, Murdoch & Shaban 2013). Marginson (2012) explains “[...] International student security lies in the maintenance of stable capacity for self-determining human agency” (p.209).

Students I interviewed state to be self-confident, and to evolve self-awareness, if they:

- Have *“enough information according to studies”*
- now, *“there is someone around to answer their questions”*
- now, *“how to solve urgent problems”*
- *“can be sure to have time enough and to have another chance in examinations”*
- have *“good achievement to information according to studies”*
- have *“enough money”*
- *“can use the native language”*

and some of them

- are certain,*”parents will support”* them.

For the self-determining human agency they need adequate information according to studies and to daily life, contact persons, strategies for problem

solving in the host community, language proficiency, and intercultural competences; reliable financing and supporting family.

Because of the geographical distance to their family and to old friends, international students live mainly a more self-determined and more autonomous life than local students.

4 SOCIAL CONTACTS

Compared with their further social networks in the home country, international students have strongly limited social relationships in the host community. All students I interviewed referred, though they lived already two to four years in Germany, their deep friendships live in their home country. In Germany, they often find friends come from their home region. They have little and superficial contacts with the local students and the local community. This section begins with contacts to the public authorities, as a first contact to the host country.

Figure 4. Social contacts in the host community

4.1 Contacts with Public Authorities

Official matters by public authorities are existential issues for international students in the host country. Marginson (2012) declares “For many international students, cross-cultural issues begin with their encounters with the immigration department in the host country. These experiences are rarely easy and often unpleasant.” (p.215).

Ideally international students feel belonging to two or more states and have a transnational character. If they have no opportunity to affiliate themselves and involve themselves in the host community, they become outsiders. “You are a citizen or you are an alien. You behave like a supine alien or you are out. Government stands at the gateway of Eden like an angel with a flaming sword and woe betide those who do not fill in all the forms or who work a minute longer in one calendar week than they are permitted because they will not remain therein” (Marginson et al. 2010, p.262).

The decision-making praxis of German public authorities depends potentially on the individual officer. The Residence Act is formulated in an unclear way, with *can* and *should* phrases.[70]

The most students I interviewed are dissatisfied with the effectiveness and slowness of public authorities. Most of them are satisfied with the politeness. The following is an example of lack of empathy and effectivity of the authorities.

"[...] but when I extend my visa, than I am afraid of them. (What are you afraid of?) *Because he can, because I have to do, what he says. But I have no idea what. And sometimes I have to go two or three times back. [...] I think it depends on his mood."* (female student, 21)

4.2 Contacts with Professors and University Staff

According to the results of Marginson et al. (2010) "the harder moments are mostly with administration. Relations with services are more positive than negative. Academic experiences are mixed, but fraught because much is at stake" (p.271).

In 2013 the Strategy of Federal and State Ministers of Sciences in Germany suggested to establish a *Culture of Welcome*, like an *open arms policy* towards cross-border students.[71] At this point we have to refer to the comprehensive character of internationalization, again. Jones & de Wit (2012) explain that to the key indicators of comprehensive or integrated internationalisation of universities belong amongst others that "international campus culture and informal curriculum are visible" (p.49). This means that the internationalisation occurs in every level and every institute of the university and includes extensive actors, like students, professors, and university staff.

Students in my study stated, that administration staff at the university is usually polite and helpful, but sometimes not. They work slowly and offer rare consultation hours. A female student (21) referred about scold and curse of an administrative officer.

However, one third of international students in Germany have a problem with academic requirements (Apolinarski & Posowski 2012). Compared with the local students, foreign students have severely limited access to information during their studies (Bøyum 2014).

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[70] „Die Geltungsdauer bei der Ersterteilung und Verlängerung der Aufenthaltserlaubnis für ein Studium beträgt mindestens ein Jahr und soll bei Studium und studienvorbereitenden Maßnahmen zwei Jahre nicht überschreiten; sie kann verlängert werden, wenn der Aufenthaltszweck noch nicht erreicht ist und in einem angemessenen Zeitraum noch erreicht werden kann." (Aufenthaltsgesetz, in Kraft getreten 2005, letzte Änderung 2013)

[71] Strategie der Wissenschaftsminister/innen von und Bund und Ländern für die Internationalisierung der Hochschulen in Deutschland 2013

Students in my study want for more consultation hours of academic staff as well. A male student (21) I interviewed told, he sent two e-mails and the professor did not answer for two months. At the end he found him face-to-face after a lecture. International students work with their second language quite often with their third language during their studies. My interviews reveal that some professors show little understanding of linguistic difficulties. Another male student (21) referred, sometimes he feels kidded because of linguistic shortcomings in his technical language.

Assistance in the respective native language is required, both in university and in daily issues. "*In some subjects we have a Chinese tutor, but not in my subject. For example in engineering mechanics, we understand 30-40% of the lecture, but we ask the tutor again and again, what this means, and he is very nice, so that he answers more times, and again and again.*" (male student, 21)

The interviewed students also reported examples of sweeping generalizations, the professor said *"he doesn´t like Chinese students, because they copy off." [...] "After that the professor asks something, and if you are not able to answer quickly, you copied off."* (male student 21). In this case the student just needed some more time to formulate his answer in German. Stereotyping and prejudice for example "*International students have to be rich."* or "*Are your parents functionaries of the communist party?"* humiliates the students.

Opinions are widely different about integrated lecture for international and local students. On the one hand it would be nice to learn together and to study with local students together, because of social and linguistic aspects. On the other hand students referred, that professors speak more slowly and explain more, if there are exclusively international students in the lecture room.

4.3 Contacts with Fellow Students

In optimal cases students are part of mixed cultural social networking. Belonging to other students or student groups encourage the individual. However, in reality international students make friendships mainly with students from their home region. Linguistic deficits restrain sociableness also in informal settings. Shared use of accommodation, common workplace, co-operative working relationship, similar circumstances, and similar character are basics of social networking (Marginson et al. 2010).

In Germany 39% of foreign students have difficulties to approach local students, according to the 20th Social Survey (Apolinarski & Posowski 2012).

All international students of my interviews have more contact with international students, than with locals. Similar language and cultural background allow a deeper friendship. *"German students are very kind, we speak with each other, we complete our internship together, but they are not my friends."* Students complain about lack of linking-up. "*German students are isolated and international in another group isolated"*. Like in a situation in

the lecturer room: *"It is a very funny situation, the international students sit right in the front, and German students sit at the back"* (of the room).

There are also positive experiences. International and local students do not learn together, but cooperate, if it is required by the situation. *"[...] I could not read, what the professor has written, but the German students could it, and we asked them always, and they explain us."*

4.4 Contacts with the Local Community

Jones and de Wit (2012) emphasize: „Intercultural learning opportunities are available within the local community" (p.48). However "many international students face barriers in achieving social integration with local people" (Marginson 2012 p.215).

Students of my interviews have no or only minimal contacts to the local population in the host town. Sometimes foreign students are plagued by self-doubt of *not being* 'enough local'. *"I lived next to an old couple in a big house in a separate flat. I always took care, to separate the rubbish properly, and clear snow, they shouldn´t believe, I am not clean enough."* (female student, 21)

Another female student (21) referred, her life happens only in few locations: *"supermarket, university and at home".* This is a scarce space to live.

More male students said, an opportunity to make friends offer sport clubs. *"I met the most of my German friends in the badminton club."* (male student, 21).

5 EVERYDAY ENVIRONMENTS

"*My life in Germany is simple, because I always learn, I have few friends und not so much friends and parents and neighbourhood like in China. When I have time, I play computer games." (female student, 21)*

This section tries to cover the interconnected elements of everyday environment of international students in the host community (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Everyday environment in the host community

5.1 Housing and House Hunting

The importance of stability of accommodation is not to question. Marginson et al. (2010) differentiated four types of housing, “Student accommodation now embraces on-campus housing, homestay, rooming houses and the private rental market” (p.147). Risks by the housing are primarily, that international Students have not enough resources to find accommodation in the right quality. The result is not appropriate, overpriced rooms or flats in an unsafe environment.

Marginson (2012) analyses the correlation between housing and social contacts: “Culturally mixed housing offers the most favourable conditions for the evolution of deep cross-cultural friendships, an objective common to international students but one that for most students remains largely unfulfilled” (p.213). The most students obtain housing through real estate agents, internet-based housing services or friends (Marginson et al. 2010).

The process of house hunting costs foreign students in Germany futile efforts. According to the 20th Social Survey, 42% of international students have a problem with house hunting. Approximately one-third of the international students in Germany live in halls of residence, these works like on-campus housing. Shared flat renting is also popular, about 20% live in shared flats, but between 2003 and 2012, this number reduced by 8%. About 15% of international students in Germany rent a flat on its one, with rising age over 30 years with their partners (Apolinarski & Posowski 2012).

International students interviewed by me, live in shared flats with one to four flatmates, or in on-campus housing, or alone. Students are most satisfied with on-campus housing. In this form of housing they have a room of about 15 square meters, share a bathroom with two or four other students, and a kitchen with four other students. But there is not enough university-provided housing, and not enough accommodation near to the university.

International students in my study said that it was very difficult for them to access an appropriate accommodation in region Aachen. The reasons of the landlords to reject housing are:

- *“You are a student – that does not work.”*
- *“ [...] you are a foreign student it is worse*.” (male student, 21)
- *“They think, we ruin the apartment [...]”*
- *“This is why they request a large deposit.” (4000 Euro)*
- *“They questioned the cleanness.” (male student, 21)*

Prejudices with respect to gender can also be seen in the house hunting process.

- *“Girls (female students) find much easier (a flat), because they find boys (male students) do not clean and ruin the flat.” (more female and male students, 20-22)*

The interviewed students reported that it takes about three to six months to find the right accommodation. But what happens with them in these three to six months? They are dependent on the help of relatives and friends. Consequently, more on-campus housing is needed.

5.2 Work and Financial Aspects

Compared with local students, international students get low paid jobs and jobs in worse circumstances. Marginson et al. (2010) underline that the reasons for this lie mainly in "racial discrimination and stereotyping, lack of local kin support, less than optimal language skills, lack of knowledge of the host culture and incapacity to realise rights that accrue to domestic student-workers" (p.119).

The results of the 20th Social Survey of students in Germany suggest that 39% of foreign students are distressed by their livelihood. The most of the foreign students are financially supported by their families, and 52% of them are partly or fully financing themselves. International Students have in average 110 Euro less income in a month, than local students. Students from low-income countries have even less income. The main reason is that, in 2012 60% of international students in Germany had a residence permit that authorizes them only to work maximal 90 workdays or 180 half workdays annually. This arrangement does not affect EU citizens with unlimited work permission. Hence, students from low-income countries have even less opportunities to earn money in the host country (Apolinarski & Posowski 2012).

The interviewed students are contended if they have a job related to their studies. Unfortunately there are not enough appropriate jobs available. Hence, it is difficult for them to find an adequate job. *"I wanted to work in a library, but she said, we don´t want foreign students, because of the language."* (female student, 20)

5.3 To Get Use to the Food

In Germany, international students use four times a week on average a cafeteria at the university. Male students, young students – under 21 years – and students who live alone use the cafeteria more often than female, older and "shared-flat-students". Students see the most important aspect of cafeterias in closeness to the university; costs and the quality of food come later. About 50% of importance on an importance-scale has the interior design and the cafeteria as a social location (Apolinarski & Posowski 2012).

Students I interviewed referred that they have problems in the cafeteria with:

- range of products
- unvarying meal
- taste
- unhealthy food (eat too much fat or salty).

"At the first time I almost cried in the cafeteria." (female student, 21)

International students of my interviews can buy almost any ingredients, they need for cooking. If the campus and the accommodation are located outside of the city, they have to search for the appropriate – with respect to their home culture – supermarkets and restaurants in big cities on the weekends.

5.4 Medical Consultation

The most foreign students undergo an essential change of their individual and social life, in their academic and physical environment. This change also influences the state of health. Possible health issues hazard the chance to invest time and energy in the process of adaptation in a new environment (Rhodes & Ludemann 2012; Merill & Rodman 2013). Cross-border students fall sick more often than local students. Psychological problems are often not talked about. Instead, physical symptoms occur (Philiph, Moores & Mogen 2012). Intercultural competences reduce health risks (McLean, Murdoch & Shaban 2013).

Foreign students often do not know how the health care system works in the host country. Some of them only had insufficient sex education. Changes of sleeping and eating habits overstrain the foreign students (Marginson et al. 2010). Australian studies indicate, that Eastern Asian students are often careful or sceptical towards western medicine (Marginson 2012).

International students interviewed by me, are irritated because of making appointments and having a long waiting time for these appointments, especially if they have pains. Most of them are satisfied with the medical methods but some of them are stressed because of unfamiliar methods. If they get ill, they lean on their international friends, or possibly they travel home for the time of the illness.

5.5 Personal Safety

Who and how carries responsibility for the safety and surrounding area of cross-border students? “A reputation for providing a safe environment is a vital and vulnerable asset. Around the world this asset has been devalued” emphasize Marginson et al. (2010, p.208). Often, international students are exposed to criminal attacks.

According to Marginson (2012) “Relatively few issues of personal safety arise on campus, although assaults and robberies occur. Most issues arise in the general community well away from campus. International students are most vulnerable when using public transport or walking home at night. Problems of physical student safety intersect with cross-cultural problems of discrimination and abuse. In English-language and European environments, non-white students are much more likely than white students to experience both kinds of problem” (p.215).

Students interviewed by me feel themselves in their place of residence mostly in physical security. They referred that bigger cities were dangerous but “*not as dangerous as in France*” (female student, 21). Another female student (22) told that she had been pursued once, but luckily nothing bad happened. Some of the interviewed students sustained verbal insults on the

street and on the railway station, or on the train by drunken passengers. Another frequent problem is bicycle theft in the neighbourhood of the university.

6 CONCLUSION

“In most political cultures, the foreign identity of international students is deeply ingrained (Marginson 2012 p.218)”. Therefore, more inclusivity is needed. The three discussed aspects of inclusion or exclusion: communication, social contacts and everyday environment attempt to find a frame for the further elements of inclusion and exclusion in the host community (Figure 6).

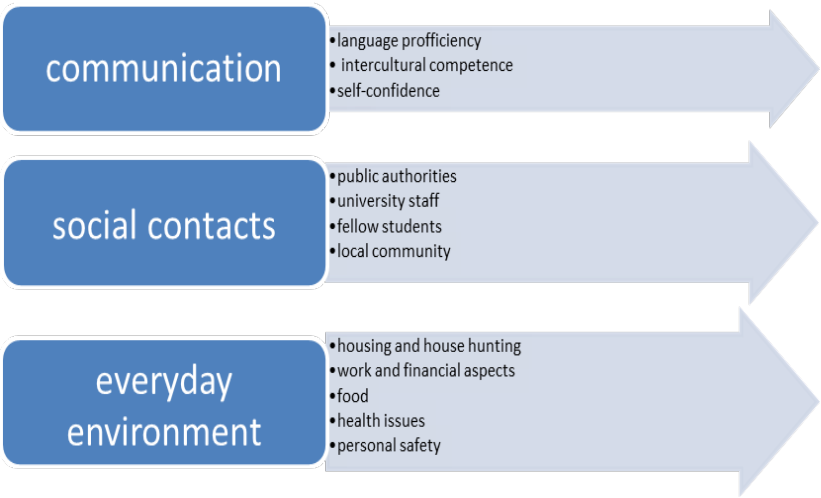

Figure 6. Aspects and elements of inclusion or exclusion in the host community

International students are (temporary) migrants in the host country. Although studying is a legal status to stay in a foreign state – with benefits for the international and for the local students as well as with interest for the host country, city and university. International students need more contact with the local community, they need place and possibility to organise events and meetings with the local population. Is there a place for international students in our cities and communities?

International students need in their new intercultural environment:

- welcoming places to meet and speak the local population,
- locations to practice both the local and their own culture,
- more information and contact persons as well as in their native language,
- more empathy from public authority and university staff,
- more contact to local students,

- culturally mixed housing
- a principle of equal treatment in employment and labour permit
- home-culture-restaurants and supermarkets around,
- safe university neighbourhood.

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Silver Cities of To-Morrow: Integration of People with Dementia in the Built Environment – the UK Approach

ABSTRACT

Population aging and urbanization are the two global major trends shaping 21st Century, thus resulting in restructuring of the human society and the need to develop and promote concepts for active ageing. However, not all will benefit from being active in their third age, as one in three people born in 2015 are expected to develop dementia. We review the current state of progress in the integration of people with dementia in the built environment in the United Kingdom, as a way of establishing possible approaches that will inform and inspire other parts of the world to do so. The current trends in demographic ageing and dementia prevalence are reviewed, along with the initiatives for global age friendly cities and the UK dementia friendly communities, as well as key guidance documents to assist built environment professionals in delivering the much needed age and dementia friendly silver cities of to-morrow. The silver cities of to-morrow have to be both age and dementia friendly if they are to provide supporting and enabling living environment to fulfill the potential of all other people including those with dementia.

KEYWORDS: *age friendly, dementia friendly, cities*

1 INTRODUCTION

In 1902, Ebenezer Howard published the second edition of his 1898 book 'To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform' under a different title of 'Garden Cities of To-Morrow'. Howard's town planning ideas presented in this book resulted in the development of Letchworth and Welvyn Garden City and became part of the British planning doctrine of its time. They ultimately led to their application in the 1944 plan for Greater London and passing of the 1946 New Town Act (Reps, N/A), which resulted in the creation of a ring of new towns beyond the London Greenbelt.

111 years later, in 2013, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) think-thank Building Futures published their report entitled 'Silver Linings: The Active Third Age and the City' (Building Futures and RIBA, 2013) outlining their vision on how the ageing population will shape the city of the future. As the 'Garden Cities of To-Morrow' shaped the British planning doctrine in the 20th Century, would the 'Silver Linings: The Active Third Age and the City' formulate or influence the British planning doctrine in the 21st Century leading to the development of the 'Silver Cities of To-Morrow'?

Based on their research, Building Futures and RIBA (2013) in 'Silver Linings: The Active Third Age and the City' identify and present their vision of the six urban futures that would promote and sustain the active third age in the urban environment. However, everyone might not be able to benefit from the active third age as one in three people born in 2015 will develop dementia according to the Office of Health Economics and Alzheimer's Research UK (2015).

We review the current state of progress in the integration of people with Dementia in the built environment in the United Kingdom, as a way of establishing possible approaches that will inform and inspire other parts of the world to do so.

2 AGEING AND DEMENTIA IN THE 21st CENTURY

In 2002, the Second World Assembly on Ageing (Global Action for Ageing, 2002), identified the need for provision of a safe and enabling environment both as a basic need for older people and their children (the so called 'sandwich' generation) and a way to maintain and enhance their quality of life. At the time of the First World Assembly on Ageing in 1982, the population ageing concerns were fairly confined to the developed wealthy countries, which is no longer the case. The 1999 study by the United Nations Human Settlement Programme and the Institute of Public Administration predicted 16 fold increase of older people living in the urban environment, from 56 million in 1998 to 908 million in 2050. This will lead to both restructuring of the human society around the world and to the now established concepts of active ageing and ageing in place (Global Action for Ageing, 2002).

2.1 Population trends in the 21st Century

In March 2001, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) published their information about the world population on country by country basis. Based on the medium fertility variant, it is expected that the world population overall will increase from 6,056,715,000 in 2000 to 9,322,251,000 in 2050 (Coutsoukis, 2001). However, despite this 54 per cent predicted worldwide population growth, not all countries are expected to experience such a growth. If the four countries represented in the EU funded SINERGI project on Inclusive/Exclusive Cities (Croatia, Italy, Portugal and the Republic of Macedonia) and the UK are considered only (Figure 1) a very different picture emerges. In these five countries the population is expected to decline in a varying degree between 2000 and 2050, with Italy predicted to have the sharpest decline (26%), from 57,530,000 in 2000 to 42,962,000 in 2050 (Coutsoukis, 2001).

In contrast, the analysis of the data from the UN's 2015 revision of the world population prospects for the period of 2015 until 2100 (UN, 2015) indicates a slightly different picture from the one from 2001. It suggests that the population of the UK will grow within this period unlike the population of Croatia, Italy, Portugal and the Republic of Macedonia that are expected to decline to a varying degree (Figure 2).

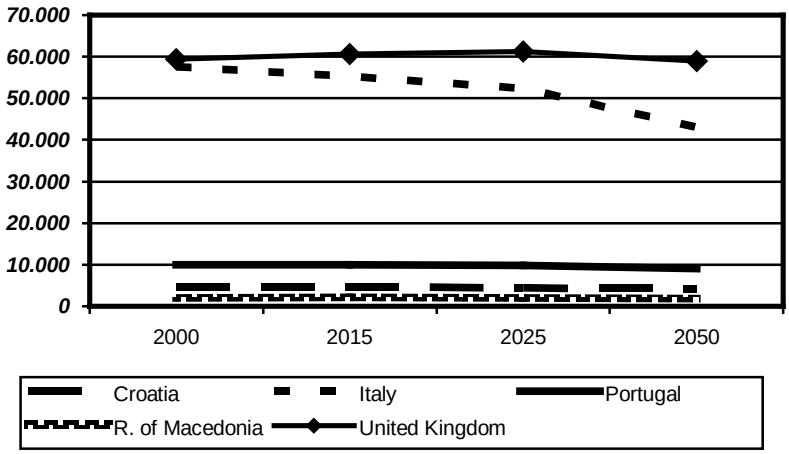


Figure 1. Comparison between predicted population (in thousands) changes between 2000 and 2050

Source: Based on data from United Nations Population Fund from March 2001 (Coutsoukis, 2001)

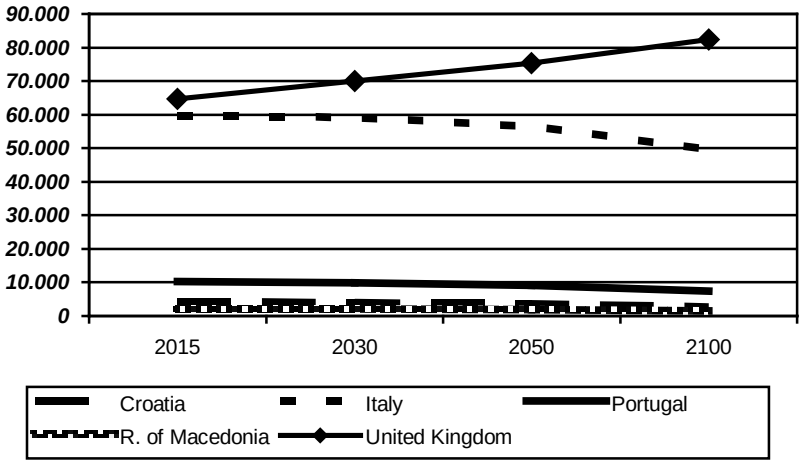


Figure 2. Comparison between predicted population (in thousands) changes between 2015 and 2100

Source: Based on data from World Population Prospects, The 2015 Revision, Key Findings and Advance Tables / Table S.2 Total population by country, 1950, 2015, 2030. 2050 and 2100 (Medium Variant), ESA/P/WP.241, by (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, © (2015) United Nations. Reprinted with the permission of the United Nations.

2.2 Population Ageing in the 21st Century

Whilst world population is predicted to increase from 7,349,472,000 in 2015 to 9,725,148,000 in 2050 and 11,213,317,000 in 2100, only the United Kingdom population is expected to steadily grow whilst those of the other four analysed countries are expected to decline (UN, 2015). In parallel with the general increase of population in the world, the analysis suggests a substantial increase in the population aged 60 and over worldwide, from 12.3 per cent in 2015 to 28.3 per in 2100. However, the increase in the population aged 60 and over will significantly vary from country to country. Thus, in the example of the analysed countries, the portion of the population age 60 and over is expected to nearly double in the Republic of Macedonia (from 18.5 per cent in 2015 to 36.6 per cent in 2100), whilst Portugal is expected to have the highest portion of people age 60 and over (41.3 per cent in 2100) in relation to the five analyzed countries (UN, 2015) (Figure 3).

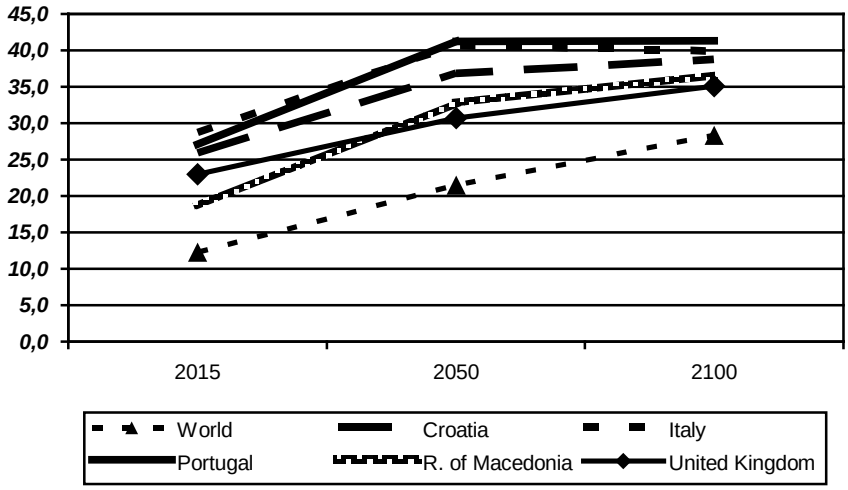


Figure 3. Comparison between predicted changes in share (%) of population 60 and over between 2015 and 2100

Source: Based on data from World Population Prospects, The 2015 Revision, Key Findings and Advance Tables / Table S.6 Percentage distribution of the population in selected age group by country, 2015, 2050 and 2100 (Medium Variant), ESA/P/WP.241, by (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, © (2015) United Nations. Reprinted with the permission of the United Nations.

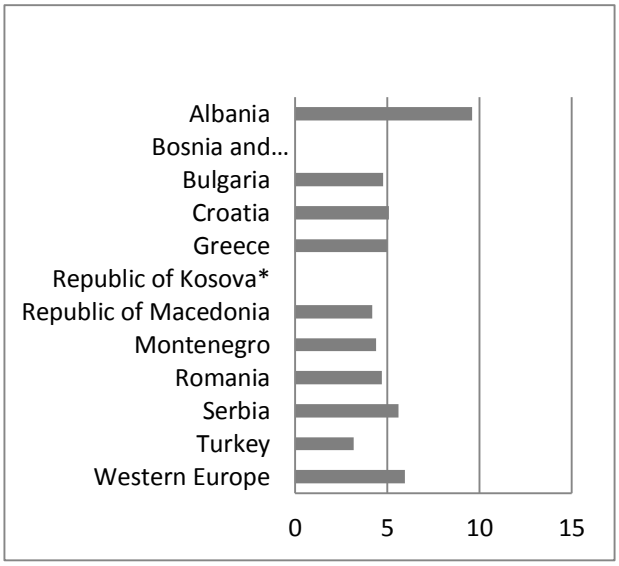
2.3 Ageing in the City

In 2013, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) think-thank Building Futures published their report entitled 'Silver Linings: The Active Third Age and the City' (Building Futures and RIBA, 2013) outlining their vision on how the ageing population will shape the city of the future in 2030. The report suggests six possible urban futures that are expected to promote and sustain active third age in the urban environment. These include: (i) Changes in the home ownership whereby traditional home ownership is replaced by an international club membership that provides access to a network of residences allowing older people to explore the world, as a response to the desire to travel more during retirement as well as the promotion of active life for older people - this can potentially release much needed housing for younger families; (ii) Reshaping of the family home due to the increase in multi-generational living and the need of the 'sandwich generation' to care for an older family member, which is in response to the financial pressures experienced by all generations and unaffordability of home ownership for majority of younger adults; (iii) Revival of the high street where active older people are expected to become a catalyst for new public amenity and private enterprise in the city by complementing the existing retail facilities, in response to expectation for the shops to remain but with

much less shopping taking place actually as monetary transactions are replaced by social; (iv) Counteracting the gradual decline of the coastal towns (experienced over the past decades) through the increased presence of older people and their desire for to live in these areas whilst working flexibly and engaging in leisure activities, which will kick start the economy of coastal towns by investments attracted; (v) The city will become a university with older people utilizing existing infrastructure to support learning and skill sharing between the generations in response to presently unused skills and knowledge of older people that they can pass onto the younger generation, as well as the need of older people to stay on top with the developments of the digital age; and (vi) Encouragement of active ageing and wellbeing in the city through a network of third-age health hubs interconnected by routes that promote exercise in public spaces (Building Futures and RIBA, 2013).

2.3 Dementia in the 21st Century

The Office of Health Economics and Alzheimer's Research UK (2015) estimated that one in three people born in 2015 will develop dementia. In a recent study Mukaetova-Ladinska *et al.*(2014) compared the prevalence of dementia among those aged 65 and over in South East Europe and in Western Europe showing in general similar trends in the prevalence rates, whereby some of the differences can be attributed to the differences in methodologies for the collection of data between the countries (Figure 4).



* No data available

Figure 4. Prevalence (%) of dementia in South East and Western Europe among those aged 65 and over

Source: Adapted from Mukaetova-Ladinska et al.*, 2014.*

The current and predicted global impact of dementia have been established through 'The World Alzheimer's Report 2015' (Alzheimer's Disease International, 2015a, b) indicating 9.9 million new cases of dementia worldwide in 2015. Furthermore, out of the 46.8 million people with dementia living in the world, more than 20 percent (10.5 million) live in Europe. Globally, a 2.8 fold increase in number of people with dementia is predicted between 2015 and 2050 with expected 131 million people with dementia living worldwide in 2050. Significant increase of people with dementia living in low to middle income countries is predicted too. It is expected that 68 percent of the people with dementia will be living in low to middle income countries by 2050 in comparison with the 58 percent living in these countries in 2015. Naturally, the increase of people living with dementia is expected to increase the cost of dementia worldwide from US$ 818 billion in 2015 to US$ 2 trillion by 2030 (Alzheimer's Disease International, 2015a, b). All these only strengthen the importance for building not only age-friendly cities but also dementia-friendly communities too.

3 AGE AND DEMENTIA FRIENDLY BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The anticipated increase of older people living in the urban environment will ultimately lead to restructuring of the human society and the need to develop and promote concepts for active ageing in place. The UK House of Lords Select Committee on Public Services and Demographic Change in the Session 2012-2013 considered this, and published their findings in the report 'Ready for Ageing?' (House of Lords, 2013). According to the report, despite the rapidly growing UK population (51 percent more people aged 65 and over living in England in 2030 in comparison to 2010), the Government and the society are underprepared for the future. Furthermore, 10.7 million people in the UK are expected to have inadequate retirement income. In addition, there will be 1.96 million people aged 65 and over with moderate to severe cognitive impairment in England and Wales by 2030 (80 percent more compared to the 2010 reported figure) (House of Lords, 2013). Among the principal conclusions and recommendations are those related to the need for the Government and employers to enable more people to work part-time and take up pension flexibly; with people with housing equity being able to release it simply and without excessive risks; the need for join commissioning and funding of health and social care; as well as the central and local government, housing associations and house builders need to plan on how to ensure that the housing needs of the older population are better addressed (House of Lords, 2013). The three emerging themes in relation to the housing provision are: the needs to preserve independence, ensure adequate housing provision, and stimulate the housing market for older people through better planning (House of Lords, 2013).

3.1 The UK Responses

Regardless having slightly different viewpoint in the above reports, there is a notable level of alignment between the House of Lords (that identifies topics

and suggests activities needed to address them) and the Building for Future and RIBA recommendations, that identify not only the issues but also provide possible scenarios on how they may be addressed in the future. Irrespectively of the viewpoints presented in these reports, the leadership in providing the delivery remains with the highest possible place, the UK Government.

3.1.1 The Prime Minister's Dementia Challenge 2012

In March 2012 the UK Prime Minister David Cameron launched the Dementia Challenge (Department of Health, 2012) aimed to tackle on the most important issues the UK faces as the population ages. The challenge was to be delivered through three champions group, each of them charged with dealing with a particular aspect i.e. health and care; creating dementia friendly communities; and improving dementia research (Department of Health, 2012). From built environment point of view of a particular interest is the challenge associated with the creation of dementia friendly communities with this champion group working closely with the Alzheimer's Society and the Dementia Action Alliance on getting evidence from people with dementia and their carers; creating a system of recognition; creating local dementia action alliances; and educating the public (Alzheimer's Society, 2013). Getting the evidence would help understand how people with dementia and their carers could live better lives in the community which in turn can be used to develop information and tools to help them meet their needs and aspirations. Creating a system of recognition can acknowledge places and organizations that are working to become a dementia friendly. Creating the local dementia alliances across the country can bring together people and organizations who are working to change things for the better. Educating the public will help that more people understand dementia and thus contribute to make things better. The Dementia Friends programme is considered to be a central part of the last aspect (Alzheimer's Society, 2013).

Three years after the UK Prime Minister's Dementia Challenge by March 2015 a number achievements have been made under the auspices of the three champion groups. For example, dementia diagnosis rates have increased by 6 per cent since March 2012, over 50 communities across England have signed up to the national Dementia Friendly Communities recognition process, whist research spending on dementia has increased by nearly 50 per cent since 2010/2011 (House of Commons, 2015).

3.1.2 The Prime Minister's Challenge on Dementia 2020

In March 2015, the UK Prime Minister David Cameron launched his Challenge on dementia 2020. For him (Department of Health, 2015) the England should be "the best country in the world for dementia care and support and for people with dementia, their careres and families to live; and the best place in the world to undertake research into dementia and other neurodegenerative diseases" (p. 3). In order to achieve this vision, the Government has identified a number of key aspirations including improved public awareness and understanding of the factors which increase the risk of

developing dementia and how people can reduce their risk by living healthier lives; all National Health Services staff receiving training on dementia; all hospitals and care homes meeting agreed criteria to become a dementia friendly health and care settings; over half of people living in areas that have been recognized as Dementia Friendly Communities; all business encouraged and supported to become dementia friendly; increased number of people with dementia participating in research; and others (Department of Health, 2015).

3.1.3 Age and Dementia Friendly Cities

At the opening session of the 2005 XVIII International Association of Gerontology and Geriatrics World Congress of Gerontology and Geriatrics in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil the concept and the associated project for the Global Age-friendly Cities was conceived leading to the publication of the related guide in 2007 (WHO, 2007b). This was in response to the two global trends of population ageing and urbanisation that together are shaping the 21st Century. For WHO (2007b), the older people are a resource not only for their families but also to their communities and economies. However, they require supporting and enabling living environment in order to fulfill the potential that they, the older people, represent for humanity. Therefore, the age-friendly city is expected to adapt its environments and services in order to become accessible and inclusive to older people with varying needs and capacities, and by doing so being able to encourage active ageing and enhance quality of life. The consultations carried out with older people focus groups from 33 cities across the world have resulted in the identification of the eight characteristics of the age-friendly city (WHO, 2007b) (Table 1).

The related guide for 'Global Age-friendly Cities' (WHO, 2007b) set out the basic principles on how the characteristics of the age-friendly cities can be achieved by those cities that want to fulfil these criteria and by doing so promote active ageing whilst improving the quality of life for older people as well allowing the older people to fulfil their potential. However, being only just an age-friendly city is no longer enough when some 6 per cent of those aged 65 and over suffer from dementia. As the share of the older people in society increases, the share of those suffering from dementia will increase too, at least until a cure for the disease become available. Society cannot allow for people with dementia and their carers to feel isolated and cut off from their community and the society as a whole. By feeling welcomed and empowered they can get involved with activities and continue to participate in daily life (Alzheimer's Society, 2013). In order to address the need of the people with dementia, their careres and their families, the concept of dementia friendly city was introduced in the UK, indicating a community "in which people with dementia are empowered to have high aspirations and feel confident, knowing they can contribute and participate in activities that are meaningful to them" (Alzheimer's Society, 2013, p. viii).

Similarly to establishing the characteristics of the age friendly city through a research based on the responses from focus groups by older people from around the world, the characteristics of the dementia friendly communities

are based on the responses by over 500 people with dementia leading to the definition of the ten characteristics of dementia friendly communities (Alzheimer's Society, 2013) (Table 1). Shown side by side, and in the order of presentation in their respective guides, the eight characteristics of the age-friendly communities (WHO, 2007b) and the ten characteristics of dementia friendly communities (Alzheimer's Society, 2013) (Table 1) present both the overlaps in the generic needs of the older people regardless whether they have dementia or not, as well as the specific needs of those who have dementia. In some respect, building the age-friendly cities around the world is likely to fulfill the general needs and aspirations of the older people but will make those cities and communities only partially inclusive where those with dementia, their careres and families, are likely to still feel isolated and being cut off from their community and the society as a whole. To include them, a consideration needs to be made to overlay the dementia friendly community requirements to those of the age-friendly cities. Not considering and implementing the characteristics of the dementia friendly communities, in the 2030 context for England and Wales, would mean that 1.96 million people having dementia with medium to severe cognitive impairment identified in the House of Lords (2013) 'Ready for Ageing?' report could still feel excluded and isolated. The amount of people affected would be not dissimilar in size to the entire population of some states in Europe like Slovenia or the Republic of Macedonia. And this is not counting the careres and the families of people with dementia.

No	**Age Friendly City** *Source: WHO, 2007b*	**Dementia Friendly City** *Source: Alzheimer's Society, 2013*
1	Outdoor spaces and buildings	Involvement of people with dementia
2	Transportation	Challenge stigma and build understanding
3	Housing	Accessible community activities
4	Social participation	Acknowledge potential
5	Respect and social inclusion	Ensure and early diagnosis
6	Communication and information	Practical support to enable engagement in community life
7	Civic participation and	Community based solutions

	employment	
8	Community support and health services	Consistent and reliable travel options
9	-	Easy to navigate environments
10	-	Respectful and responsive business and services

Table 1. Characteristics of Age Friendly and Dementia Friendly Cities

3.1.4 Age and Dementia Friendly Guides

Over the past few decades, the research into ageing and dementia has rapidly grown, and this has also had an impact in the field of age friendly and dementia friendly design. This provides not only a fertile ground for further research in this area, but also establishes the evidence based foundation for the built environment professions engaged in the design and construction of age and dementia friendly environments. Apart from the above mentioned guides for age friendly cities and dementia friendly communities respectively, some further notable guidance has been developed in recent years, i.e. the 'Checklist of Essential Features of Age-friendly Cities' (WHO, 2007a) and the British Standards Institution's 'PAS 1365:2015 Code of Practice for the recognition of dementia friendly communities'. Some additional sources of UK guidance for the dementia friendly environments can be found in publications like the Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development (2004) 'Neighborhoods for Life' – Designing dementia friendly outdoor environments', the Innovations in Dementia 'Dementia friendly environments checklist' (Dementia Action, N/A), the NHS Scotland's (2007) 'Dementia Design Checklist – Design check for people with dementia in healthcare premises', and others. Whilst these and many others research and evidence based guidance documents are in existence that can provide insight into the area of age friendly and/or dementia friendly design, it Is important that each country develops their own set of guidance which is best suited to their national context and circumstances in order to provide the best possible guidance and response to the challenges of today and tomorrow.

3.1.5 Achievements and Challenges

The review indicates the scale of the challenges associated with the development of age and dementia friendly cities to address the global issues of demographic ageing and the increase of dementia sufferers living in urban areas. Equally, it highlights the various achievements especially those in relation to the development of the knowledge in the field and preparation of various guidance documents necessary for the gradual implementation of the objectives. Considering the enormity of this global task and the relatively short period of time available to set up and research objectives, and draft the guidance, at present, it is too early to evaluate the success of the actual

implementation. Hence, the initial findings in relation to the implementation are fairly limited. There is a need for the expertise related to dementia friendly design to be cascaded down to the mainstream of built environment professionals (Ladinski, 2016) to achieve the volume of output required to meet the Prime Minister's 'Challenge on Dementia 2020. Hospital admissions of people living with dementia should also be the basis for future testing of dementia friendly interventions in different settings with a view to establish a framework for developing and evaluating dementia friendly initiatives (Handley *et al.* 2015). The latter could be a potentially valuable tool for the future since the development of both concepts about the Age Friendly Cities and the Dementia Friendly Communities are based on a fairly small sample in comparison with the actual number of people living with dementia. However, this proposal has to be considered in the light of the Care Quality Commission (2014) findings that overall have reported more good than poor care in the homes and hospitals, whereas the quality of care for people with dementia varies greatly. Equally, the recent evaluation of the York's Dementia Communities Programme (Dean *et al.* 2015) reported not only successes in some areas (e.g., widening awareness and providing basis training, developing dementia friendly business and organisations, and others) but also less progress in some other areas (e.g., support for care-providers, ability to engage with specific individuals and group and other). This suggests that further work that is yet to be done.

Successful ageing also depends on the quality of places where older people live and receive care (Goland 2014). Whilst Goland (2014) acknowledges that age friendly communities movement proposes policies and programs aimed to improve the physical and social environments for older people as a way to help them age successfully, he asks the important question whether proponents of the movement need to priorities their ambitious agenda and offer solutions that do not overlap with other ongoing programs related to housing, services and care given the limited funding available and competing demands for resources. This, in the UK, becomes even a more pressing question following the outcome of the 23rd June 2016 referendum to leave EU which is expected to lead to a further period of economic downturn as well as to a reduced pull of workforce necessary to deliver the objectives related to dementia friendly communities.

The attention of professionals engaged in delivering dementia friendly communities have been drawn to the example of Hogeway, a dementia friendly community offering innovative approach to residential and nursing care for people with advanced dementia in Netherlands. Goodwin (2014) finds Hogeway to be impressive, extremely moving and nearest to true care. Although some find the development to be the kindest and most compassionate way of care, the research evidence to demonstrate the beneficial effects in relation to behavior, functional ability and impact on cognition is still to come. The journey to age and dementia silver cities of tomorrow, thus, still represent a challenge consisting of numerous unknowns.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The demographics of aging have rapidly changed worldwide, and there is a general trend for more of older people living with dementia. These trends are very similar not only between the four countries represented in the EU funded SINERGI project on Inclusive/Exclusive Cities (Croatia, Italy, Portugal and the Republic of Macedonia) and closely follow those in the other western countries, including the UK. The steps UK took over the past decade may prove useful to be explored further to gradually restructure our society and promote active aging and living with dementia. This can inform, inspire and guide other parts of the world to find their own and unique way towards addressing the shared issues of demographic ageing and the increase in older people with dementia. By generating its own authentic response to the issue at hand each country can contribute towards the global knowhow of how we address these pressing issues and create the silver city of tomorrow which will provide for and promote an inclusive and active ageing for all, including people with various stages of cognitive impairment.

5 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Davide Vero

The Age of Urban Ageing
An overview of different social and spatial answers to ageing

ABSTRACT

The surveys of contemporary cities are focused on different aspects of the urban transformation, analyzing the city with different methods and perspectives. Within this array of studies and interpretations little weight is given to the phenomenon of ageing and its relationship with the urban fabric and the social effects.
Statistical studies show that the population pyramids become kites in the future, through an increase of the elderly population. A situation of dependency that is common to many countries of Europe, Asia and America, and that affects various areas of research. Inside this context, ageing can become measure of urban transformation and its different directions. Therefore the intent of the study is to reconstruct the landscape of ageing in the city through the answers, often antithetical, used to face the problem. On the other hand there is the isolation of those districts where often live the most of senior citizens.
Indeed, international institution began working in an inclusive way, for example the World Health Organization has launched in 2007 a guide for Age-friendly cities. A practical framework to help cities develop their own Age-friendly programs and initiatives around some domains: housing, public space, participation, community and transportation. The analysis of these models allows a critical research on the new approaches, tools and practices related to this topic. Furthermore the main aim is to highlight the challenges and the relationships between the design and the use of space for an ageing population.

KEYWORDS: *Aged, City Planning, Housing for the elderly, Retirement communities, Segregation*

1 POPULATION AGEING

The world population has been experiencing significant ageing—the process that results in rising proportions of older persons in the total population—since the mid-twentieth century. Ageing had started earlier in the more developed regions and was beginning to take place in some developing countries.[72]

The world is rapidly ageing: the number of people aged 60 and over as a proportion of the global population will double from 11% in 2006 to 22% by 2050. By then, there will be more elders than children (aged 0-14 years) in the population for the first time in human history.[73] (Figure 1)

According to United Nations Population Fund (2007), "developing countries are ageing at a much faster rate than developed countries: within five decades, just over 80% of the world's older people will be living in developing countries compared with 60% in 2005. The older population is growing far more rapidly–in 2007 expanding by 2.6 percent per year–than the population as a whole–at 1.1 percent."

At the same time, our world is a growing city and more elders are also living in cities. The proportion of the older adult population residing in cities in developed countries matches that of younger age groups at about 80%, and will rise at the same pace. In developing countries, however, the share of older people in urban communities will multiply 16 times from about 56 million in 1998 to over 908 million in 2050. By that time, older people will comprise one-fourth of the total urban population in less developed countries.

Population ageing has been described by demographers as the result of "two humanity' greatest victories: increased longevity, or a victory over death and disease; and reduced birth rates, or a victory over unwanted childbearing".[74] The process of demographic transition had transformed the age structure of population, clearly shown in the changing geometry of demographic "pyramids" towards the form of a "kite", where older people will represent an increasing portion of the raw population. The shift toward more aged populations is not the result of some inevitable evolutionary development in the human organism but rather a product of a process of societal "modernization", possessing social, cultural, economical, political, and technological dimensions. The process of population ageing has gone hand in hand with that of urbanization and industrialization. Recent publications on ageing produced by the Population Division include the World Population Ageing series, offer many reports over the last decade. Firstly, population ageing is "unprecedented, a process without parallel in the

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[72] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Population Ageing 2013*, New York, 2013, p.1.

[73] World Health Organization, Global age-friendly cities: a guide, Geneva, 2007, pp. 3-4.

[74] United Nations, Population Division, *Technical Meeting on Population Ageing and Living Arrangements of Older Persons*, New York, 2000, p. 2.

history of humanity". Secondly, it is "pervasive since it is affecting nearly all the countries of the world." While the more developed nations posses a higher proportion of older persons in their population, this age group is growing more rapidly in the less developed regions. Thirdly, it is "profound, having major consequences and implications for all facets of human life," including the economic, the social, and the political. Finally, "population ageing is enduring", pointing out a process that is unlike to be reversed in the future.[75]

This framework of data and statistics shows the global phenomenon of ageing, both for its geographical dimensions (developed and developing countries) and for the areas affected: economy, society, and politics.

In addition, this recent transformation clearly acts on the way in which older people live and perceive urban space and the domestic one. This paper tries to go beyond the description of today's demographic landscape. Moving from the recent studies on urban ageing, the intention is to highlight the current spatial answer to demographic change. In spite of a research merely based on results of the demographic shift or on the list of possible future challenges, the aim of the study is to highlight the current situation, characterized by segregation and exclusive design strategies this paper presents two case studies; the first one is the planned retirement community of Sun City in Arizona, and the second is the urbanization of the Costa del Sol in Spain. In both cases the role of elders is central, as actors and as developers, for shaping a new lifestyle and new housing models. From this analysis emerges a new way to celebrate retirement (Simpson, 2015), with some recurrent topics and devices. At first glance, Sun City and the Costa del Sol appear as homogeneous zones for the urban and social fabric, but upon closer inspection is possible to find two different process which have led to these contemporary urban environment produced specifically for elderly people, centered around the theme of leisure and conceived as a product of the sociodemographic specialization.

Moreover the comparison points out a complex system of practices and differentiated economies, which have led to age-segregated forms of living.

The intention to frame contemporary communities for aged people requires a premise on terms at stake, or rather the need to introduce the words that in recent decades have accompanied the demographic phenomenon of ageing. In particular it is vocabulary related to this change, both for policies and for planning, first result of the institutionalization of the topic inside the society. Through the recurrence of certain terms and the change of their meaning, it is possible to find the roots of the current situation, the motivation of some design choices and future directions.

Finally the paper using these two case studies will attempt to outline the context of planning for senior citizens and the growing trend to exclude elders, more or less conscious, in spite of the practices and policies of social inclusion. The conclusion part of the work recovers the words of Lewis

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[75] Deane Simpson, *Young-Old: Urban Utopias of an Aging Society,* Zürich, Lars Müller, 2015, pp. 20-25.

Mumford about older people: “not segregation but integration”[76], in order to define a possible and more inclusive scenario for the elders, far from design prescription and guidebooks full of good practices.

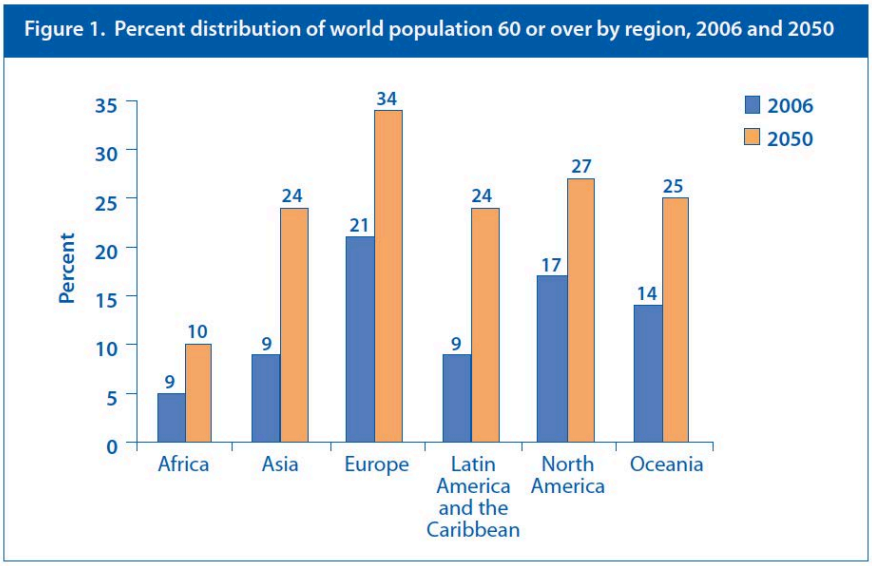

Figure 1. Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

2 VOCABULARY OF AGEING

Words give order, they qualify, evaluate. The use of words realizes constantly the operation of classification. Words describe, they are the forms of experience and the way to act on the world.[77] The intention, through this brief vocabulary on ageing, is to explore the systems that organize a domain of particular significance. The meanings of new terms attempt to define the various facets of the demographic phenomenon and, in some cases, have a programmatic will.

2.1 The differentiated old

The word related to getting older is itself the source of a first geographic differentiation: “ageing” for the UK spelling and “aging” for US. This word introduces the description of a person that is getting older and the discrimination based on age: “ageism”. Secondly, it appears in another institutional classification: “active ageing”, the last attempt to include older

[76] Lewis Mumford, “For older people, not segregation but integration”, Architectural record, 1956 May, v. 119, p. 191-194.

[77] Christian Topalov, *L’aventure des mots de la ville*, Paris, Ed. Pierre Laffont, 2010, p. XVIII.

people in decision-making and in urban life.

According to the World Health Organization (1999), “active ageing is the process of optimizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to enhance quality of life as people age. It applies both to individuals and population groups. Active ageing allows people to realize their potential for physical, social, and mental well-being throughout their life and to participate in society, while providing them with adequate protection, security and care when they need. The word “active” refers to a continuing participation in social, economic, cultural, spiritual and civic affairs, not just the ability to be physically active or to participate in the labor force. Older people who retire from work, who are ill or with disabilities can remain active contributors to their families, peers, communities and nations. Active ageing aims to extend healthy life expectancy and quality of life for all people as they age”.

Furthermore, the World Health Organization (2002) introduces a new concept: “age-friendly”, with the intent to shape a new context of “policies, services and structures related to the physical and social environment that are designed to support and enable older people to “age actively”- that is, to live in security, enjoying good health and continuing to participate fully in society”.

The previous terms are derived from earlier works of theorization and research. One of the most relevant works is the “Coming of Age” written by Simone de Beauvoir in 1970, where the writer presents an ethnological and historical work about old age, putting particular emphasis on the temporal dynamics and the daily living conditions of the elders. The framework of Simone de Beauvoir presents the elders as separate category, different and excluded. Additionally, the writer states that it is impossible to identify the time when old age begins, since there are not “rites of passage” that establish a new statute of life.[78]

Starting from this perspective and these needs it is possible to realize the differentiated understanding of the old and old age. Moreover, the mutations inside a population’s structure have materialized the context of a new subgroup defined as “Young-Old” or “Third Age”. As a new phase of life, the Third Age or Young-Old has been developed as a category to distinguish between at least two different types of older people that emerged in the postwar period. In this perspective, the traditional notion of “old age” bifurcates between the ailing and dependent “Old-Old” (the Fourth Age) and a new and rapidly expanding population of healthy and independent “Young-Old”.[79] These two new terms were theorized by the American gerontologist Bernice Neugarten in 1974, who coined “Young-Old”, and by Peter Laslett, who elaborated the theory of “Third Age” in 1989.

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[78] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Coming of Age*, G.P. Putnam, New York, 1972, p. 12.

[79] Deane Simpson, *Young-Old: Urban Utopias of an Aging Society,* Zürich, Lars Müller, 2015, p. 12.

According to Neugarten (1974), the Young-Old represent the majority of older individuals who are healthy, competent, and satisfied with their role in society. They remain vigorous, engage in a variety of activities, and experience high levels of satisfaction with life. Whereas the Old-Old are the individuals who are frail, suffer from poor health, and are in need of medical attention, special care, and other forms of support.

In 1987 Peter Laslett developed the theory of a differentiated age, with the expression Third Age: "generally an era after retirement with health, vigor, and positive attitude, except for particular cases. The Third Age emerges only in developed countries with both aging population and excellent economic conditions".

The term Third Age comes from French universities, *les Universités du Troisième Âge* (the Universities of the Third Age), which since the 1970s have offered study opportunities to seniors relatively healthy and active.

2.2 The institution of retirement

The retirement does not just mean: "the point at which someone stops working", as defined in the Cambridge Academic Dictionary, but it represents a profound change.

According to Simpson (2015), the relatively recent historical emergence of the Young-Old in the more developed countries is a transformation that has two major components: one, the process of population ageing; the other lies in the process of supporting the increasing dominance of retirement as an institution.

The definition of retirement is important for two reasons; first, because the point at which someone stops working has corresponded for years with a new phase of life, that is when a retired person becomes an elder. Furthermore, through the history of retirement it is possible to observe the change of policy and the new state pension, which has changed the social acceptability and desirability of retirement.

Germany became the first nation in the world to introduce the state pension with Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck's Old Age and Disability Insurance Bill of 1889, when the life expectancy for the average Prussian was 45 years. When first implemented, it would offer pensions to workers over 70 years, an age limit that would be later reduced to 65 years, thereafter becoming the most accepted age for retirement internationally.

There were many countries that followed the work done by Germany for state-supported pension, such as Denmark (1981), Italy (1898), France (1905), Australia (1908), United Kingdom (1909), and Sweden (1913). [80] While 1935 marks the founding date of state pension in the US through similar legislation: the 1935 US Social Security Act, at the tune when the average life expectancy was 62 years.

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[80] *Ibidem*, p. 27.

The intention of the Social Security Act was not only the provision of a safety net for those 65 and older, and therefore deemed too old to work, but it was also meant to shift older workers, supposedly less able to keep up with technological change in industrial economy, out of the workforce to vacate positions for younger workers and therefore partially alleviate the massive unemployment in the Great Depression.

Historians of retirement and sociologists point out that retirement was not always viewed as desirable and it remained an unpopular institution. Retirement was commonly perceived, socially, as an embarrassing phase of obsolescence, marked by corresponding drop in an individual's self-esteem and often stigmatized. In order to challenge exclusion and negative attitudes a sociological theory was developed that had the role of supporting the relevance of retirement and, promoted a positive image of retirement in the popular media. According to William Graebner in *The History of Retirement* (1980), retirement was presented as "the joy of being at the ball park on a weekday afternoon". Along this direction the effort was to teach people, starting at age 50, to enjoy leisure. Likewise, it is possible to look at the birth of the first retirement communities, such as Youngtown (Arizona, 1955) and Sun City (Arizona, 1960), as spatial results of the growing positive reception of retirement after the Second World War. These new forms of living were the effect of a new concept of old age, which had roots in the *leisure theory* (Graebner, 1980) and in the *disengagement theory* (Cumming, 1961). The changed scenario produced not only a new market and new typologies, but a real lifestyle. The choice of the case studies of Sun City and the Costa del Sol, originates from these considerations.

3 SUN CITY, ARIZONA (US)

Today retirement communities and developments are quite common, in the US only there are more than 55. Senior-only communities and active-adult retirement resorts stretch from coast to coast, each one boasting different benefits appealing to different states and interests. But Sun City was the first. It not only launched an industry, but it set the standard for others to follow.[81] The role of the first retirement community goes to Youngstown (Arizona, 1955), but Sun City (Arizona, 1960) is the first master-planned community for active retirement by the Del E. Webb Corporation.

The idea was to go beyond building a collection of homes. Sun City would offer everything a retiree would need to make his or her "golden years" comfortable, fun, and invigorating: plenty of recreational facilities, lots of activities, a safe environment, and very affordable homes. In this offer there is the winning formula, adding 365 days of sunshine. The concept worked, and Sun City's growth exploded over the next years. Today there are more than ten Sun Cities in Arizona, California, Florida, and Nevada. Each follows the Del Webb development model, with the facilities –golf courses, swimming pools, and recreation centers – going up before the first

[81] Bret McKeand, *Sun City*, Charleston, Arcadia Publishing, 2011, p.7.

houses are sold. The company anticipates even more growth as the post-World War II baby boom generation approaches retirement.[82]

The inhabitants of Sun City and the lifestyle play a central role in this narrative, this because the community and its residents celebrate retirement.

3.1 A history of showy success

Sun City's history began January 1, 1960, it is located 14 miles northwest of Phoenix, along U.S. 60, the route for early pioneers who travelled from Wickenburg to abundant water canals in the far southeastern portion of the Phoenix Valley.

In the following years water became the new gold and, canals became the main infrastructure to build new cotton plantations. Where now stands Sun City there were a water stop and the Marinette Ranch: several thousands of acres with plantations, a school, two stores, and a cotton gin.

By the late 1950s the farming industry became less and less profitable when water became scare and, the Del E. Webb Corporation bought the whole site. The Corporation was looking for a site to build its new retirement community, in order to replace cotton with homes and golf courses.

The location of the settlement was a key factor in the choice and development of the community: sun, roads and existing infrastructure, land cost and positive policy towards ageing determined the current position. Another important key factor was the person behind this operation: the developer Del Webb, today synonymous with Sun City and, indeed with the entire concept of active adult retirement living. Delbert Eugene Webb was born in 1899 in Fresno, California, and in 1929 he moved to Phoenix where he opened his construction company. The Del E. Webb Corporation grew to become one of the world's largest builders of military bases, sports arenas, high-rise buildings, hotels, casinos, and more.

The company's foray into building a self-contained community for retirees in 1959 was considered a risky experiment, but Webb had recognized that senior citizens were the fastest growing portion of the American population. In 1974, before his death, Webb appeared on a television show and he claimed that creating Sun City was "the most satisfying thing [he had] ever accomplished in [his] life". Besides everything he had accomplished prior to launching Sun City, it was the development of this community – and the industry it spawned – that landed Del E. Webb on the cover of the Time magazine issue: "The retirement City: A New Way of Life for the Old" on August 3, 1962.

It is not a coincidence if Webb was always given a hero's welcome when he visited the community. Once he told the crowd "I wish I could live here

[82] Kim Shetter, "Sun City Holds On", Planning, January 1996, Vol. 62, pp.16.

with you fine folks and do nothing but play golf", and the community replied with the theme song: "Let the Rest of the World Go By".[83]

Webb had realized, after the previous unsuccessful experiences, such as Youngtown, that the climate and the houses were not sufficient for a successful project, but amenities and recreational parks had a central role. Furthermore, the new idea was supported by a large work of marketing and promotion, in order to show the positive side of life in Sun City. One of the most important tools was advertising, and the local newspaper: *Sun City Independent*. The Del E. Webb Corporation also used sports as a means to promote its newest projects, for example race cars.

In this way, work began on the unnamed community in mid-1959 with a golf course, a recreation center with a pool, five model houses, a shopping center, and a hotel for visitors.

Thanks to this work Sun City was an immediate success, according to Webb records over 100,000 visitors toured the new model homes during the first three days of the grand opening. Sun City introduced the world to "resort retirement", and its initial success earned international fame and attention with newspaper articles and television shows.

The rapid growth of the city meant the sale of 1,300 houses by the end of 1960. It was an ambitious project, planned for the long term; as shown in *Figure 2*, the community rose considerably over the years as well as houses increased, their prices, the services, and the facilities. An important phase of the city was the in the mid-Seventies with the death of the founder, Del Webb, and the foundation of a new retirement community next to Sun City, along the West side. This was the new project by the Del E. Webb Development Corporation (DEVCO): Sun City West, while the original city extended north of Grand Avenue.

To date, according to the 2010 census, Sun City has a population of 37,500 inhabitants, while Sun City West has 24,500inhabitants.

Figure 2. Sun City's the different phases of construction.

[83] McKeand, *Sun City*, p. 19.

3.2 The way to celebrate retirement

Sun City occupies 8,900 acres and it includes services, entertainment, and houses in an unincorporated area of Maricopa County, about 20 miles northwest of downtown Phoenix. The community's deed presents specify restrictions: each household must have one member over the age of 55 and none under the age of 19. The restrictions also cover such things as front yard fences and onsite parking of recreational vehicles (both prohibited). The rules are bolstered by the county's senior citizen overlay zoning ordinance, adopted by the county in 1979. There are now five such "senior overlay" districts in addition to Sun City. Declared illegal in the 1980s by a proposed amendment to the federal Fair Housing Act of 1988, thanks to the political clout wielded by groups like the American Association of Retired Persons, the amendment was dropped, and the senior overlay district survived.[84]

Circular street and neighbourhoods characterize the urban layout, where each of the community's four circles converges at the center where shops, churches, and a recreation center are located. According to Findlay (1992) Sun City provides its residents an "isolated landscape", "with an unprecedented degree of self-sufficiency and segregation". In addition to the flaunt sense of community, fed by people and by advertising, urban design and housing show a self-sufficient, even isolationist, feel of the town. In this regard, a white concrete block wall, with entry limited to the main east-west and north-south arterials, surrounds the entire development. Grand Avenue, a major thoroughfare, separates the phase-one development from phase two. A series of spatial devices of exclusion emerge, such as wall, barriers, and gates, both for private and for public spaces. These elements appear as white backdrops of buildings, frames where isolated houses and landscaped gardens spring (Figure 3).

By analysing the types of housing it can be seen that most of the units, including townhouses and condominiums, are one story. Two-thirds of the housing are single families, while the remaining part of the retirement resort is assigned to hotels. The regulation of the typologies, since the early models of houses, produces a series of selectable types based on income and architectural ambitions; from the basic 1960s model of the Mountjoy series, with two bedrooms and two bathrooms for $12,750, to the Mediterranean Villas ($19,900) and the "unique" series of Rancho Estate.

The houses of phase one were low, but more recent houses are larger and more luxurious, with enclosed garages, private pool, and other facilities. According to Shetter (1996) the average annual household income is $25,000, or $7,500 more than the national average for this age group. Sun City property taxes, as estimated by the state Department of Commerce, are only third to one-half of most other Phoenix-area communities (without children there are no schools to pay for). Housing values have remained

[84] Kim Shetter, "Sun City Holds On", Planning, January 1996, Vol. 62, pp.16.

high. Meanwhile, an interesting thing has happened to the moderately priced houses built in phase one: now younger retirees seek them.

The attempt to show and live an eternal youth is clear in the plethora of activities carried out by the elders of Sun City, starting from volunteering to the different clubs (art, dance, theatre), to gardening and especially sport. The favourite sport, since the beginning, is golf and it is no coincidence that the preferred vehicle is the golf cart.

Figure 3. Sun City's housing.

4 COSTA DEL SOL, SPAIN

Just as Florida and Arizona define a migratory sunbelt for American retirees, Spain's coastal regions overlooking the Mediterranean – the Costa del Sol and the Costa Blanca – function as the corresponding migratory sunbelt for the active retirees of Europe. Referred to as "the region of Europe which has been attracting the largest number and highest density of expatriate retired residents" and commonly defined as the "Europe retirement home," the , in the province of Málaga, Andalusía, in particular has attracted hundreds of thousands of retirees since the 1980s from Western and Northern European nations such as Great Britain, Germany, France, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, and the Netherlands, in order to experience more favourable climatic conditions and lower cost of living. [85]

For the spatial condition of this largely transcultural interaction, it is difficult to quantify the exact scale of this migratory phenomenon because it consists of a "veiled population" of predominantly unregistered foreign residents. While the official number of registered foreign residents on the Coastal municipalities of the Costa del Sol documents

[85] Russell King et al., *Sunset Lives: British Retirement Migration to the Mediterranean*, Oxford, Berg Publishers, 2000, p. 207.

231,545 inhabitants out of a total official population of 1,252,872 (Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía, 2013), estimates of actual foreign residents range up to 600,000, of which Britons are the largest single nationality represented. Moreover, it is particularly interesting to look at the data concerning the city of Málaga, where the population doubled from the 1950s to today.

As far as the organization is concerned, the Costa del Sol may be understood as a linear form of exurban development, creating a post-metropolitan condition without a clear organizational or productive center of gravity – except for the airport of Málaga.

Socially, what is remarkable about the urbanizations (*urbanizaciones* in Spanish) is their tendency towards mono-national cultural environments through the concentration of British, German, or other senior European citizens. Such concentrations have been controversially termed "colonies", in terms of habitat-based demographic and consumer colonization, one that is less a product of top-down control than in a collective bottom-up consumption of urban territory.

Particular shifts in these variables have led to the migration of the model, from the *urbanización* to other locations such as Italy, Croatia, Bulgaria, or Turkey. As easily replicable formats, the *urbanizaciones* operate as climatic utopias that simultaneously exploit the local exotic contest as a packaged product while mimicking the specific cultural contexts of the migrants' "home" environment. This takes place as a setting largely devoid of work and rain, constructed as a "home away from home better than home" (Montilla, 2002).

4.1 Mass tourism and the new aged settlers

Historically, the Costa del Sol in the nineteenth century evolved from Mediterranean coast into Europe's "great winter playground" and "pleasure periphery" (King et al., 2000). As a spa resort, Málaga in particular emerged as a site of overflow from the overcrowded French Riviera. Further expansion took place to the west of Málaga, in Torremolinos, by the beginning of the 1930s. At the time, hotel accommodations were still directed toward attracting the wealthy leisure class. In the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War and World War II, the wider territories of Málaga, Torremolinos, and Marbella were successfully promoted as high-status destinations for foreign vacationers, with practically no tourism-related development outside of these areas on the Costa del Sol. The most radical changes in the region would occur at the beginning of 1950 with the emergence of international mass tourism. The phenomenon of all-inclusive package tours developed in the 1960s and 1970s was one of the key aspects of this transformation (O'Reilly, 2000). The rapid rise in the popularity of the Costa del Sol as a tourist destination is clear from statics that track a rise in visitors from 51,000 in 1959, to 925,000 in 1968, to 2.5 million in 1975, to 7.9 million in 2013 (International Tourists in Andalucía, 2014).

The 1980s marked a particular shift: Spanish local and central governments attempted to offset the destabilizing effect of seasonal

economic fluctuations typical of the tourism industry by promoting foreign investments on the land and properties in the coastal areas. Due to its relatively low cost, according to O'Reilly (2000), "developers capitalised in this new market, building cheap, high-rise, often poorly constructed blocks of apartments in an unregulated fashion in many of the most popular resorts. Urbanisation (new, densely concentrated developments of small or larger villas) sprang up in a spontaneous and often unplanned manner in and around these same resorts."

Towards the end of the 1980s the first decline in tourism on the Spanish coast started spreading, largely as a result of economic recession, but international retirement migration (IRM) continued to increase. Mostly recently, the collapse of property markets and international recession at the end of the 2000s did not affect the growth of residential retirement developments along the Costa del Sol over those decades, albeit at different rates. As a result, formerly dense and compact cities, such as Málaga, have expanded into "linear post-metropolitan area" encompassing hundreds of *urbanizaciones* (Simpson, 2015).

Retirement migration is described in terms of urban-to-rural migration, based upon a return to one's childhood home village or town upon retirement (King et al., 2000). The second stage takes place with the elevated influence of local factors and conditions such as environmental attractiveness, accessibility, social support, and housing availability in relation to the diminishing importance of childhood connection in retirement location choices. The third stage incorporates more individuals retiring to multiple widely dispersed locations under the guise of a more pure form of lifestyle or amenity migration. The internationalization of location-driven retirement in Europe has been placed within the context of "radical improvements in older people's incomes and assets," and massive changes in the "social construction" of old age in the twentieth century, particularly in terms of preferences and opportunities (King et al., 2000). These long-distance migrations around the age of retirement is commonly known as the "retirement peak". King et al. (2000) have identified three major factors in the international retirement migration in the recent decades: increased familiarity with foreign destinations, improved transport and accessibility, and the reduction of institutional and legal barriers to foreign living. In particular, on the one hand, there is improved accessibility with the European motorway network and the expansion of routes of low-cost airlines, on the other hand, the reduced role of institutional and legal barriers at both level of nation-state and of the European Union, with a supported freedom of movement.

In addition, some countries such as Spain and Portugal apply special tax treatment, particularly profitable, for senior citizens coming from foreign countries.

According to King et al. (2000) international retirement migration is the result of the increasing importance of "amenity and lifestyle influences on the selection of retirement locations." This can be placed in the context of a corresponding decrease in the importance of family-rated locational

decisions. Of the range factors attracting the foreign retirement migrants from Northern to Southern Europe the most important are: healthy old age, climate, lower living costs, house prices, and the increased familiarity of southern culture and lifestyle. This process created an unprecedented and distinctively European “rainbow” society (Simpson, 2015).

Formerly dominated by the compact, relatively high-density town, and punctuated by other smaller historical fishing villages and towns placed along the coast, the current settlement’s patterns covers nearly the entire coast of the Province of Málaga, which stretches at varying densities more or less continuously along 150 kilometres of coast. This approximately 500-square-kilometer settlement area functions neither as a centralized city nor a collection of discrete villages, but rather as a series of coexisting ecologies combining to produce a linear structure of varying thickness and intensities. It is the “linear metropolitan condition” theorized by J. M. Romero (2004). In these terms, large expanses of the region may be characterized as a form of retirement “exurbia”, where the development has been largely decentralized, dominated by tourism and retirement migration. The Costa del Sol produces a similar form of peripheral urbanization, based on the exclusion of the conventional “productive” urban components such as industry and commerce for the inclusion of an alternate form of industrialized leisure distributed across the territory. The corresponding urban entities may be framed as the urban edges of the beaches themselves, the golf courses, and the *urbanizaciones*.

4.2 From the *Leisure City* to the linear post-metropolitan territory: a new morphology

Leisure has become an increasingly important part of Western life. To maintain levels of productivity, quality of leisure time has offset the increased demand for working hours. Leisure went from being a status symbol in the Fifties to a "normal fact" or an "accepted fact" in the Nineties (Simpson, 2015). Leisure has had a major impact on cities, and on the future, because its role will intensify. This lifestyle has requirements and needs, domestic and urban elements. The real estate market has experienced a radical transformation: a proliferation of residential areas oriented to leisure and the chance to live away from the city, for active retired or through new forms of work related to the Internet. Due to its new landscape, the traditional image of farming has become an urban carpet with plots designed for living, working, producing food and having fun. This situation has created a great demand for second homes, hotels and houses for rent in recreational areas.

The book *Costa Iberica: Upbeat to the Leisure City* offers a parallel temporal perspective in its exploration of the linear leisure urbanism of the Spanish coast in general, and the Costa Blanca’s Benidorm in particular. “The conglomerates of hotels, restaurants and leisure facilities have transformed the contours coast of the Iberian Peninsula in a long,

compact city based almost exclusively on tourism. [...] In spring, a large number of retirees fleeing the cold and prejudicial climate of their home countries; in summer, it hosts the largest concentration of young people around the world in most contemporary disco party; in autumn it becomes the resting place of the Spaniards themselves; and in the winter months it seems a "ghost town". This city is, in consequence, extremely mono-cultural in any season."[86].

Most of the urban interpretations of the Costa del Sol, including that of MVRDV, have largely underplayed the spatial understanding of the coexistence of the various users occupying the territory, where lectures and descriptions have not gradations between temporary permanent, local and foreign, and young and old.

While the existing literature describes the urban phenomenon of the Costa del Sol largely in terms of a time-sharing logic between four main groups – indigenous, residents, tourists, and retirement migrants - this section will foreground the organization of the various constituents according to the coexistence of three dominant ecologies. Consisting of historical towns, tourist resorts, and *urbanizaciones*, this arrangement registers a historical and programmatic transformation of the coast from the latter half of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first. Dominated by foreign and active retirement migrants, the *urbanizaciones* have emerged as the dominant ecology in spatial and territorial terms. Filling in the accessible territory between the historical fishing villages and tourist resorts, several hundred residential *urbanizaciones* have formed what appears to be near-continuous linear carpet of urbanity stretching along more than 150 kilometres of the coast, roughly between the settlements of Estepona and Nerja. This exurban system supports a considerable population of retirees through a vast leisure infrastructure, mark of the mutated leisure typology: from temporary leisure towards full-time leisure use. The *urbanizaciones* themselves represent a form of hybrid urbanity lodged in the space between the vacation resort and the American gated community, and between the Andalusian pueblo and the colonial outpost. A fragmented scenario with isolated entities distinct from much of their surroundings both in organizational and sociocultural terms.

The distinct linearity of the overall organization of the Costa del Sol is function of the importance of the geographical features in defining its development, coastline with beaches and mountains rear edge, and the corresponding arrangement of its infrastructure, with dominance of highways and roads. According to Simpson (2015) this linear infrastructure system "while appearing at first aerial glance as a continuous urban fabric, the texture along the coast consists of multiple fragments of contrasting geopolitical makeup that may be ascribed to three dominant coexisting urban ecologies: the historical town; hotel complexes and tourist resorts; and urbanizaciones." (Figure 4).

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[86] Winy Maas and MVRDV, *Costa Iberica. Upbeat to the Leisure City*, Barcelona, Actar, 2000, pp. 72-73.

In particular Simpson describes the traditional towns as the first ecology: “generally dominated by permanent Spanish residents and transformed radically in the late twentieth century as a result of adaptation to the irresistible pressures for change in functions and in the social character”. This change happened to towns with quite particular characteristics, such as Torremolinos, Fuengirola, Estepona, Nerja, and in the larger settlement of Málaga and Marbella.

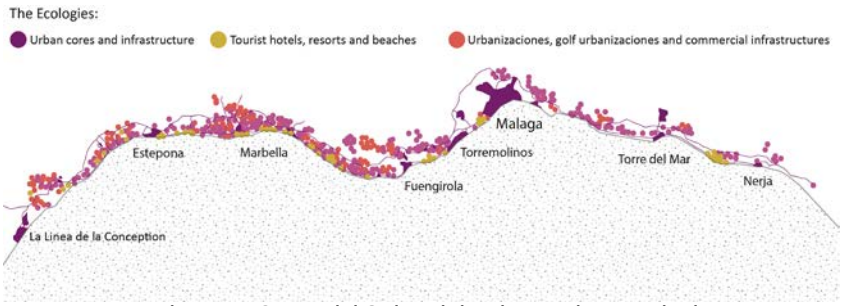

Figure 4. Costa del Sol and the three urban ecologies

The second ecology is represented by resorts and hotels, grown rapidly between the 1960s and 1980s, and are still occupied by foreign tourists and temporary basis. These firsts developments are located along the coast, next to the historical towns, but with the years they have spread to more distant waterfront locations or to inland areas where new golf courses have been built. Hotels and resorts form the morphological structure of the Costa del Sol and generate the third ecology: the *urbanizaciones*. Indeed, this third typology is located between the first two ecologies, filling all the available space and taking advantage of the existing infrastructures. The *urbanizaciones* are occupied predominantly by international retirees or other international “resident tourist”. According to Huber (2012) *urbanizaciones* are “fully planned and structured settlements of various sizes that lie outside the historical boundaries of towns and villages. They are often initiated by a single ‘promoter’, who buys a large area of land, which he transforms into building land by a series of legal procedures. This transformation allows the investor to implement the necessary infrastructure later and to ‘urbanize’ the land in order to sell the building plots or build on them itself.”

Huber characterizes these urbanizations as “ex-urban, in the sense that they may well be located near a town or village, but do not really form a part of it. They cannot be compared with any form or traditional settlement”. The proliferation of *urbanizaciones* across the territory as a whole has not been a highly coordinated or controlled activity but rather largely spontaneous and opportunistic, and has been, to varying degrees, linked to the specific local culture of development corruption.
The *urbanizaciones* are delimited by a perimeter and they are organized around the topic of leisure, in particular shared facilities such as swimming pools, golf courses, garden areas, and tennis courts.

The stylish resort of Estrella de Mar is a perfect scenario for James Ballard's "new monsters" and for the detective setting of "Cocaine Nights" : a leisure-driven paradise whose ageing occupants divide their time between tennis, amateur dramatics and adultery, while their money makes money elsewhere. The Costa del Sol is described as place where "the unreality overflows on all sides"; where the towns appear as "dispersed settlement for swimming pools and golf courses", and the architectures bring elements that appear to "come from the sale of decorations of a hotel in Las Vegas"[87].

Within the context of vacation resorts, the aesthetic qualities of the local situation, in terms of architectural and landscape expression in particular, are most commonly realized as an appliqué to an internationally standardized "substructure". The expansion of such an approach to lifestyle products for retirement migration has seen the increasing application of theming techniques from the entertainment-industrial complex to the architecture and landscape design to *urbanizaciones*. This theming can be described both morphological and social with standardized housing and landscape design and with the homogeneity of the inhabitants.
In architectural terms, one particular "stylistic" form dominates: a set of representational devices that have become known in local real estate parlance as Pueblo Mediterraneo or "Mediterranean Village" style (Simpson, 2015), characterized as relatively dense assemblages of two- to four-story-tall dwelling complexes with clay tile roofs and walls of white, beige, or earth-toned stucco (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Urbanización Puerto de Estepona

According to Dean MacCannel's theory of staged authenticity common to the space of tourism: "the house cannot be any old house, but must conform to their picture of Spanish house." As the social

[87] James Graham Ballard, *Cocaine nights*, London, Flamingo, 1996, p. 13.

geographer Andreas Huber says this “authentic” and exotic style is “based on maintaining a tension between making the exotic familiar, while keeping the exotic *exotic”*. For the international retirement the architecture is made familiar through facilities and infrastructure, producing a retired lifestyle equivalent to that of their country of origin. This set generates a standardized landscape, where the private social space of the *urbanizaciones* functions with more liveliness and variety than the former “centers” of the public city.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The case studies presented offer the possibility to compare two different spatial outcomes, in manner and time, facing the ageing.
In the Costa del Sol, the organized provision of collective facilities, social clubs, and leisure activities define a clear parallel to the American gated community. In both cases, leisure plays a central role in the definition of the urban morphology, becoming an instrument of connection and sharing. While Sun City is a planned settlement, designed to accommodate a community of elders, the Costa del Sol undergoes a phenomenon of filling, several non-planned urbanisations that overlay the existing fabric. These two case studies do not produce classical forms of public but rather, as José Maria Romero has suggested, a type of social space dominated by private social space over public social space.

A substantial difference between the two exists in the practices that led to their creation; the American census-designated place came from a top-down strategy, where the developer – Del Webb – built a new community for older Americans based on sun and fun. On the contrary, the land consumption in the Spanish case results from a bottom-up strategies, where a large number of active retired from all over Europe decided to build their houses near the sea, next to the existing towns and using the infrastructure of existing services. Another important factor in their settlement lies in the absence of rules or policies on the management of the phenomenon, and indeed, in some areas international retirement migration is encouraged.

In continuing the analysis it is important to introduce another theme: the social fabric, that is the network formed by the inhabitants and the economies generated. Both are distinguished by the retirement migration but with distinctions: while in Spain the wealthy elders from northern Europe try to cohabit with the local population, in Arizona the senior citizens live with their peers. In the latter situation the whole community has the same goals, dreams and lifestyle, creating a new market not only based on leisure but also totally oriented for the elders.
From this evaluation a superficial layer of homogeneity that distinguishes these places emerges, not only in the use but also in the typologies. In fact, the architecture taken into consideration is based on housing stereotypes relatable to a catalogue of uniform solutions, determined by a certain lifestyle. Housing and public spaces appear as imposed, pale imitations of an individualistic and exotic imaginary. Within this scenario a

series of devices related to architecture of leisure emerge, which, however, function as separation (walls, gates, and fences). The space of the community becomes the space of exclusion; both Sun City and Costa del Sol tell about an isolation sought by the residents. This choice of exclusion and exclusivity is made towards the rest of the population – that remains far and away – but also internally, between all the inhabitants.

Due to this the active ageing, from the social point of view and from the forms that generates, it appears as a homogenous and closed landscape.

Although the two case studies only show a small part of the phenomenon of urban ageing, indeed Sun City and the Costa del Sol represent design examples, more or less conscious, that work on the needs of the elders, providing an answer both in spatial terms and urban policies.

At this point it is useful to recover the words of Lewis Mumford (1956) about older people: “the worst possible attitude towards old age is to regard the age as a segregated group, who are to be removed, at a fixed point of their life course, from the presence of their families, their neighbours, and their friends, from their familiar quarters and their familiar neighbourhoods, from their normal interests and responsibilities, to live in desolate idleness, relieved only by the presence of others in a similar plight. Let us ask rather by what means we can restore to the aged the love and respect that they once enjoyed the three-generation family at its best.” In these premonitory speech an inclusive attitude is proposed: “not segregation but integration”, facing the age-related crisis that lasted for decades.

Nowadays it is clear that ageing has profound consequences on a broad range of economic, political and social processes. Furthermore the sociodemographic transformation has in most recent times been largely interpreted in terms of two forms of crisis. The first, being a future crisis of dependency both for economic and health reasons, the second as a crisis of programming of architectural and urban setting previously for society dominated by the young for those increasingly dominated by the old.

Within this scenario and during this period of transition, which lasted for decades, it emerges the need of programs and policies directed to the elders in order to face the demographic phenomenon.

As stated, previous research and projects focused on areas designed exclusively for seniors, and not on the entire city, on its overall operation and on the community that lives there. By contrast the common landscapes where most of the population lives - the daily city - were not studied, analysed and debated. These are places that changed a lot over time, in forms and uses, becoming in many cases contexts of shrinkage and exclusion.

Similarly, this situation points out the absence of the project, not only intended as design solutions in conceiving a good habitat, but first and

foremost the requirement for a framework within which to act, achievable only through a careful analysis of the context, stressing shortcomings, needs and edges that define it (political, economic and social). The goal of this study is not to draw a guide of the age-friendly city, neither an abacus of possible design solutions or neither a list of best practices and, in fact, all strategies should remain as background. It is an action that needs to provide operational criteria, every time different and adapted to the contest.

The purpose is to normalize the old age, restoring the old to the community. What the aged need is activities: not just hobbies, but the normal participation in the activities of a mixed community. According to Mumford (1956) the intent is "to re-build the ideal scheme" in order to "challenge the whole theory of segregation based on zoning ordinances of function and social groups", by "providing an environment in which the aged are more independent. […] There is no easy shortcut to improve care of the aged: to do well by them, we must give a new direction to the life of the whole community. If we fail here, we shall, in prolonging life, only prolong the possibilities of alienation, futility, and misery."

In conclusion, this approach does not include universal practices or conforming process, but the singularity of the project for which it can assess and provide land for the action on the city, an act inclusive for all its inhabitants and proactive against the contemporary demographic change.

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