PUBLIC SPACE

Editorial

Since ancient times, urban public spaces have played a key role in contributing and providing qualities of daily urban life in physical, social, economic and ecological terms. As a manner of public good these spaces have contributed to the physical identity of a city, enabling civic interaction and integration, facilitating social and economic exchange, and making for a healthier urban environment. Today this classical vision of the urban public sphere is regularly questioned, both in the cities of the developing countries and in the developed world. New cityscapes, uncontrolled densification and growing informality, gentrification enclaves and privatisation of former public domains, rationalisation of planning and management processes, conflicts of uses, segregation and exclusion, new control and security devices, as well as mediatisation and virtualisation, are just some of the matters which are highly influential on the contemporary urban public realm.

How can, in this situation, the urban public realm become reaffirmed as a key ingredient of sustainable and equitable urban development? How can such a concept possibly play a role in a shift of ideals from wealth to quality of life, and how can it be mainstreamed? How is the present-day urban public sphere different from the traditional European model? In the conference "Public Sphere and Quality of Live in Emerging Cities" organised in November 2011 by TRIALOG in cooperation with the Master Program "Urban Agglomerations" at Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, researchers, practitioners and development experts re-evaluated the role of the public urban sphere in the context of international urbanisation and presented experiences from Mexico City, Seoul, Cairo, Cape Town, Istanbul, and other cities. A selection of these contributions makes up the core of this issue of TRIALOG.

In the article from Mexico City, **Eckhart Ribbeck** illustrates the lack of a coherent system of public spaces in one of the largest megacities of the South. Being divided in a rich western and a poor eastern part, public spaces precisely reflect a spatially fragmented and socially segregated city. Only the central metropolitan area with its historical core is a transitional place where traffic flows and different population groups briefly meet and interact.

Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt has been in the focus of public attention since the beginning of the Arab Spring. The city up until this point had been marked by a clear absence of public realm or venues that accommodate all community members. During the 2011 and 2012 protests, as **Sahar Attia** points out, Tahrir Square transformed into a wide public platform for discussion, resistance, and political confrontation, with a variety of uses, new spatial typologies, and a vibrant appropriation by all groups of society. Today the question remains open about how this space could be developed in the future as a community-led place and symbol for a new urban hope in Cairo.

In Seoul, South Korea the meaning and use of public space changed significantly over the last 100 years. **Annette Erpenstein** describes the recent redevelopment of the Cheonggyecheon river as part of a larger shift in the perception of public space. The removal of a four-lane freeway that had buried the river since the 1970s provides citizens with an attractive public space, marking a change from purely car-oriented development to a sustainable, more human-friendly urban realm.

Also important is the way the creation and management of public spaces can generate opportunities to produce citizenship. By looking at examples from different cities in Mexico, **Regina Orvañanos Murguía** illustrates how civil society is actively involved in the reconfiguration of urban space and how many small activities transform the urban condition through an approach of everyday urbanism.

The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme, which was first implemented in the Khayelitsha township in Cape Town, South Africa, is an example of an integrated neighbourhood transformation to improve not only personal safety and security, but public space, public infrastructure and life in general. **Michael Krause** describes in detail the background, objectives, methodologies and partners of an approach that recently has received wide international recognition.

As a result of a German-Indian planning studio based in the outskirts of Hyderabad, **Peter Gotsch** and **Radostina Radulova** present the IDEAN principles as ingredients for the development of sustainable and resilient neighbourhoods. Seven pillars and 33 core principles were developed to guide and facilitate the planning, implementation and management of integrated, inclusive and equitable urban sectors and neighbourhoods.

Istanbul, Turkey is transforming rapidly, becoming a global point of attraction not only for people, but also for financial capital. **Yasar Adnan Adanali** briefly describes the overall strategies at work, concentrating on the role of city branding and urban mega projects, while focusing on the Taksim Project, an emblematic intervention on one of the city's most prominent public spaces.

Summing up, the different presentations and experiences from various cities and contexts worldwide bring to the fore a wide range of research topics and interdisciplinary fields of action relevant for the future development of sustainable urban spaces. This type of development is important for the wellbeing of individuals as well as social communities and society as a whole, including manifold issues that are well beyond the purely physical structures: security, participation, the role of new actors, public management and quality of life indicators.

Peter Gotsch and Michael Peterek

Public Space

Volume Editors: Peter Gotsch and Michael Peterek

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Knapp, umstritten, segregiert:
der öffentliche Raum in Südmetropolen und Megastädten

Eckhart Ribbeck

Scarce, contested, segregated: Public Space in Megacities

Since Greek and Roman times, public spaces in European cities play a crucial role. This has historical, cultural and economic reasons that are deeply rooted in the urban civil society. The generally good quality, safety and accessibility of public spaces in European cities are based on these roots. Because of the different urban history, social and economic conditions, public urban spaces look much different in Southern megacities. Mexico City is a striking example for this, as there is no coherent system of public spaces with acceptable standards and accessible to everyone. The city is divided into a rich western and a poor eastern part and public spaces are exactly reflecting the spatially fragmented and socially segregated city. Only the metropolitan core area with the historic centre is a transitory place, where traffic flows and different population groups briefly meet and interact.

Der Begriff „public sphere" reicht weit über den materiellen „öffentlichen Raum" hinaus. Für die Sozial- und Politikwissenschaften sind auch Massenmedien und Internet öffentliche Räume und für Habermas ist „Öffentlichkeit" überall dort, wo ein „herrschaftsfreier Diskurs" über politische und gesellschaftliche Themen geführt wird, sei dies in den Medien, auf Stadtplätzen, in Kaffeehäusern oder im Wohnzimmer. Einen „herrschaftsfreien Raum" gibt es in der Realität aber kaum, jeder virtuelle oder konkrete Raum ist mit Interessen besetzt und kann entsprechend manipuliert oder kontrolliert werden. Dies gilt nicht nur für Massenmedien und Internet, sondern auch für den städtischen Raum.

Die „europäische Stadt" definiert sich weitgehend über den öffentlichen Stadtraum. Dies beginnt schon in der Antike mit der Agora und dem Forum und setzt sich mit den mittelalterlichen Marktplätzen fort („Stadtluft macht frei"). In der Renaissance und im Barock wird der öffentliche Raum zum Herrschaftsinstrument, wie die strenge

Bild 1: Hauptplatz Zócalo mit Regierungspalast

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Geometrie der Stadtachsen zeigt, die nicht mehr auf den Marktplatz und die Kirche, sondern auf den Herrschaftssitz ausgerichtet sind. Im 19. Jahrhundert überrollen die Industrialisierung und die rasche Verstädterung die historisch überkommenen Stadträume. Es entstehen funktionale Straßennetze, Industriegebiete und Arbeiterquartiere einerseits, repräsentative Boulevards, Stadtplätze und Villengebiete andererseits und damit das Grundgerüst der modernen Großstadt, wie sie u.a. Georg Simmel und Walter Benjamin beschrieben. Während Simmel eher die negativen Seiten des anonymen Großstadtlebens beleuchtete, schuf Benjamin mit dem „Flaneur" eine weltoffene, moderne Großstadtfigur, die bis heute in den Köpfen der Stadtplaner fortlebt.

Die katastrophalen Zerstörungen im 2. Weltkrieg unterbrachen die „organische" Transformation der traditionellen in eine moderne Stadt. Der Wiederaufbau erforderte schnelle und pragmatische Konzepte, die aufgrund der ideologischen Ost-West-Konfrontation aber nicht identisch sein durften. Stalinallee und Hansaviertel, „Paläste für das Volk" und internationaler Stil markierten in den 1950/60-iger Jahren die städtebaulichen Positionen und damit auch die öffentlichen Räume. Zehn Jahre später kehrten sich die Positionen aber um: Im Osten gab es nun „die Platte", d.h. einen extrem funktionalistischen Massenwohnungsbau, während im Westen die Kritik an der „Unwirtlichkeit" der Moderne die Erneuerung der Altstädte und eine Rückbesinnung auf die „europäische Stadt" in Gang setzte.

Die Sehnsucht nach der historischen Stadt hält bis heute an, wird aber in einer hoch entwickelten (post-)industriellen Gesellschaft von vielen konträren Tendenzen überlagert. Hierzu gehören u.a. die Mobilität und der Verkehrsdruck, die Kapitalkonzentration in Gestalt großer Einkaufszentren und internationaler Ladenketten sowie die Verlagerung urbaner Aktivitäten in die virtuellen Räume des Internet. Dies alles hat die traditionelle Kleinteiligkeit und Nutzungsmischung der europäischen

Stadt bereits erheblich reduziert und insgesamt ein breites Spektrum an öffentlichen Räumen hervorgebracht: idyllische Altstadt-Plätze und Gassen, gepflegte Stadtparks und Boulevards, überall ähnliche Fußgängerzonen, überlastete Verkehrsplätze, Stadtautobahnen, gestaltlose Stadtbrachen und Peripherien.

Dennoch zeigt jeder Vergleich mit den Südmetropolen und Megastädten, dass die öffentlichen Räume deutscher Städte außerordentlich sicher, komfortabel und zugänglich sind. Dafür sorgt auch ein boomender Städte-Tourismus, der zur wichtigsten Einkommensquelle vieler Städte geworden ist. Natürlich gibt es auch unattraktive und vernachlässigte öffentliche Räume, aber regelrechte *no go areas*, die man wegen krasser Armut und Unsicherheit unbedingt meiden sollte, findet man in deutschen Städten kaum.

Diese positive Bilanz ist das Ergebnis einer Stadtplanung, die sich um eine hohe Qualität der öffentlichen Räume bemüht, was aber ohne den besonderen historischen, kulturellen und strukturellen „Unterbau" kaum funktionieren würde:

- Die Geschichte der europäischen Stadt ist im kollektiven Bewusstsein tief verankert und es gibt eine aufgeklärte Bürgerschaft und Stadtverwaltung, die den öffentlichen Raum als wichtiges Erbe der europäischen Stadt pflegt und verteidigt.

- Das Bevölkerungswachstum stagniert und die Wirtschaft wächst moderat, was den Wachstums- und Veränderungsdruck erheblich reduziert und eine intensive Bestandspflege möglich macht.

- Die Aneignung und Nutzung des öffentlichen Raums wird von einer dominierenden Mittelschicht-Gesellschaft bestimmt und weniger von krassen Klassen- und Einkommensunterschieden wie in vielen anderen Ländern.

- In den Städten findet man ausdifferenzierte Lebensstile, wobei Moderne und Tradition sich nicht kontrovers gegenüber stehen, sondern sich vielfach durchdringen und überlagern, was die städtische Attraktivität nach innen und außen steigert.

Südmetropolen und Megastädte

In vielen Südmetropolen und Megastädten ist dieser „Unterbau" kaum oder gar nicht vorhanden. Deshalb hat die Stadtplanung nur geringe Chancen, die Qualität der öffentlichen Räume grundlegend und flächendeckend zu verbessern. Bevölkerungs- und Verkehrsdruck, städtische Armut und schwache Institutionen führen in der Regel dazu, dass der öffentliche Raum knapp und überlastet, sozial segregiert und räumlich fragmentiert ist. Zumindest in den armen Südmetropolen sind die öffentlichen Räume vor allem Verkehrs- und Überlebensräume, wo improvisierte Straßenmärkte und städtische Nischen aller Art Millionen von Menschen ein prekäres Einkommen und Obdach geben. Diese Städte sind – ökonomisch und kulturell gesehen – keine „Bürgerstädte", und so sucht man auch bürgerliche öffentliche Räume, wie wir sie in Europa kennen, in weiten Bereichen der Stadt vergebens.

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Bild 2: Stadtautobahn Periférico mit den Turm-Skulpturen von Luis Barragán

Natürlich sind auch nicht-europäische Stadträume attraktiv und lebendig – womöglich lebendiger als in den alternden Gesellschaften Europas. Auch gibt es in vielen armen Städten reiche Stadtinseln, wo man luxuriöser lebt als in gutbürgerlichen Vierteln Deutschlands. Auch hat sich in den boomenden Südmetropolen Asiens – z.B. in Dubai, Shanghai, Singapur – das Design und damit auch der Charakter öffentlicher Räume schon weit von der europäischen Tradition entfernt, wie die extreme Dichte der neuen Raumstrukturen zeigt.

Niemand wird fordern, die besondere Charakteristik der „europäischen Stadt" in aller Welt zu verbreiten, auch wenn sich diese oft als ein erstrebenswertes und zukunftsfähiges Modell versteht. Um die Probleme und Potentiale des öffentlichen Raums in nicht-europäischen Städten zu erkennen, ist es dennoch angebracht, nach dem o.g. „Unterbau" zu fragen, also den besonderen historischen, kulturellen und ökonomischen Bedingungen, die die Ausprägung öffentlicher Räume in den Städten fördern oder hemmen:

- Besitzt die Stadt eine starke Tradition öffentlicher Räume und ist diese in der Stadtkultur dauerhaft präsent?

- Lässt der Bevölkerungs- und Wachstumsdruck eine geordnete städtebauliche Entwicklung überhaupt zu und damit auch eine gezielte Gestaltung und Pflege der öffentlichen Räume?

- Gibt es einen Konsens in der Bevölkerung, welche öffentlichen Räume die Stadt braucht und wer diese nutzen soll?

- Haben die traditionellen und modernen Stadträume einen gleichwertigen Status und ergänzende Funktionen, oder wird die historische Stadt zunehmend vernachlässigt und durch moderne Entwicklungen verdrängt?

Bild 3: Der Alameda-Park als populärer Erholungsraum für Peripherie-Bewohner

Mexiko-Stadt

Eine literarische Annäherung würde die Vielfalt und Atmosphäre öffentlicher Räume in großen Städten sicherlich differenzierter beschreiben als eine „trockene" städtebauliche Analyse. Dies gilt insbesondere für Mexiko-Stadt, wo viele Orte eine vielschichtige Bedeutung haben, die bis in vorspanische Zeiten reicht.

Zunächst erscheint es sinnvoll, zwischen der „reichen" und der „armen" Stadt zu unterscheiden. In der westlichen Stadthälfte findet man privilegierte Villen- und Apartment-Viertel, zunehmend in der Gestalt von *gated communities*. Ebenso konzentrieren sich dort Museen, Universitäten, Privatschulen, Shopping Malls und Freizeit-Clubs. Im Osten dominieren ärmliche Mietsquartiere, sozialer Wohnungsbau und informelle *colonias popu-*

lares. Im Osten der Stand sind die öffentlichen Räume vor allem Verkehrsräume und eine latente Unsicherheit macht viele Stadtzonen zu *no go areas* für die Mittel- und Oberschicht.

Das *Centro*, zu dem die historische Altstadt und die Stadterweiterungen des 19. Jahrhunderts gehören, stellt das Verbindungsglied zwischen der reichen und der armen Stadthälfte dar. Dort befinden sich viele öffentliche Einrichtungen, staatliche Institutionen und vor allem Arbeitsplätze, was einen enormen Massen- und Verkehrsdruck erzeugt. Darüber hinaus sind das *Centro* und die gesamte Kernstadt eine gigantische Drehscheibe für den Megastadt-Verkehr und die wichtigste Kontakt- und Konfliktzone zwischen der armen und der reichen Stadt.

Das Zentrum

Im *Centro* findet man die historischen Orte und Monumente, die im kollektiven Gedächtnis bis heute das Stadtbild prägen. Dies sind vor allem der Hauptplatz *Zócalo*, der zentrale Stadtpark *Alameda* und die repäsentative Stadtachse *Paseo de la Reforma*. Aufgrund der historischen Bedeutung und staatstragenden Symbolik ist der Hauptplatz *Zócalo* der wichtigste öffentliche Raum, weil sich hier viele nationale Monumente befinden, u.a. die Ruinen der Azteken-Metropole Tenochtilán, die Kathedrale und der Regierungspalast. Mit diesem Platz identifiziert sich die gesamte Stadtbevölkerung, auch wenn die Mittel- und Oberschicht hier nur noch an nationalen Feiertagen und Open Air-Konzerten anzutreffen ist.

Trotz der herausragenden Stellung dieses Platzes ist die Lage der umgebenden Altstadt prekär und im Alltag ist der *Zócalo* ein überlasteter Verkehrs- und Durchgangsraum, ein Tourismus-Ziel, ein informeller Markt und ein Ort permanenter politischer Demonstrationen. Die

Bild 4: Metrostation mit Busbahnhof

gehobenen Schichten sind schon vor Jahrzehnten abgewandert und die überwiegend einkommensschwache Wohnbevölkerung schrumpft. Viele Häuser stehen leer, ganze Straßenzüge sind desolat und die slumähnlichen Hinterhöfe oder *vecindades* sind ein Refugium für rund 50.000 arme Stadtbewohner.

Andererseits hat das Gebiet zwischen *Alameda* und *Zócalo* als „touristischer Korridor" seit den 1990-iger Jahren eine deutliche Aufwertung erfahren. Einige Tausend informelle Straßenhändler mussten bereits weichen und zunehmend werden immer größere Altstadtbereiche von der Stadterneuerung und der Immobilienspekulation erfasst, was auch viele Hinterhof-Bewohner in Bedrängnis bringt.

Der Zusammenprall von „volksnahen" Nutzungen und Gentrifizierung ist an der *Alameda* besonders deutlich. Dieser Stadtpark ist nahezu die einzige „grüne Insel" im Kern der Metropole und am Wochenende Ziel großer Menschenmassen, die mit der Metro aus den armen Vorstädten kommen, um hier einige freie Stunden zu verbringen. Die *Alameda* verwandelt sich dann in einen dicht mit informellen Verkaufsständen und Unterhaltungskünstlern besetzten „Volkspark".

Der westliche Parkrand hingegen hat sich in eine dynamische Aufwertungszone verwandelt. Nach jahrzehntelanger Abwesenheit hat das Immobilienkapital das Zentrum neu entdeckt, was erhebliche Auswirkungen auf die öffentlichen Räume, deren Aktivitäten und Nutzergruppen hat. Luxus-Hotels und teure Apartment-Blocks, das neue Außenministerium und Edel-Kaufhäuser bilden eine elitäre Gebäudefront, die völlig andere Nutzer anzieht als die Aktivitäten im Park gegenüber. Noch ist es unklar, wie sich diese ungleiche Nachbarschaft in der ansonsten hochgradig segregierten Stadt langfristig entwickeln wird:

als indifferentes Nebeneinander von arm und reich, als tolerante Symbiose von Ober- und Unterschicht oder als offener Konflikt, wenn die „Gentrifizierung" auf den gesamten Park und sein Umfeld übergreift.

Stadtachsen, Boulevards, Metro

Der *Paseo de la Reforma*, um 1900 nach Pariser Vorbild entstanden, ist ein repräsentativer Boulevard, der das offizielle Stadtbild ebenso prägt wie der *Zócalo* und die *Alameda*. Dieser historische Boulevard ist heute auch ein linearer *central business district* und eine überlastete Verkehrsachse, die auch für Großveranstaltungen und patriotische Aufmärsche benutzt wird. An Sonn- und Feiertagen ist der Boulevard einige Stunden für den Verkehr gesperrt und verwandelt sich in eine riesige Freizeit- und Sportzone. Diese einfache Maßnahme hat Vorgänger in Rio de Janeiro und Bogotá und zeigt, wie in überlasteten Megastädten durch Nutzungsflexibilität der großen Verkehrsräume das knappe Angebot an Erholungs- und Sportflächen zumindest temporär erhöht werden kann.

Die *Avenida de los Insurgentes* durchläuft die reiche Stadthälfte von Nord nach Süd und ist berüchtigt für häufige Mega-Staus. Verantwortlich für den ausufernden Individualverkehr, der mehr als zwei Drittel der gesamten Straßenfläche besetzt, ist die übermotorisierte Mittel- und Oberschicht, die nur etwa ein Drittel der Gesamtbevölkerung umfasst. Man versucht das Problem durch Programme wie *un día sin auto* zu lösen, ebenso durch neue Schnellbus-Linien nach dem Modell *Transmilenio* in Bogotá und durch private Hochstraßen, die aber nur den zahlungskräftigen Autobesitzern zugute kommen.

Das bevorzugte Verkehrsmittel der Massen ist die Metro, die mit ihrem 200-km-Netz rund 6 Millionen Passagiere am Tag befördert und damit das beste öffentliche Ver-

World City Centre Santa Fé

Mit *Santa Fé* ist ein internationales Geschäftszentrum an der westlichen Peripherie entstanden, ein *gated business district*, der mit öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln nur schwer erreichbar ist. Um einen kommerziellen Kern aus Bürogebäuden, Einkaufszentren und Privatuniversitäten breiten sich zahlreiche exklusive Apartment- und Villenviertel aus – *gated communities*, in denen sich die Mittel- und Oberschicht der Metropole zunehmend verbarrikadiert. Von den Arbeitspendlern abgesehen, die täglich viele Stunden im Verkehrsstau verbringen, führt *Santa Fé* ein privilegiertes Eigenleben. Kindergärten, Schulen, Universitäten, Freizeit- und Sport-Clubs, auch viele Straßen, Grün- und Freiflächen sind privatisiert und damit dem allgemeinen Publikum entzogen.

Die Mittelschicht flüchtet aus der überfüllten Metropole, weil sie Sicherheit, Status und naturnahes Wohnen sucht und hinterlässt damit ein Vakuum in der „alten" Stadt, die nun – von vielen bürgerlichen Aktivitäten entleert – zunehmend unwirtlich und unsicher wird. Gleichzeitig werden die großen Einkaufszentren oder *plazas comerciales* zum „Stadtersatz" für die einkommensstarken Schichten, sichere und komfortable Oasen im urbanen Chaos und Bühne für viele urbane Aktivitäten, die sich früher auf Stadtplätzen und Boulevards vollzogen. Die gehobenen Schichten bewegen sich kaum mehr im komplexen Geflecht der gewachsenen Stadt, die zunehmend als fremd und bedrohlich empfunden wird, sondern beschränken sich auf eine reduzierte Zahl von *protected environments*: die *gated community*, in der man lebt, die Privatschulen, in die man die Kinder täglich bringt, das bevorzugte Einkaufszentrum und der private Freizeit-Club. Oft führt nur noch der Weg zur Arbeit in die „alte" Stadt, was aber kaum noch zu alltäglichen Kontakten führt.

kehrssystem in Lateinamerika ist. Die wichtigen Umsteige- und Endstationen sind gigantische Megastrukturen, Anlaufstellen für einige Tausend Kleinbusse und Standorte für riesige informelle Märkte. Die Metro sichert die urbane Mobilität der einkommensschwachen Stadtbevölkerung und trägt entscheidend dazu bei, dass der Megastadt-Verkehr nicht täglich kollabiert.

Straßenmärkte

Die Straßenmärkte sind die *shopping mall* der einkommensschwachen Bevölkerung. Riesige informelle Märkte findet man in der historischen Altstadt, neben großen Metro-Stationen und auf stark frequentierten öffentlichen Flächen. Ganze Quartiere sind für den normalen Verkehr blockiert, Wohnnutzungen und „formelle" Läden verschwinden, die Häuser verkommen und werden als Lagerraum genutzt. Die Kontrolle oder Verlagerung der informellen Märkte an andere Orte ist schwierig und politisch brisant, weil es um einige Hunderttausend Menschen geht, die als Straßenhändler ihre Familien ernähren. Deshalb stehen die Lokalpolitiker und Stadtplaner diesem Massenphänomen meist ratlos gegenüber, auch wenn es immer wieder Bemühungen gibt, die Straßenhändler in geplante *mercados populares* oder „Volksmärkte" umzusiedeln.

Informelle Siedlungen und öffentlicher Wohnungsbau

Das Gegenstück zu den privilegierten Wohninseln der *gated communities* sind die *colonias populares*, die informellen oder informell entstandenen Selbstbau-Siedlungen, die vor allem an der östlichen Peripherie riesige Ausmaße annehmen. In den jüngeren Siedlungsgebieten findet man unfertige Häuser, ungepflasterte Straßen und eine defizitäre Versorgung, nutzbare öffentliche Räume gibt es praktisch nicht. Die informellen Siedlungen unterliegen einem mühsamen Konsolidierungsprozess, so dass es neben jungen und extrem unterversorgten Selbstbau-Siedlungen auch viele halb- oder sogar gut konsolidierte *colonias populares* gibt. Für alle gilt jedoch, dass das Gründungsdefizit an nutzbaren öffentlichen Flächen und Räumen kaum mehr korrigiert werden kann. Hinzu kommt das Problem, dass auch relativ gut konsolidierte Selbstbaugebiete – wie z.B. *Nezahualcoyótl* im Südosten der Metropole – als gefährliche Armutsgebiete und *no go areas* gelten, was soziale Aufsteiger veranlasst, in formelle Stadtgebiete umzuziehen. Dies ist ein ständiger Verlust an sozialem und materiellem Potential, was viele informelle Quartiere auf Dauer stagnieren lässt.

Im Zuge einer neo-liberalen Wohnungspolitik bietet die Regierung günstige Kredite an, um damit ein kleines Reihenhaus in einer Stadtrandsiedlung zu erwerben, die in großer Zahl von privaten Bauunternehmen errichtet werden. Dies hat das informelle Bauen etwas zurückgedrängt, weil nun zumindest die untere Mittelschicht (oder obere Unterschicht) eine Wohnalternative hat. Die Ausstattung mit sozialen Einrichtungen und Freiräumen ist in diesen Siedlungen in der Regel vorhanden, geht aber kaum über eine minimale Grundversorgung hinaus. Auf niedrigem Niveau reproduzieren die großen *low cost housing*-Projekte das Modell der *gated communities*, indem sie sich ebenfalls durch Mauern und andere Sicherheitsmaßnahmen vom Umfeld abriegeln.

Schlussfolgerungen

In Mexiko-Stadt wie in vielen anderen Südmetropolen gibt es keine öffentlichen Räume, die durchgängig die ganze Stadt durchziehen und für jeden zugänglich sind. Charakteristisch sind vielmehr rigorose Trennlinien, Abschottung der sozialen Schichten und extrem unterschiedliche Raum- und Nutzungsqualitäten. Eine Ausnahme bildet die Kernstadt, die als Drehscheibe und Durchgangsraum für die Verkehrsströme auch Kontakt, Koexistenz- und Konfliktzone zwischen den Bevölkerungsgruppen ist. Hier treffen sehr unterschiedliche Baustrukturen aufeinander: historische Paläste und moderne Weltstadt-Architektur, soziale Rückzugsräume und touristische Attraktionen, Straßenmärkte und CBD, städtische Armut und Gentrifizierung... Entsprechend heterogen und ambivalent sind hier die öffentlichen Räume – kaum ein Quadratmeter, der nicht belegt, überlastet oder umstritten ist. Gleichzeitig hat diese metropolitane Gemengelage einen besonderen Reiz, weil es sowohl drastische Kontraste wie auch Ähnlichkeiten zu den Stadträumen Europas gibt.

In den öffentlichen Räumen der westlichen Stadt fehlt weitgehend die Armut, die den Osten der Metropole prägt. Auch Fußgängermassen gibt es kaum, dafür ist der Verkehrsdruck überall präsent. In den peripheren Zonen ist der öffentliche Zugang eingeschränkt oder fehlt ganz, weil die Versorgungseinrichtungen ebenso privatisiert sind wie die Wohnquartiere. Die Unzugänglichkeit der reichen Stadtgebiete wird dadurch verstärkt, dass es kaum öffentliche Verkehrsmittel gibt, was den vielen Hausangestellten, soweit sie nicht im Haus ihrer Arbeitgeber leben, erhebliche Probleme bereitet.

In den östlichen Unterschicht- und Selbstbau-Quartieren dient der öffentliche Raum weniger dem bürgerlichen Aufenthalt, sondern dem Verkehr und der elementaren Grundversorgung. Straßenhändler, improvisierte Werkstätten und Reparaturbetriebe besetzen den Straßenraum. Auch nimmt in den peripheren Gebieten die allgemeine Zugänglichkeit drastisch ab. Dies aber nicht wegen der exklusiven Selbst-Segregation der Mittel- und Oberschicht wie an der westlichen Peripherie, sondern wegen der Unsicherheit und Unwirtlichkeit des Stadtraums.

Wie andere Südmetropolen und Megastädte ist Mexiko-Stadt in einer schwierigen Lage: Einerseits will man mit der internationalen Städtekonkurrenz Schritt halten und zu einer prosperierenden Weltstadt aufsteigen, was eine rigorose Modernisierung und eine investorenfreundliche Stadtpolitik erfordert. Auf der anderen Seite verlangt die weit verbreitete städtische Armut eine umfangreiche Subventions- und *pro-poor-policy*. Die Stadt versucht mit einer Doppelstrategie, beiden Anforderungen gerecht zu werden, was aber die soziale Spaltung und die stadträumlichen Disparitäten in absehbarer Zeit kaum aufheben wird.

Vor diesem Hintergrund sind auch innovative Projekte, die sich um integrative Lösungen für den öffentlichen Raum bemühen, eher eine „urbane Akupunktur" und keine flächendeckende Lösung, wobei man in einer segregierten Gesellschaft immer fragen muss, welcher Bevölkerungsgruppe ein neues Projekt vor allem dient. Erst wenn sich die gegenwärtige Zwei-Klassen-Gesellschaft hin zu einer bürgerlichen Mehrheitsgesellschaft gewandelt hat, werden auch die krassen räumlichen Disparitäten verschwinden und die privilegierten und weniger privilegierten Stadtgebiete zu einer Stadt verschmelzen.

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Rethinking Public Space in Cairo:
The Appropriated Tahrir Square

Sahar Attia

Der Wiedergewinn des öffentlichen Raums in Kairo: die Aneignung des Tahrir-Platzes
In der Zeit vor der Revolution gab es in Kairo keine öffentlichen Räume, die gleichwertig allen Gruppen der Stadtgesellschaft gedient hätten. Die öffentlichen Räume waren vernachlässigt, segregiert teilweise auch privatisiert, wie zum Beispiel in weiten Bereichen entlang des Nilufers, beziehungsweise einseitig durch politische oder ökonomische Interessen bestimmt. Eine ganze andere Bedeutung und Funktion erhielt der Tahrir-Platz in der Tagen der Revolution. Durch die soziale Mobilisierung wurde der Platz, der zuvor ein bloßer Verkehrsknoten gewesen war, zu einer öffentlichen Bühne der Diskussion, des Protestes und des Widerstands der gesamten Kairoer Bevölkerung. Es entstand ein lebendiger Ort, von allen Schichten gleichermaßen in Anspruch genommen, durch soziale Verantwortung bestimmt (wie die kollektiven Säuberungsaktionen nach dem Sturz des vormaligen Präsidenten zeigen) und mit einer großen symbolischen Bedeutung. Mehr als ein Jahr später stellt sich die Frage, wie sich dieser Wiedergewinn des öffentlichen Raums fortführen lässt bzw. wem der Tahrir-Platz in Zukunft gehören soll. Denn zwischenzeitlich hat sich so etwas wie ein rechtsfreier Raum entwickelt, mit informellen Händlern an jeder Ecke, dauerhaften Zeltbewohnern in der Platzmitte, zum Teil auch chaotischen Zuständen und vereinzelt Sicherheitsproblemen. Die Zukunft des Tahrir-Platzes ist offen und damit auch die Diskussion darüber, wie dieser symbolträchtige Ort demokratisch weiterentwickelt werden kann.

Introduction

The concept of public spaces has been a topic of great discussion in spatial as well as in social disciplines, examining how places are successful in achieving a vibrant urban environment. Public spaces contribute to the general social and psychological wellbeing. They are inclusive spaces that all people are free to use without consent or justification, thus exercising their citizenship rights. The constant direct involvement of people in urban space is essential since people's values and attitudes in their societies change over time. This relationship between people and space sets the identity and image of the city, which can be lost if the relationship is corrupted. Public spaces therefore act as social outlets that enhance the general wellbeing of individuals, as well as the general wellbeing of collective society. It is therefore suggested that the lack of public spaces can threaten public welfare and social harmony within the urban realm.

The situation of public spaces, specifically in developing countries has been a major topic of debate, specifically in post-revolutionary cities that have experienced major transformations in the roles of public spaces on urban society, raising issues regarding the production of community public spaces and socio-spatial justice. As a citizen and a professional urbanist, I have always questioned the relationship between the Cairene citizen and the city, stressing on the issue that Cairo is marked by a clear absence of a public realm or venue that accommodates all members of the Cairene community. Cairo's public spaces represent contested spatial, social, and symbolic configurations that are a product of the growing multiplicity embedded in the urban fabric. In a debate on the production of public space, it is commonly asked: what involves the formation of successful people-scaled places? Does design foster this relationship or do society's initiatives create successful spaces? Who suffers from the loss of successful places? Only the urban poor, or all social classes?

Cairo's Tahrir Square (Fig. 1) is one major example of socio-spatial transformation, as it transformed from a physically led mode of development to a socially led typological process. The article will illustrate the changes in uses within the square following the political uprising, thus highlighting forces that shape the public space in Cairo.

The Production of Urban Space

The production of space is a complex process of spatial, as well as social configurations that evolve through time and in accordance to cultural patterns. Urban forms are not only made up of materials, volumes, colours and heights, they are also constructed through uses, flows, perceptions, mental associations, systems of representations whose significance changes with time, cultures, and social groups (Lynch, 1960, cited in Castells, 1983). However, it is commonly debated whether it is the design of public spaces, which invites human flourishing, or whether its success is dependent on people's involvement and inclusion in public space. According to Kropf (2001), there are two main processes of change in the representation of urban space: ontogenetic versus phylogenetic change, or in other terms spatial development versus spatial evolution.

Phylogenetic change or spatial evolution involves the evolution of spatial function or typology. This process is also referred to as a typological process that is based on human agreement over the use of space. As described in Kropf's *Conceptions of Change in the Built Environment* (2001), the term typology or type assumes a form and function that is agreed upon by society and represents a common conception of a certain spatial element. This interaction between humans, their ideas and conceptions, and their environment suggests the emergence of typologies to be a product of cultural habits and societal patterns. Therefore the evolution of spatial typologies involves the direct interaction between individuals and their surroundings, where they acclimatize to a certain environmental situation and thus seek difference to accommodate common evolving needs. This model of spatial change highlights the importance of the social element in the production of space, involving the spatial function as well as the symbolic meaning manifested therein. Society is therefore responsible for creating vibrant community spaces, as the form and function of space is directly dependent on inclusiveness in the design process of shared spaces. However the plurality of results embedded in today's urban fabric suggests that urban change is based on social conflict in the function and meaning of space, hindering progress while increasing socio-spatial fragmentation. As the relationship between people and space sets the identity and image of the city, it is lost when this relationship is corrupted.

The second method of change, according to Kropf (2001), is ontogenetic change or spatial development that involves the development of the physical form of single separate entities in their physical configurations, rather than its spatial type. This process suggests that successful lively spaces are a product of physical entities in urban space that make up elements of the public and private realm. Spatial development is usually the product of political, economic and social forces that favour a certain method or pattern of development, pushing the development process towards a certain direction. The urban realm is therefore injected with political, economic and social significance that reflects the nation's

drivers of change and desired image. In contrast to the typological process, ontogenetic change is achieving spatial development through design cues that shape behavioural patterns and the ability to use space. However, this mode of development, as it influences behaviour in space, limits the capacity for human flourishing and community led change. It rather imposes social patterns and frames the urban fabric. As spatial design can be a facilitator towards successful community spaces, it can also produce controlled spaces with limited accessibility thus compromising people's rights to occupy publicly owned space.

The rights to occupy, or citizens' rights of the city, are reflected in three claims as according to *Cities for Citizens* (1998, cited in McCann, 2002):

- the right to voice, where citizens can claim presence in urban space,

- the right to difference, where citizens can participate in the development process of the use, function and meaning of space,

- the right to human flourishing, where citizens have the ability to live life fully.

The absence of these rights suggests the existence of power over citizenship. It therefore suggests that achieving spatial democracy is dependent on the capacity of citizens to use and adapt public spaces to their needs.

Where Do Public Spaces Stand in Cairo

The city of Cairo is marked by a clear absence of a public realm or venue that accommodates all members of the Cairene community. Citizens are separated into social groups or classes and are placed into separate realms. This socio-spatial distribution thus creates separate identities based on their social levels within the larger community. Consequently, the urban public realm becomes contested with diverse ideologies, leading to a general decline in the use of public spaces.

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Figure 1: Overall view of Tahrir Square
▼

Figure 2: Tahrir Square in the 1940s, a recreational central plaza/public space in front of the Egyptian Museum. Source: Wikipedia [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tahrir_Square_in_1941.jpg]

Figure 3: Tahrir Square as a traffic node before the revolution (2011) (Source: www.iamegypt.org)

Figure 4: People gathering in Tahrir Square during the revolution (6 February, 2011) (Source: Author)

This decline occurring at all levels within Cairo's river sides, residential communities, public gardens, and even public squares, is the result of a social segregation which affects the production of successful places in the city. These occurrences are a result of the place-making approach that has taken a rigid ontogenetic approach, where changes in spatial configurations are made through the development of single entities, imposing behavioural patterns in urban space. The importance of good design to incorporate political, economic and social significance while inviting and enabling a natural production of social space is often overlooked and over-powered by the demands of certain groups of society in control of the decision making process. This is greatly reflected in Cairo's street patterns and the use of space, as well as the physical and social elements that make up boundaries between private and public spaces. This increasing social injustice is also reflected in the priva-tization of waterfronts. As the river Nile represents one of the most important factors in Cairo's urban fabric it is thus used by private institutions, high-end restaurants, clubs and floating boats. Available space for the general public is very limited considering the length of the river-side in Cairo and Giza.

Cairo's city squares, as in most historical cities, were decorated with fountains, monuments, statues, and other works of art (Fig. 2), while the public space was used for public celebrations, state proceedings and the exchange of goods and services (Madanipour, 2003). Particular celebrations include *Mulids*, which are traditional festivals taking place in the public streets of Cairo, celebrating cul-ture and traditions. Social conflicts however have pushed these celebrations away from major public spaces as they are not generally accepted by the intellectual and elite population, who tend to separate themselves from the general public. Despite these and other festivities display-ing cultural folklore, the middle and upper class regard them as chaos representing a distorted image, as they are commonly led by lower class citizens (Schielke, cited in Singerman, 2009). The reality of urban society is based on the conflict over social organization, as each group aims to communicate their own social interest through the expression of urban meaning (Castells, 2003). This therefore becomes a conflictive process and a struggle for symbolic dominance. However, the urban realm tends to reflect the interest of the dominant class, while other groups are regarded as a threat to public wellbeing and thus displaced from social space through physical, social and symbolic barriers.

Other forces that have shaped the urban public realm in-clude increasing economic interests, which in turn seek to privatize urban space in favour of capitalizing land value, as well as the exclusion of societal threats. Accordingly, the development of shopping malls, gated communities, and protected walkways has become a popular approach to the production of space as single privatized entities favouring the interest of a particular group.

The consequences are the deterioration of the general conditions of public spaces as they become neglected, as well as the disappearance of social and cultural spaces. Streets, which had also been a major space for public gathering and spatial integration, have been reduced to a "simple space for movement" (Levy, 1999),

killing streets as public spaces and destroying traditional typological configuration that had developed through time and through human interaction with space. In reference to *Mulids* and other major public festivities that take place in public streets of Cairo, general space for the public has become limited or controlled, threatening socio-spatial distribution as high earners reclaim the city through gentrification and urban regeneration away from social space.

Finally, the major factor shaping the urban public realm is the political power that manifests within the urban fabric. Public spaces have always symbolized the power of the state, as they serve various functions. Other than being used for national parades and state affairs, public spaces further demonstrate the degree of oppression by the state, where the use of public space is controlled, prohibited, or regulated. Whilst society is anticipated as a threat to social wellbeing, spatial barriers are promoted in the urban realm as a method to control accessibility and manage crime. However, crime can be justified as a counterclaim towards exclusionary forces, which breed more anti-social behaviour and marginalization, making the control of public spaces more essential in the power balance of society (Madanipour, 1998). Festivities attracting great masses, such as the example of *Mulids*, are therefore not allowed in public spaces as they are displaced from modern urban life, generating a common feeling of the loss of ability to participate in public spaces (McCann, 2002). According to Singerman (2009), those are controlled by the presence of government officials monitoring and regulating behaviour, as well as acting as symbols of power over citizenship.

These social, economical, and political forces shaping the urban realm limit the capability of the general population to practice their rights to the city, as their rights to voice and participate in social and physical space are limited, increasing socio-spatial injustice in Cairo's urban realm. The production of space is therefore shaped based on the concept of "whoever controls the streets, controls the city" (Atkinson 2008, cited in Madanipour, 2003).

Transforming Tahrir Square

As public spaces symbolize the power of the state, they are also used to challenge that power. According to Madanipour (1998), public spaces are ritualized outlets for public displeasure against rulers and their policies and are used for demonstrations and revolutions. Struggle for socio-spatial rights in the city has led to a popular uprising in Cairo's Tahrir Square, a public space that had been reduced to vehicular pathways killing its social space. Through social mobilization and a public initiative, the square was transformed into a public platform for discussion, resistance, and political confrontation, which created a common collective goal between the Cairene community. Although the public realm is made up of social conflict over the use, function and meaning of space, the social integration in public space towards a common goal redefined urban meaning, forming the basis of a negotiated adaption of urban function to the square. The reproduction of Tahrir Square as public space took a phylogenetic or evolutionary approach to spatial typology, where new functions of space were adopted based on human interaction with space.

Figure 5: Tahrir Square used as a social space a few days after Mubarak stepped down (14 February, 2011). (Source: Author)

Figure 6: Post-revolution appropriation of Tahrir Square (2012): informal vendors have settled (Source: Author)
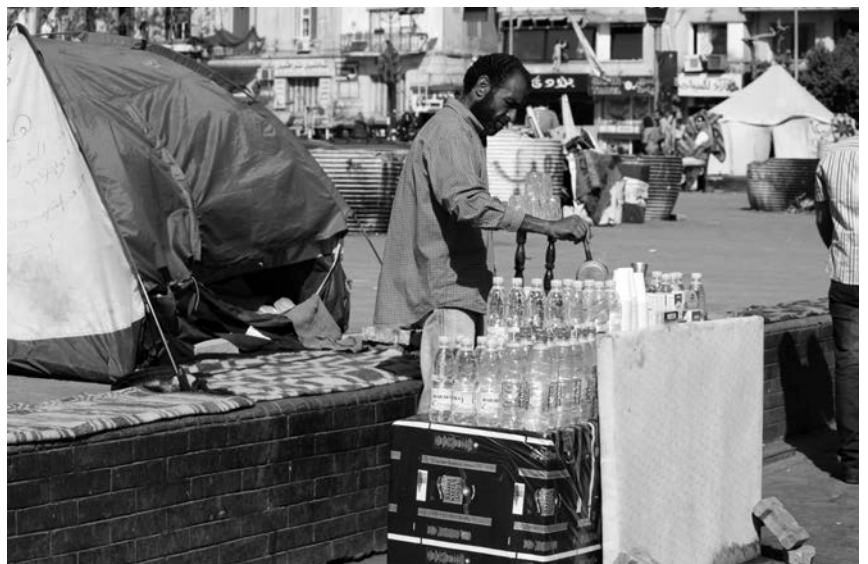
Figure 7: Post-revolution appropriation of Tahrir Square (2012): street vendor selling water and hot drinks in front of his tent (Source: Author)

Figure 8: Post-revolution appropriation of Tahrir Square (2012): informal functions.
(Source: Author)

Figure 9: Aerial view of Tahrir Square in 2012 showing vendors' use of space after the revolution
(Source: Survey by the author)

Flag vendors   Shirts and accessories vendors   Tea vendors

Tents/ Sit-in   Informal booths selling various products   Egyptian Beans and food vendors

Blood donations

Spatial typologies were created, such as commercial uses designating spaces for street vendors, open platforms for public speaking, spaces for public restrooms, spaces for medical rehabilitation, and spaces for storing medical and food supplies. A natural spatial organization occurred as a result of direct human interaction with its environment, adopting space to needs. The rights to occupy space were claimed allowing people to flourish and create a vibrant community that challenged physical, social and symbolic barriers. In fact, during the days of protesting it was a new scene for Cairenes to see the merge of social classes all unified for a cause. Even the non-protestant would visit the square to watch the scene, or to be part of the crowd. Families would go with their babies and kids to hang out, enjoy sweet potatoes, hot corn, or to buy and wave the Egyptian flag. I used to walk around to watch this socio-political phenomenon that proved how much people have lacked the simple right to enjoy public space. They have found the lost urban space.

Public space was thus socially driven and its success in providing a vibrant, human-scaled environment is due to the interaction between people and space. However, its design as a large square flexible in design and highly accessible facilitated the emergence of a mixed-use zone. Following the 18 days of intensive protesting in Tahrir Square, the public gained an increased sense of ownership over the space, which was reflected in their public initiatives in cleaning up the square following the ousting of the former president. This behaviour emerged with a symbolic image of Tahrir Square being claimed and owned by the public to serve public needs. Further-more, the emergence of graffiti covering the surrounding murals is another example of the renewed approach to public spaces, where art was used as means to voice and express national identity. Jane Jacobs highlights that "cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when they are created by everybody".

For Whom is Public Space? New Role of Tahrir Square

Following the occupation of Tahrir Square and the reclaiming of spatial control, the functionality of public spaces have been redefined by the public, as they con-tributed in regaining social democracy for the Cairene community, acting as mediators throughout the Arab Spring. As the square became the space for intervention, the question is how to sustain this rebirth of the image of Tahrir, maintain the socio-spatial configurations it has developed, and transfer these configurations onto exist-ing public spaces to create vibrant community spaces throughout Cairo, holding political, economic and social significance. In this case, what kind of intervention can support this social change that is manifested in urban space? And does this new role have other impacts on the use of Tahrir Square?

Today however, the conditions of Tahrir Square are no longer reflective of the socio-political uprising or its established symbolic meaning. As people have claimed that space, and claimed absolute rights towards its oc-cupation, it has also transformed into a law-free zone with unauthorized vendors in every street and tents in the centre, causing a general deterioration of the spatial

conditions, as well as compromising safety. This transformation has brought up major issues and questions regarding spatial ownership and to what extend public spaces should be public. Does taking away spatial barriers liberate the community, or does it create spatial chaos? To what degree should people have control over spatial typologies and the flexibility of controlling spatial distribution?

To understand these new relationships between people and space, a survey was carried out in Tahrir Square documenting the evolution of space appropriation in two different time frames, as well as a questionnaire involving some of the unauthorized vendors that have claimed their space for commercial functions.

The figures represent the process of change in the use of space. Figure 3 shows Tahrir Square as a traffic node before the revolution. In Figure 4, people gather in the centre of Tahrir Square focusing on a clear common socio-political goal a few days into the revolution in February 2011; space is used as a platform for protesting, discussion and solidarity. In Figure 5, the same space is used as social space a few days after Mubarak stepped down. Tahrir Square gained a new symbolic meaning that invited people to flourish. Figures 6 to 8 show the post-revolution appropriation of Tahrir Square: a year after, vendors are spread all over the square. Figure 7 shows a street vendor selling water and hot drinks by his tent, where he settled and makes his living.

The first spatial analysis was made after the ousting of the former regime. It shows the variety of uses that have evolved around the square, documenting the location and type of activity carried out. With the second analysis undergone a few months after, the comparison of uses in two different time frames shows the degree of their sustainability and reflects on how vendors or occupiers of the square have established and claimed their live/work space (Fig. 9). When comparing figures of both analysis in terms of the sustainability of their positions in Tahrir Square, it becomes clear that most vendors have stayed in their exact location over time, establishing a degree of ownership to the specific claimed space of activity.

The results of the interviews with various vendors of Tahrir Square shows that within a few months the behaviour towards Tahrir as an owned public social space had vanished due to the emerging chaos that has filled the place. Vendors of all types (selling juices, cigarettes, flags, sunglasses, accessories etc.) have well settled and established their clientele in the area. According to them it is their only source of income. They have no permit like all Egyptian vendors, so their existence in Tahrir Square is informal. Moreover, some brought their own set of seats and welcomed passers-by for tea. When they were asked if they would leave their informal vendor settlements, answers were variable: some would leave if they find a better opportunity elsewhere, others would like to stay in Tahrir Square and sell their products legally with a license to sell. They believe they have a strategic location and have become well known amongst the people: "If I get evicted, I will come back" (flags vendor). Others confirmed they would gladly leave, as the square will never be like the first days of the revolution, stating that it has become

a chaotic place, and that the government has to enforce laws and regulate the use of space. But when vendors hear there is a threat of eviction they pack up their goods and disappear for a while, to be back when it is safer for them.

The sit-in camps are of two categories: few are still there as a political statement, willing to stay unless evicted by force; others are there because according to them they have nowhere else to go. Most of the passers-by and existing store owners are not happy. For them it is a complete chaos and destructive of the image of Tahrir Square. The intensity of use has attracted more people to the area, however it has also left the area filthy and sometimes unsafe. Store owners definitely do not want unauthorized vendors in front of their shops, disturbing their business. However this increase in commercial density can be successful attracting more clients in the area if legalized and regulated by law.

Conclusion

This new spatial organization is in need of a structural intervention to sustain its symbolic role and revived social dynamics. A phylogenetic and an ontogenetic approach to spatial change cannot achieve socio-spatial democracy if they are pursued separately. As Hawkes (2009) stated, "good design supports the function of a desired use", which suggests that vibrant spaces are produced through design interventions that foster spatial organization and public participation in the decision making process, while facilitating a natural progression of social integration in public space. The use of public spaces today reflects the need for flexible community-led places that allow citizens to flourish naturally. No doubt that with their vibrant uses and functions, successful people-scaled public spaces can re-inject social inclusiveness, integrity and solidarity into the Egyptian society. Currently although there are still political differences that escalate into struggles, central urban spaces have remained for the past 15 months the forum for inclusion of various factions, strata and ideologies. These are places for discussion towards agreements, consolidations and the affirmation of democracy. Tahrir Square has thus gained a new role: it is not only a traffic nodal square, but also a venue for events, festivals, and demands.

Right after the uprising events, many associations and institutions launched the idea of the necessity to re-design Tahrir Square in efforts to sustain its revived image. Facebook pages emerged: "Al Tahrir Competition", and "Tahrir from Thought to Realization", where Tahrir Square became the focus topic. Students' and professionals' interests were reflected as well in projects, workshops, and seminars. And the questions remain with no definite answers: should Tahrir Square be exclusively for pedestrians? Does Tahrir Square need to be re-designed to cope with its new functions? Or should it keep its original configuration and image, which reflects the originality of the event it hosted in January 2011 and by which he became the icon of democracy worldwide? A series of questions arise every day as the space witnesses new vendors, traffic deviations, and increased efforts to recapture its history with dignity. Tahrir Square is not only the "political arena", it is now a symbol for an urban hope in Cairo.

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Back to the Future:
The Rebirth of Public Space in Seoul

Annette Erpenstein

Zurück in die Zukunft – Die Wiedergeburt des öffentlichen Raums in Seoul

Die Bedeutung und Nutzung des öffentlichen Raumes in Seoul, der Hauptstadt Südkoreas, hat sich im Laufe des vergangenen Jahrhunderts ebenso dramatisch verändert wie die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen im Lande selbst. Bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts war Südkorea ein mehr oder weniger zurückgezogenes, landwirtschaftlich geprägtes Königreich unter dem Schutze des chinesischen Kaiserreiches. Die drastischen Veränderungen des letzten Jahrhunderts, erzwungen durch die japanische Besatzungszeit (1910-1945), den Zweiten Weltkrieg (1939-1945), den Koreakrieg (1950-1953), die Armut der Nachkriegszeit und vor allem das beschleunigte Wirtschaftswachstum seit den 1960-iger Jahren haben nachhaltige Spuren im öffentlichen Raum der Städte hinterlassen. Exemplarisch ist dies an der Hauptstadt Seoul zu erkennen, in deren Großraum rund 50% der Gesamtbevölkerung des Landes leben. Die Freilegung eines 5,7 km langen historischen Flusses, dem Cheonggyecheon, in der Innenstadt von Seoul markiert einen Paradigmenwechsel im Bewusstsein, der Wahrnehmung und der Nutzung von öffentlichem Raum in Seoul.

Introduction

The meaning and use of public space in Seoul, the capital of South Korea, has changed a lot during the last century, while political, social, and economical backgrounds have been dramatically altered. Up until the 20th century, South Korea had more or less been a remote agricultural kingdom under protection of China. Drastic changes were introduced during the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945), and the Second World War, the Korean War (1950-1953), post-war poverty and accelerated economic growth from the 1960s until now all left their marks on public space in South Korean cities. This can be seen in an exemplary way in the capital Seoul and its metropolitan area, which is now home to 50% of the total population of the country. The redevelopment of a 5.7 km historical stream, the Cheonggyecheon, in downtown Seoul marks a paradigm shift in the perception, awareness and use of public space in Seoul.

Figure 1: Seoul, Hanseong Map of the early 19th Century (Source: Thematic Maps of Seoul, Seoul Development Institute, 2007)
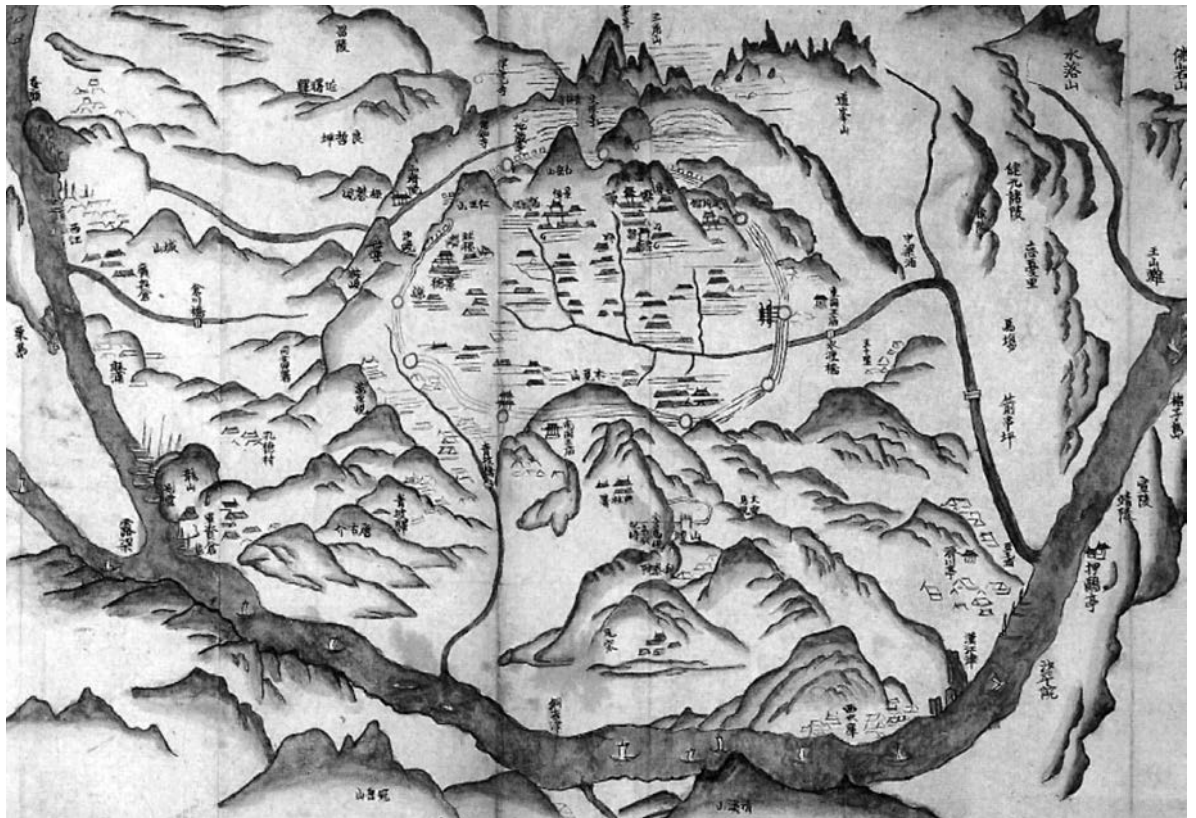
History and Background of Public Space in South Korea

Even though the historic settlement of Seoul goes back as far as 6000 BC, the city itself was founded in 1392 as the capital of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). The foundation of Seoul in 1392 was based on the canons of Chinese cities and the principles of the geomantic system and regularity. For a long time the geomantic system, also called feng-shui (풍수지리), affected the selection of the location and inner system of cities as well as every housing setting. Feng-shui means the design of healthy, harmonious and energizing space in compliance with nature to encourage mental balance and to ensure a powerful flow of energy. Geomantic principals and symmetry were applied to major representative streets, palaces, royal shrines, and government buildings, while side streets and alleys were created more or less organically (Fig. 1).

The royal families and high-ranking officials occupied the most privileged spaces in the city and the placement of shops on the main street concealed the inner residential areas. The result was the formation of a unique spatial pattern, with shops to the front and houses to the back in a linear and planar configuration. The horizontal juxtaposition marked a division between the upper and the lower ranks of society, where the ruling class commanded the privileged space while consigning merchants to an extremely limited territory adjacent to, but never within the sacred area (Kim, 2005).

Although the main street housed merchant shops, it was not distinctively commercial in the manner of medieval European or Chinese cities. It was rather a setting for stately display. The merchants receded from the main streets and took their places as spectators instead of participants in everyday urban life (Fig. 2 and 3). Buying and selling on the main street did not serve to make the city's economy a public event. Therefore Seoul's historical shop streets are not comparable to European medieval market areas, where a direct link between the private domain (the home or place of work) and the public life of the town was formed.

Influences of the Japanese Colonial Period and the Military Dictatorship

The collapse of the Joseon Dynasty forced by the Japanese invasion led to other influences on Korea's conception of public space.

It is important to note that the Korean word for public, "gong-gong", is a combination of two phonemic letters borrowed from the Japanese, which the Japanese had adopted from the ancient Chinese word "kou-kyou". In Chinese, the first "gong" means "openness" and the second is defined as "togetherness" or "sharing". In Japanese, it means "something related to the state and government" (Institute of Oriental Studies, 1999).

During the Japanese occupation of Korea from 1910 to 1945, public space and its uses were defined by the Japanese oppressors. Thereby "public space" was highly controlled by the invaders and was considered to be a jeopardization to the colonial government. On the other side, the idea of "public" was considered by

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the colonized Koreans as something to deny, resist and overturn (Fig. 4).

Under the circumstances of the colonial period, many intellectuals debated the benefits of the communist ideology. Interestingly the second "gong" of "gong-gong" in Korean language is the same Chinese character that means communism (Kim, 2005). This provided the Japanese colonial government with a welcome excuse to identify, persecute and imprison anybody opposing the Japanese government.

Even after the Japanese occupation (ending with Second World War), and after the Korean War (1950-1953), the

Figure 4: Seoul main street Namdaemun-t´ong shortly before Liberation, 1945 (Source: Seoul. Twentieth Century, Seoul Development Institute 2000, p. 137)

Figure 5: Typical street in central Seoul, 2005 (Source: Seoul Image. Change and Restoration, Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2006, p. 76)

Public Space and Industrial Development

After the Korean War, the use of public space reversed. The most privileged inner domain was transformed into the least preferable land from the perspective of commercial interests. The less preferable periphery on the main street became the most profitable retail space. The pressure of spatial intensification brought about unbalanced development: the peripheral areas were developed vertically, with owners trying to take full advantage of the exposure and visibility of their properties.

Since the 1960s in certain business parts of the city many urban developments grew rapidly. Some of these areas still exist today, like the Dongdaemun market with its 60,000 shops and small and medium-size businesses. Today you will find approximately 200,000 people working in that area behind a continuous façade, embracing secular and ecclestiastical functions altogether. Unlike many European cities, shops and services are not just provided on the first floor, basement or second floor, but you also find shops, restaurants and services like dentists, plastic surgery, tutorial schools, singing-rooms, kindergardens, churches, small size clothing business and many others on any other floor that are reflected by the countless chaotic advertising boards covering most parts of the façade (Fig. 5). This development was coupled with a degradation of the inside of the blocks, an area that previously enjoyed high status but now is more or less ignored. Owners of the linear front properties tried to capitalize on their accessibility, even to the extent of facilitating their own private use of the street at the expense of the quality of the public space.
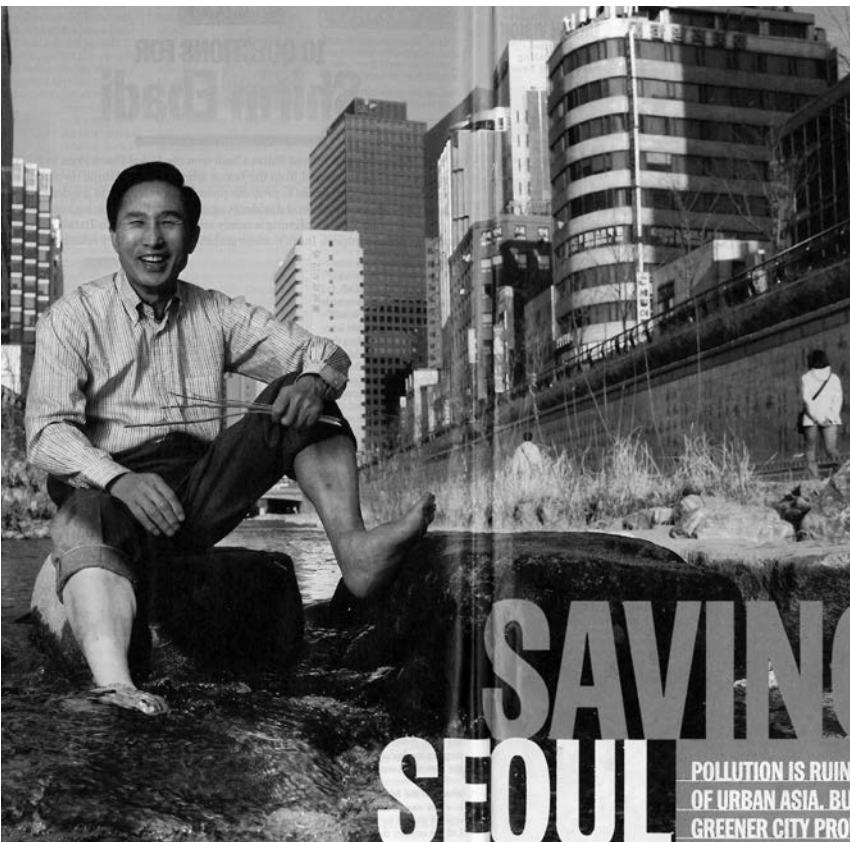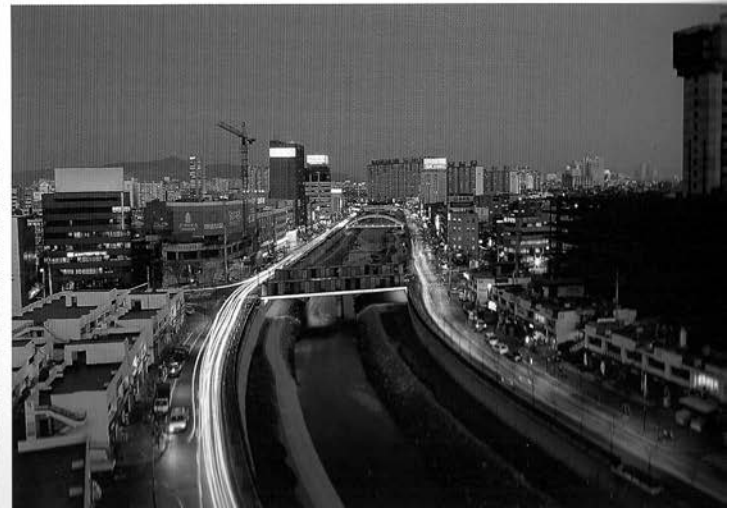
As mentioned before, this peripheral space was not as much an area of concern for the average citizens as the management of their own private space. In that regard, it is noteworthy that until recently the value and revenues accruing from the premium street front locations were not systematically embodied in planning and legal systems, particularly in the tax system. The land and building tax had been assigned based on official land gradation and price, which is not only lower than the real exchange price, but also does not reflect the micro-locational advantages (Park, 2005).

Like the cities of most developing countries, Seoul has been influenced more by private capital and less by government control over the last decades. Even the land on which public buildings stand passed into the hands of private speculators. There has been little opportunity for state operated micro-urban planning strategies to articulate the urban landscape. Public space in Seoul lacks the possibility of a cohesive plan exactly because it has been calcified by the powerfully shaping influences of its past and private interests today (Kim, 2005).

Against this background, the restoration of the 5.7 km Cheonggyecheon river in downtown Seoul with its dense business district (promised by the mayoral candidate), became an even bigger challenge.

The Cheonggyecheon Project

In July 2002, the new mayor of Seoul, Lee Myung-bak, directly elected by the citizens of Seoul, proposed the

military dictatorship from 1960 to the 1980s took advantage of anti-communist sentiments as tactics for the suppression of political opponents. At that time, public space was considered by the government to be a threat to the regime because of citizens gathering together and occupying it. Therefore, streets and public spaces were regarded as disturbing, dangerous, violent, and they needed to be highly controlled.

The combination and influences of all these historical phases (Joseon Dynasty, Japanese colonialism, communism and military dictatorship) on public space had a deep impact on modern public space in Korea. As a result, the private sphere is highly protected, negotiated and guarded, while the control of public space and encroachment on the public realm is widely accepted. Public space is not considered to be an area of freedom, security or justice that is provided by the government and based on the principles of transparency and democratic control.

ASIA

■ BY BRYAN WALSH

STANDING ANKLE-DEEP IN THE FRIGID WATERS OF Seoul's reborn Cheonggyecheon stream, a blustery March wind whipping through his suit, Mayor Lee Myung Bak could be forgiven for reconsidering this whole environmentalism thing. As a young employee at Hyundai Construction and Engineering in the 1960s, Lee helped pave over the once polluted stream, burying it under an elevated highway that would carry about 168,000 cars a day into the heart of the city. It was the kind of massive modern development that Lee later repeated throughout South Korea during his concrete-pouring tenure as CEO of Hyundai Construction and other Hyundai affiliates in the 1970s and '80s—a period when he earned the nickname "the Bulldozer." Lee kept on bulldozing when he became mayor of Seoul in 2002, but this time with a very different purpose. He started with Cheonggyecheon, ripping down the highway, tearing off the paving, pumping in water and landscaping the banks to create a 5.8-km-long, $360 million piece of urban watershed—in which he's currently standing, stoically enduring the early-morning chill. "The stream is cold, but that means it's clean," says Lee. "When it's warmer, young boys and girls will play in this water. I'm very happy with it."

Seoul—a city long synonymous with unchecked urban development, where Parks were more commonly found in the phone book than on the streets—is growing green. Besides the restored Cheonggyecheon, which opened last October, the city has helped plant some 3.3 million trees since 1998 and recently developed Seoul Forest, a $224 million patch of urban woodland comparable to London's Hyde Park. A cutting-edge, clean-running transit system is slowly weaning Seoulites off their auto addiction. New museums including the Leeum, which houses Samsung's corporate art collection in a stylish building designed by

SAVING SEOUL

POLLUTION IS RUINING THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN MUCH OF URBAN ASIA. BUT SEOUL'S TRANSFORMATION INTO A GREENER CITY PROVES THE TIDE CAN STILL BE TURNED

Figure 6: Changing Cheong-gyecheon from 2002 to 2005 (Source: Seoul Image, 2006, p. 28)

Figure 7: Lee Myung-bak, former mayor of Seoul (Source: Time Magazine, May 15, 2006)

Figure 8: Cheonggyecheon opening in October 2005 (Source: Seoul Image, 2006, p.78)

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restoration of the Cheonggyecheon river as his most important election promise. He suggested to remove a 5.7 km long, chronically congested, elevated freeway at the core of Seoul in order to restore the Cheonggyecheon, a stream that had been buried underground in the 1970s. The restoration work was to remove the roads covering the stream and the elevated four-lane highway, and then to restore the urban stream, the Cheonggyecheon, which used to cut through the central part of downtown Seoul.

The project, which appealed to the imagination of many of his voters, could yield considerable economic benefit for downtown Seoul and could look at business for support, in addition to improving the environment and quality of life in the capital by providing public space without any commercial impact. The city spent 360 million US dollars to restore the long-buried Cheonggyecheon stream, creating an attractive urban watershed that cools temperatures. With this project, Seoul city aims at a drastic change in its policy paradigm from pure development towards sustainability. Therefore, this project is beyond a simple restoration work (Hwang, 2005).

Restoration from July 2003 to October 2005

Cheonggyecheon, a stream that marks the feng-shui origins of Seoul in 1392, used to run through central Seoul until the mid-1970s. It was originally a brook, and then developed into a stream with 14 waterways at the time of King Taejong in 1412 at the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty. The covering of the stream for military, sanitary and flood management purposes started early in the 20th century and was finally completed in 1958. The elevated Cheonggye expressway was opened in 1976 (Seoul Development Institute, 2003). The Cheonggye expressway became one of the most important inner city highways with up to 168,000 vehicles a day, and the surrounding areas became the most important clothing clusters in the 1970s and 1980s.

The Cheonggyecheon restoration work started on July 1st, 2003. The restoration work consisted of three major steps: dismantling Cheonggye elevated expressway, uncovering the road over the river, and the actual restoration process.

In the beginning of the restoration work, the biggest concern of the public was traffic related. Even though some organisations opposed the demolition of the arterial road, traffic experts were convinced that it would have only limited impact on downtown traffic speed. This prognosis was based on an experience in 1999 when a major tunnel had to be closed without replacement and the expected traffic chaos did not occur, giving researchers the possibility of a scientific mathematical explanation of the Braess's Paradox. In comparison with the Western world, the modal split in Seoul is still with two-thirds in favour of public and non-motorised transportation. Seoul is currently one of the best examples in the world of an easy, inexpensive, safe and fast public transportation system.

Removal of the expressway started on July 2003 and the rest of the stream restoration work was completed by October 2005. In total, the restoration took one year of urban planning processes and two years and three months of construction time (Fig. 6). The successful implementation of the project paved the way of Lee Myung-bak, then the mayor of Seoul, to become the president of South Korea in February 2008 (Fig. 7).

Cheonggyecheon and Public Space

Soon after its opening it became clear that the project would serve as a signal and realization of "making place", which is a city paradigm of the 21st century and a model to benchmark (Lim, 2005). The Cheonggyecheon project can be seen as a paradigm shift from car-oriented development to sustainability and a human friendly urban planning approach where public space is for the people and recreation and not necessarily commercialized.

Even though the 120,000 tons of water running through the restored Cheonggyecheon stream needs to be cleaned and pumped upstream every day, and even though the conflict management with merchants, monument preservation and ecological NGO groups could have be better, there are many benefits for the public. Cheonggyecheon is a big attraction for citizens of Seoul and tourists alike. On average, 53,000 weekday and 125,000 weekend visitors show up to see and walk along the stream (Erpenstein, 2010).

Especially for residential and non-residential uses it was found out that there had been land value premiums within a 500 metres range of the corridor for both the former freeway and the present day urban greenway and public space in Seoul. Nowadays, fish, birds, and insects can be seen in the waters of this urban river, and the area surrounding this park is about three degrees centigrade cooler than other parts of the city. These days, Koreans use this public space without commercial interests for lunch break, private meetings and recreation (Fig. 8).

Everyday Urbanism and the Role of Civil Society in the Production of Public Spaces in Mexico[*]

Regina Orvañanos Murguía

Wie Mexikos Zivilgesellschaft heute mit Alltagspraktiken des 'Everyday Urbanism' neue öffentliche Räume produziert

Öffentliche Stadträume fabrizieren die Stadt und strukturieren diese. Ihre Produktion wird politisch und ideologisch vermittelt, sozial umkämpft und daher formbar. Die Schaffung und Unterhaltung öffentlicher Plätze sind Gelegenheiten, um Zivilgesellschaft zu produzieren.

In Mexiko bedrohen Gewalt und zügellose Stadtentwicklung den öffentlichen Raum. Die Krise hat in vielen Städten eine Bürgerbewegung hervorgebracht, die bereit ist, den öffentlichen Raum zu verteidigen. Der folgende Artikel reflektiert den Ursprung der Bewegung und ihren modus operandi. Er schildert die Anstrengungen gängige Stadtmodelle der Segregation, Privatisierung und Gewalt zu transformieren. Im Vordergrund steht die Strategie urbaner Alltagspraktiken (Everyday Urbanism). Diese sind in der Gesamtsumme vieler kleiner Eingriffe in der Lage, schier hoffnungslose Situationen umzuwandeln. Indem die Bürger so engagiert auf die Krise reagieren und ihre alltäglichen Räume gestalten, praktizieren sie sehr greifbar ihr Recht auf Stadt. Die Eingriffe haben nicht nur viele Städte verändert, sondern auch die Bürger. Mexikanische Stadträume fassen Aktionen und Reaktionen, (re-)politisieren den öffentlichen Raum und erzeugen gerade so Urbanität.

Summary

Public spaces are elements that make up the city and give it a structure. Their production is politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested, and therefore malleable. The construction and management of public spaces create opportunities to produce citizenship.

In Mexico, a crisis threatening public space caused by urban violence and unrestrained urban development, has generated civic movement willing to defend the public domain. The following article explores how the organized civil society in Mexican cities has become actively involved in the production of urban space and how this space operates. It describes the struggle of citizens to transform the current urban model. Through the approach of Everyday Urbanism, minute interventions accumulate to transform dreadful urban conditions. Citizens reconfiguring their everyday urban spaces practice their right to the city, critically responding to a complex urban crisis. This activism has not only reshaped the city, but also citizens. Indeed in Mexican cities public space has become the articulator of actions and re-actions, re-politicizing public space and hence, through this act, creating urbanity.

Introduction

Jordi Borja, a Catalonian urban sociologist, defines public spaces as the "elements that construct and structure the city"[1]. Another definition by UN-Habitat identifies them as spaces that are open and accessible to all people regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age or socio-economic level[2]. These are public gathering spaces such as plazas, squares, and parks, as well as connecting spaces such as sidewalks and streets.

Urban public spaces are back in the global urban agenda, nourished by movements such as New Urbanism and promoted by institutions like UN-Habitat. Mexico is also part of this debate, and while menaces such as insecurity and uncontrolled urban development threaten public space, social movements are willing to defend them. This article explores how civil society in Mexico is actively involved in the production of urban space and how small activities accumulate to transform the urban condition through the approach of everyday urbanism[3]. It describes the struggle of civic groups to transform the current mainstream urban model, and its relevance for Mexico's social climate.

Conceptual Background

The theories of the social production of public spaces have been determined by critical urban theory, which emphasizes that the character of urban space is "politically and ideologically mediated, socially contested and therefore malleable"[4]. Henri Lefebvre defines three types of space: the perceived space (perçu), conceived space (conçu) and lived space (vécu). Perceived space relates to the passive experience of daily life, conceived space is the thought out domain of planning and order, and lived space is the "combination between perceived and conceived space"[5]– a space that is creatively appropriated and thus worth living. Everyday Urbanism[6] involves the right to change lived space and requires a permanent commitment from citizens.

Producing urban space, for Lefebvre, involves the reproduction of the social relations within it[7], and Borja also

1
UN-Habitat, n.d.Borja, 998:16, (transl. by the author)

2
UN-Habitat, n.d.

3
Chase, 1999:19

4
Brenner, 2009:198

5
Lefebvre 1974:42-43

6
Chase, 1999

7
Purcell, 2002:100

8
Borja, 1998 (transl. by the author)

9
World Charter for the Right to the City, 2004: Art. I.1

10
Harvey, 2008: 23

11
Lefebvre, 1968

12
Harvey, 1973

13
Marcuse, 2009

14
Soja, 2010

15
UN-Habitat, 2011b:78

16
Chase, 1999

17
Borja, 1998:14

18
The number of victims is uncertain due to a lack of registry. The government estimated in Jan. 2012 a number of 47,453; while the civil organization México Unido contra la Delincuencia estimates a number of 80,745 victims between 2007 and November, 2011 (Vergara, 2012).

19
UN-Habitat, 2011b:81

20
Lacey, 2008

21
El Universal, 2010

22
January 8th, 2011 (CNN, 2011)

23
CNN Mexico, 2011

24
Purcell, 2002: 102

25
Taniguchi, 2011

illustrates this political role by affirming that:"the production of the city is a task of the citizens."[9] The social production of space necessitates the ability of citizens to access and enjoy their cities – to have a right to the city. The Right to the City is "the use and equitable enjoyment of the cities within the principle of sustainability, democracy, equity, and social justice"[9] while David Harvey describes it as "the right to change ourselves by changing the city."[10] The concept was introduced in 1968 by Henri Lefebvre[11] and was expanded by David Harvey[12], Peter Marcuse[13] and Edward Soja[14] into today's debate on spatial justice.

The rights approach to urban development has strongly echoed within social groups in Latin America and Mexico. The "Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City", adopted in 2010, is seen as one of the most advanced models in its domain[15]. Social groups use the Charter to express their disaffection with contradictions between master plans and reality (e.g. conceived and perceived space). The fresh determination of diverse civil society groups to change the quotidian experience of urban space results in an urbanism "with, without or despite" the government: an everyday urbanism. Chase et al. define Everyday Urbanism as a practice that celebrates informality, social movements and street life, and an approach to retrofit existing situations in order to make room for everyday life.[16]

Urban Crisis in Mexico and the Control of Public Space

Public spaces are places of confrontation,
where the urban crisis is most strongly manifested.[17]

An urban crisis emerged in Mexico in the shape of a sudden increase in urban violence. Levels of crime rose exponentially in 2006 when the federal government "de-clared war" on the drug cartels operating in the country, deploying the army to the streets of several cities. This tragic process resulted in more than 50,000[18] deaths, and the national murder rates increased from 8 murders per 100,000 inhabitants in 2007 to 18 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2009.[19]

The crisis has restrained the use of public spaces by citizens in many cities since they were the usual platforms of confrontation. Public shootings, displays of human heads, and menaces written on "narcomantas" (narco-banners) became commonplace. The examples are numerous: ten people were killed when two grenades hit the city of Morelia during the Independence Day festival in 2008.[20] In August 22, 2010 four decapitated bodies hung form a bridge in Cuernavaca.[21] Most recently in Acapulco, 28 dead bodies were found outside a shopping centre,[22] and 26 dead bodies were discovered in an avenue in Guadalajara's City centre in November 24, 2011.[23]

Yet while the army and the criminals seek to control public spaces, the civil society struggles to defend them. Lefebvre claimed that The Right to the City would imply both a cry and a demand,[24] with movements against the urban crisis falling into these categories. Anti-violence demonstrations are occurring and have been ongoing since 1997: "Rescatemos México" saw 1 million people gathering in 1997 and 2004, "Iluminemos México" had 500,000 people in 2008. Most recently, "Marcha por la Paz con Justicia y Dignidad" (2011) drew 100,000 people to the streets.[25] Unfortunately, the lack of concrete outcomes from the demonstrations resulted in decreasing numbers and a fatigue for the traditional street protest. In its place, social communication networks used as a means to articulate public sentiment against the state of insecurity began to manifest.

Figure 1: Walking Guadalajara. Re-discovery of urban spaces © Alfredo Hidalgo

The expansion of protests from the physical space into the virtual sphere has helped consolidate the second type of movement: the social demand. The demand is creative and proactive; it's a counteroffensive insistent on a more inclusive and open city. Wide-ranging campaigns, from artistic to intellectual, have been effective ways for civil society to express and defend their cities. Through social media, the discussion shifted from real public space into discourses about public space, producing an activism seeking to reshape and recuperate the same. This movement has been particularly appealing, although not exclusively, to the urban youth. Although the expression of this activism may not be unlike other movements around the globe, the juncture provoking them and its significance is relevant to the specific social climate of the country.

The discourse on public spaces as a strategy against insecurity has been motivated by Mexico's national program "Rescate de Espacios Públicos" (Rescue of Public Spaces). The program is run by the Federal government and supported by UN-Habitat's Safer Cities Programme. It seeks to work with municipalities larger than 50,000 inhabitants to "recuperate urban public spaces in order to provide local population with places in which they can engage in a wide array of social activities, thereby using the spaces more effectively and discouraging criminal activity." Local governments identify poorly maintained and marginalized public spaces and apply to the federal Government for rehabilitation funds.[26] In the last five years, 4,400 urban spaces across the country have been renewed in an exercise of "place making"[27], and the effort has been described as "a fundamental public policy to achieve social cohesion and citizen's safeness in Mexico."[28] Although critics point the finger at unclear selection criteria and a lack of evaluation measures,[29] in December 2011, UN-Habitat announced that it would support Mexico's efforts to "institutionalize the recovery of urban public spaces, and to share its experiences with other countries in the region and globally."[30]

In contrast to the official position, the civil discourse on significance of public spaces recognises the relationship between urbanisation patterns, violence and insecurity.[31] Awareness is rising that the redesign of public spaces is not enough to battle the underlying causes of violence, and that certain models of urban development provoke fragmentation and trigger insecurity. Mexican cities have experienced dramatic urban sprawl over the last decade, and the combination of housing and mobility policies has caused an increase in social and spatial exclusion. In the past 30 years, urban expansion progressed at an annual rate of 7.4% while the urban population grew at only 2.7%[32] and was complement by disconnected urban extensions and the progressive shrinkage of public spaces.

Social Movements and Critical Urbanism

Peter Marcuse proposes a three-step approach for what he defines as critical planning: to expose, propose and politicise.[33] Along these lines, the organised civil society has continuously explored small and effective interventions that are changing the use of urban space. Various concepts are used to describe these acts of citizens re-shaping the city: DIY (Do-it-yourself) urbanism, guerrilla urbanism[34], dissident infrastructure, insurgent public space[35], wikiurbanism, and Everyday Urbanism.[36] All

these terms refer to the readiness of civil society to alter their urban environments.

Everyday urbanism starts with the simplest act of urban rediscovery: walking. In 2008, Daniel Raven-Ellison, created the urban earth initiative: he decided to walk though three megacities of the world, among them Mexico City.[37] What started as an exploration of the urban realities evolved in Guadalajara into "Camina por Guadalajara" (Walk Guadalajara[38]), a yearly exercise involving more than 200 participants walking around 30km to interact with the city (Figure 1). The intention is not to rebuild place, but to rebuild citizenship by changing the perception of the cityscapes. The documentation of these exercises by videos has become an act of urban exposure, similar to the acts of protest with the aim of re-encountering everyday urban life. Walking is the first step in recognising the city and changing the way public space is perceived.

Other acts of exposure include the consolidation of cyclist networks throughout the cities of Mexico City, León, Monterrey, Colima, Guadalajara and Puebla among many others. Cycling advocacy groups have achieved strong visibility through the multiple activities they organise like night rides linked with concerts, open cinema in public spaces, etc. (Figure 2). Through these activities, they have exposed their demands in terms of universal accessibility and the expansion of public space into the streets. Several cities in Mexico have a Car Free Sunday, a project born from a civil initiative and promoted by business associations to recuperate the streets one day per week. Guadalajara's 64km "Via RecreActiva" has been running since 2004 and has 245,000 assistants each weekend.[39] Following this example, the program in Mexico City, "Muévete en Bici", is now closing 24 km of streets every Sunday since 2011.

◀
Figure 2: Nocturnal bike ride organized by civil groups
© Yeriel Salcedo Torres

26
UNODC, 2011:53

27
UN-Habitat, 2011b

28
Gómez, 2011

29
El Colegio Mexiquense, 2007:3, CONEVAL, n.d.

30
UN-Habitat, 2011a

31
UN-Habitat, 2011b:80

32
UN-Habitat, 2011b:14

33
Marcuse, 2009

34
Hou, 2010

35
Ibid

36
Chase et al., 1999

37
Raven-Ellison, n.d.

38
CITA, 2012

39
8-80 Cities, n.d.

Figure 3/3a: Public space intervention © Plan V / Jorge López de Obeso

Tijuana, a transnational city on the border with San Diego, is a reference point for urbanised improvisation. As public spaces are few, social movements have taken on the task of reconfiguring the urban landscape through the encouragement of urban art. As a result the city has been able to reduce crime and can be used as an example of citizen participation, raising its profile as an innovative place. A significant example was the citizen protest against a government project seeking to create a major public plaza called "Zócalo 11 de Julio" over the existing Benito Juárez park (replicating Mexico City's Zócalo). The activists successfully achieved the cancellation of the project[40] after they demanded public participation in the definition of the city's urban identity. Similarly, in the central city of Cuernavaca society groups made several achievements in the protection of the public realm: a supermarket was transformed into a park and a community centre, the construction of a new highway was prevented, and an existing dumpsite in an environmentally protected area was finally closed.[41] In Guadalajara, residents created a citizen's park to prevent an inner-city highway. In numerous cities brigades to clean, activate and rehabilitate neglected spaces are frequent (Figure 3).

Some interesting cases of insurgent urbanism are the citizen's bike lanes or wikicarriles (wikilane). Starting in Guadalajara in January 2011,[42] a group of active citizens decided to build their own bike lanes. These were already part of the metropolitan Master Plan for Non-Motorized Mobility, but were lacking implementation. The project was realised at thee locations in the city, resulting in 13 km of self-built and self-financed bike paths that were replicated in Mexico City and Cuernavaca (Figure 4). The government accepted and legalised the new bike lanes in each case. We see examples of 'protest infrastructure' transforming political disagreement into action and an urbanism produced and managed by social groups.

Achievements

Whereas the achievements of the civil groups vary from city to city, their efficiency is multiplied as they scale up in the political agenda. At the federal level, Mexico's bike movement has become a politically recognized and competent lobby. As a result, federal funding now includes a budget for non-motorized mobility to be distributed to the country's 32 major cities. In Mexico City, it took only five years for the bike movement to consolidate and become

part of a citywide strategy for mobility including public transportation and a public bike scheme.[43]

Guadalajara's civic activism for public space and advocacy against the official urban model resulted in the creation of a new Metropolitan Planning Institute. Made up by academic institutions and civil society organizations, it is the first of its kind in the country. It will elaborate public policies for mobility and urban development for eight municipalities. In Tijuana, participation has reverted the cycle of violence, taking the city back into a vitality experienced in the past and setting a precedent for other cities in the North of the country.

Conclusion

Everyday Urbanism is the symptom of a proactive society critically responding to a complex urban crisis. Each of the cases presented above show the joint efforts of organised citizens recreating urban space. The relevance of Everyday Urbanism relies on the consolidation of heterogeneous groups involved in the production of the city who join forces towards greener, more liveable and safer cities. Social groups have re-interpreted their "Right to the City" as the right to reconfigure their everyday urban space.

The movement for public spaces has taken multiple shapes, not only reshaping the city, but also reshaping its citizens. Particularly relevant is the involvement of urban youth who are unwilling to wait for changes to come, and become actors of change. Their actions show a significant shift from the conventional protest into active claims for the city. Borja attests that "the projects and management of public spaces are both an opportunity to produce citizenship as well as a test of its development."[44]

Furthermore, the influence of this active urbanism cannot be denied. The creation of the Metropolitan Planning Institute, the federal budget allocation for non-motorized mobility, and the official recognition of self-built infrastructure show the institutionalization of citizen's demands. In addition, a clear political message against the perception of insecurity is conveyed through the activation, amelioration, and transformation of the public arena.

The varied experiences in Mexican cities show how public space can be used as the articulator of actions and re-actions, re-politicising public space, and hence, through this

40
Peralta, 2011

41
Parque Tlatenango, n.d.

42
Richard, 2011

43
Restrepo, 2011

44
Borja,1998:14

45
The terminology is inspired by: www.iamcitychanger.org (r12.07.2012)

act, creating urbanity. This is an Everyday Urbanism that transcends everyday life into a claim of territorial justice. The social actors at hand are part of a new generation of "city changers".[45] The contagious capacity and full extent of the actions is yet to be seen as the interventions are

in the middle of an up-scaling process. The topic of the latest national congress of urban cyclists was "reinventing the city", and Mexico's social movements are realising this reinvention: by the people, for the people.

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Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading in the Township of Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa

Michael Krause

Gewaltprävention mittels Stadterneuerung im Township Khayelitsha, Kapstadt, Südafrika
Während Südafrikas Stadtplanung in der Zeit des Apartheidsystems von der räumlichen und funktionalen Trennung von Personengruppen unterschiedlicher ethnischer Herkunft geprägt war, haben sich in den vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnten neue integrative Ansätze entwickelt. Das "Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading" (VPUU) Projekt, oder Gewaltprävention mittels Stadterneuerung, ist ein international anerkanntes Beispiel, wie durch die systematische Anwendung von Methoden der Bürgerbeteiligung die Lebensqualität innerhalb eines Stadtteils entscheidend verbessert werden kann. Die Stadt Kapstadt, die Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) und ein Bürgerforum aus Khayelitsha (KDF) sind die Partner des Programms. Persönliche Sicherheit als Grundrecht wird auf Stadtteilebene mit großem Erfolg angewendet. Begonnen wurde die Intervention in Khayelitsha, einem Township, das für seine enormen Probleme, samt exorbitanter Gewaltraten, bekannt ist. Nach 6 Jahren Laufzeit und großem Erfolg wird das Programm derzeit innerhalb der Stadt in anderen Stadtteilen repliziert. Der Artikel beschreibt, wie Bürgerbeteiligung, integrative Planung und Stadtteilmanagement die Lebensqualität in formal errichteten Gebieten und in Spontansiedlungen nachhaltig verbessern können. Partnerschaften sind der Schlüssel zum Erfolg. Als solch eine wurde das Programm erfolgreich. Eine Anschubfinanzierung des Bundesministeriums für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, die über die Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau zur Verfügung gestellt wurde, hat eine vierfache Eigenbeteiligung der südafrikanischen Seite mobilisiert. Nach erfolgreicher Umsetzung in Khayelitsha wird der Projektansatz nun repliziert und angepasst und trägt so zur Überwindung einiger sozial-räumlichen Effekte der Apartheid bei.

Summary
Almost two decades into South Africa's democratic era the tools to demonstrate inclusion and 'power by the people' in urban planning and design are still evolving. The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) project is an example of systemic neighbourhood transformation that applies the concept of negotiated development to improve the quality of life of its residents.
The City of Cape Town, the German Development Bank (KfW) and the Khayelitsha Development Forum (a developmentally focused civic movement) are the founding partners of VPUU.
Personal safety in Cape Town is being addressed as a public good at the neighbourhood level, and strategies to improve safety and security have been applied with great success. The VPUU project was initated in the township of Khayelitsha (one of the crime hotspots in Cape Town), and the programme is now being replicated across neighbourhoods within Cape Town. This article describes how careful social preparation, integrated participatory planning, as well as development and urban management methods can influence the quality of life in formal as well as informal areas. Partnerships are the key success factor. The programme is also a successful example of an institutional cooperation and partnership whereby seed funding by the German Development Bank on behalf of the Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development is provided to a local project. Currently, the methodology used in the VPUU project has received international recognition and is in the process of being upgraded in order to be adaptable to other situations and circumstances in urban South Africa.

Background

Almost two decades into South Africa's democratic era, tools to embrace inclusion and "power by the people" within the discipline of urban design are still in the making. The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme demonstrates how local organisations can exercise their constitutional mandate to improve people's quality of life at the neighbourhood level. Based on negotiated solutions with residents and the 'commu-nalisation' of services, a systemic approach to transform apartheid dormitories into safe, sustainable neighbourhoods is applied.

Khayelitsha means "New Home" in isiXhosa, one of South Africa's local languages. The settlement was established as a characteristic mono-functional dormitory township in 1983. Situated about 35km outside of central Cape Town, Khayelitsha is home to 660.000 residents (18% of Cape Town's residents).

Crime in Khayelitsha is a daily reality: A total of 358 murders (75 per 100.000 residents) were registered in the annual reporting period of 2003/04 of the South Africa Police (SAP). Break-ins, robbery, and rape account for the most frequent crimes in Khayelitsha. Additionally, there are a huge number of unreported incidences relating, in particular, to gender-based violence and household crimes.

Hartmut Häußermann, an urban sociologist from Berlin, describes low income neighbourhoods at city margins similar to Khayelitsha as areas suffering fourfold exclusion – social, cultural, economic and institutional.[1] In the case of Khayelitsha, this is further exacerbated through an additional factor: the spatial exclusion of apartheid-era planning.

Almost two decades of targeted infrastructure investment in Khayelitsha have had very little impact on creating a sense of community or social improvement for local residents. Development continues almost unquestioned according to layout plans that are underpinned by curfews, a police state, and security paranoia rather than striving for a democratic society that seeks open discourse around public space, cooperation at neighbourhood level, and local citizenship. With detached residential, recreational, community and business sections, Khayelitsha reflects modernist urban rationales. For example, a 200m "buffer strip" of vacant land separates the Central Business District (CBD) from existing residential quarters. It is therefore questionable whether appropriate concepts are being applied in order to transform the dormitory town into an integrated human settlement.

At the end of 2005, the City of Cape Town and the German Development Bank (KfW) started a joint programme with the Khayelitsha Development Forum (a civic group) on Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU). The VPUU project is innovative in the sense that it promotes the approach of a systemic and integrated area-based development methodology from inception to operations, maintenance and management. As an on-going project, VPUU aims to generate sustainable neighbourhoods through the improvement of the overall quality of life of local residents. The localities are selected according to a set of pre-defined criteria, including socio-economic factors, crime rates, partnership opportunities with other programmes, as well as identified levels of social cohesion present within communities. (cf. www.vpuu.org, Fig. 1)

'Neighbourhood' denotes an operational geographic area of 20.000-50.000 residents. It captures the desire to employ factors such as social cohesion and local ownership for community development processes.

To secure long-term socio-economic development of marginalized communities, a sustainable approach is essential. In this process, the establishment of strong bonds between all partners is fundamental, establishing an interdependent strength that is difficult to break. Another component of the VPUU approach towards sustainability is long-term financial independence. This implies the delivery of processes, services and facilities which are affordable and resilient, as well as capable of surviving crises such as tight municipal budgets or cases of corruption.

The South African Constitution embraces principles of sustainability. Its Sustainable Neighbourhoods approach envisions a local government that includes citizen participation and helps to improve the quality of life of citizens. The Bill of Rights in the Constitution describes human dignity, equality and quality of life issues. Chapter 7 outlines 5 tasks of local government:

- to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;

- to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;

- to promote social and economic development;

- to promote a safe and healthy environment; and

- to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

It also obliges municipalities to "structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community… ."

Bearing on the constitutional provisions and combining these with elements such as local knowledge, professional expertise, and international best practices (such as UN-Habitat's Safer Cities programme and the World Health Organisation's life cycle approach)[2], the VPUU programme maintains five central objectives:

1. Infrastructure Development - Construct safe public spaces
The outputs include construction of safe pedestrian walkways, community centres, sport facilities, parks, cultural facilities, libraries, and business premises. All buildings are multifunctional. Informal settlements are upgraded with essential services such as toilets, water taps, storm water management, and access roads.

2. Social Development - Support for victims of violence and preventing people from becoming victims
This comprises the establishment of Neighbourhood Watch programmes, Community Police Forums, partnerships with NGO 's such as the Simelela Network to prevent gender based violence, associations providing free legal advice to residents, a Social Development Fund, and Early Childhood Development programmes.

3. Institutional Development - Community delivery of services, training and mentoring
Outcomes include community-based groups and people gaining assistance in running and managing newly provided facilities. The training of groups, mentorship of the groups and access to opportunities are key elements.

1
Häußermann, Hartmut; Kronauer, Martin; Siebel, Martin (Hrsg.) 2004: An den Rändern der Städte. Armut und Ausgrenzung. Frankfurt/M, Suhrkamp Verlag.

2
UN-Habitat 2007: Global Report on Human Settlements; Whitzman C. 2008: The Handbook of Community Safety, Gender and Violence Prevention, London, Earthscan.
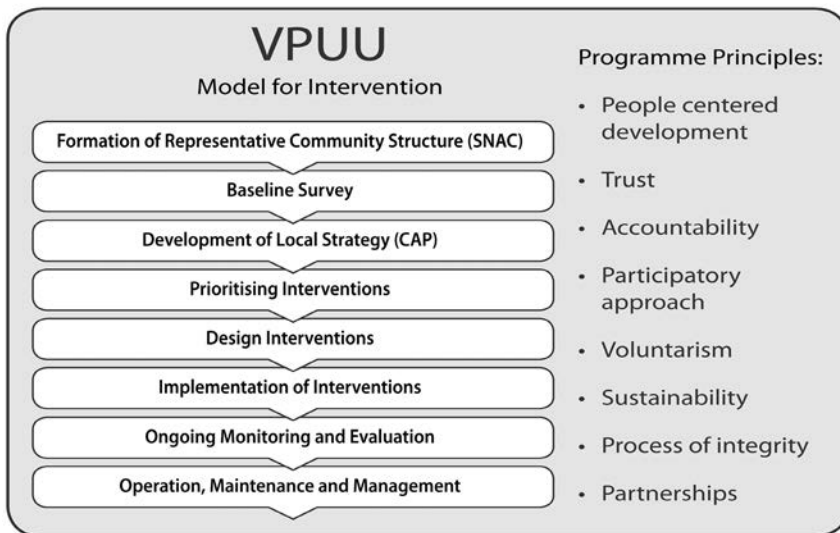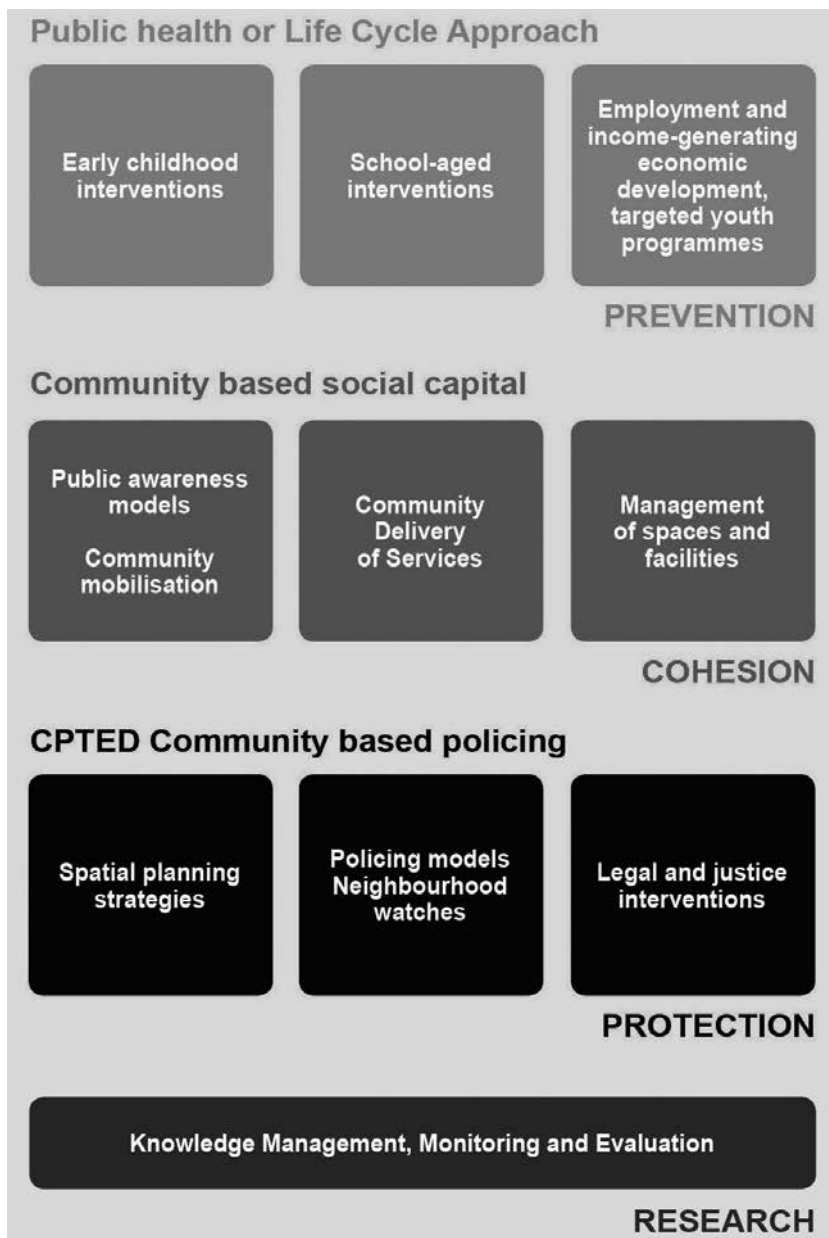
Figure 1: VPUU's eight step methodology

Figure 2: VPUU's strategy combining prevention, cohesion, protection and research

4. Community Participation - Partnerships in development

This implies that for each area a Community Action Plan is drafted in cooperation with the community members, defining short, medium and long term interventions, and that partnerships are formed with City, Provincial and National departments, the Khayelitsha Development Forum, the NGO sector, private business and international organisations in order to assist with the implementation of such plans.

5. Knowledge Management - Monitoring and Evaluation

As a result an efficient Knowledge Management system is elaborated and implemented to ensure that impacts are measured, and the knowledge gained and lessons learned are shared with the relevant stakeholders.

In general, the core of the VPUU programme consists of the combination of area and community based social capital development and the concept of citizenship in one city. Any component of the programme adheres to the core principles. Participatory urban design or place making are key components. These aim at promoting self-respect and ownership of projects and places, as well as fostering rights and responsibilities. The concept is referred to as "communalisation" in the sense of ownership by a community. A manual with "Urban Design Principles of a Safe Neighbourhood" spells out the VPUU approach (cf. box on the UDPs) and has influenced the Urban Design Policy for low income settlements in the City of Cape Town.

Methodology

Once an area is identified, the programme follows an eight step methodology which has evolved over the life of the programme. The methodology is research based and participatory and promotes informed consensus building processes in cooperation with communities. (Fig. 2)

1) The formation of a representative leadership structure (SNAC) aims to integrate as many stakeholders as possible in a neighbourhood.

2) Participatory baseline surveys seek to identify crime patterns, crime hotspots, existing assets and provide clarity around spatial development constraints.

3) A visioning exercise, informed by the baseline surveys and other inputs, helps develop a local and integrated development plan, called Community Action Plan (CAP, Fig. 3).

4, 5, 6) Interventions are prioritised into short, medium and long term interventions ("actions") according to six topics. These "Actions" include items that can be achieved exclusively by the community, in partnership with the City, or may require external partners. Typical actions range from leadership training, support for Early Childhood Development, maintenance of public infrastructure, youth

	Cultural/ Social	Economic	Institutional	Safety & Security	Infrastructure	M & E
Short-term	Youth related Women Empowerment Sport develop.	Support ECD Strategy	Leadership Training	Formalised neighbourhood watch initiatives	Operation and maintenance of existing toilets	Indicator development for the in-situ programme
Medium-term	Support to reduce gender and youth based violence SDF Projects	Business support	Spatial Reconfiguration Plan	Safe pedestrian crossing over Mew Way	Kick-about field & facility Neighbourhood Centre	Household Survey Monument Photographs
Long-term	Development of youth centre	Bulk buying cooperatives Small-scale manufacturing	Equitable access to community facilities and schools	Improved pedestrian walkways and access routes	Delivery of technical infrastructure	Annual review of CAP and on-going projects

▲

Figure 3: Example of a Community Action Plan
The figure shows a typical example of a Community Action Plan with the six distinct topical work streams and the short, medium and long term actions. While short term interventions are seen as a relatively simple intervention, the complexity increases with the time required to implement an action, which requires a higher grade of community cohesion to be successful.

▲

Figure 4a: Harare neighbourhood baseline survey: North-South and East-West pedestrian routes, (or desire lines) were identified as crime routes, with public facilities being crime hotspots

▲

Figure 4b: Location of Active Boxes along major pedestrian desire lines:
Active Box is a neighbourhood building with the typical elements of a landmark. It defines a neighbourhood and allows an elevated view to the surrounding areas. Active boxes are placed approximately every 500m along pedestrian walkways to signalise protection.

Murder
House breakings
Gangsterism
Rape
Abuse
Domestic violence
Stabbings
Youth related violence
Robbery
Hijackings
Motor vehicle accidents

Figure 5a: Active Box at Train station

Figure 5b: Active Box Harare Urban Park

Figure 6a: Crime Map Harare

programmes, cultural activities, as well as public infrastructure projects such as libraries or business facilities to provide spaces for local economic growth. Voluntarism is a key developmental principle whereby residents provide services in exchange for skills development courses.

7) Ongoing process-oriented monitoring and evaluation is done parallel to the programme implementation to allow that the intended outcomes are achieved.

8) The programme as a whole aims for sustainable neighbourhoods of which operation, maintenance and management on an area basis is seen as a key factor.

Harare neighbourhood

The 40.000 resident-strong neighbourhood of Harare was an initial test site for the application of VPUU's methodology. Murder, rape and robbery were identified as priority crimes along the two main pedestrian lines. (Fig. 4a) The Community Action Plan developed a response in the form of community manned patrolling points. (Fig. 3) The desire for "increased control", that can easily turn into self-justice or vigilantism, was transformed into the VPUU trademark typology Active

Box. (Fig.5) At the same time, the aspiration for surveillance was progressed into a positive perception of dangerous spaces.

Active Boxes are community centres, which are big enough to make an impact on a neighbourhood and small enough to be managed in cooperation with communities. The two to three story structures involve a resident caretaker, and a facility guardian system, presenting colourful landmarks in a single storey urban fabric.

The ground floor provides room for context specific variety such as little shops for informal traders at a train station, an Early Childhood Development resource centre integrated into a multifunctional House of Learning, or a meeting room in a park.

The Active Boxes are placed in strategic locations in an interval of about 500 meters, generating a backbone of public infrastructure that supports public life. The concept inspired the international football federation FIFA, who created the Football for Hope Centre in a similar manner. Another active box was implemented by the NGO Grassroots Soccer.

A second essential element of the VPUU typology is the Live Work Unit. Living and working on two levels in a street is common in South African Cities, yet it was
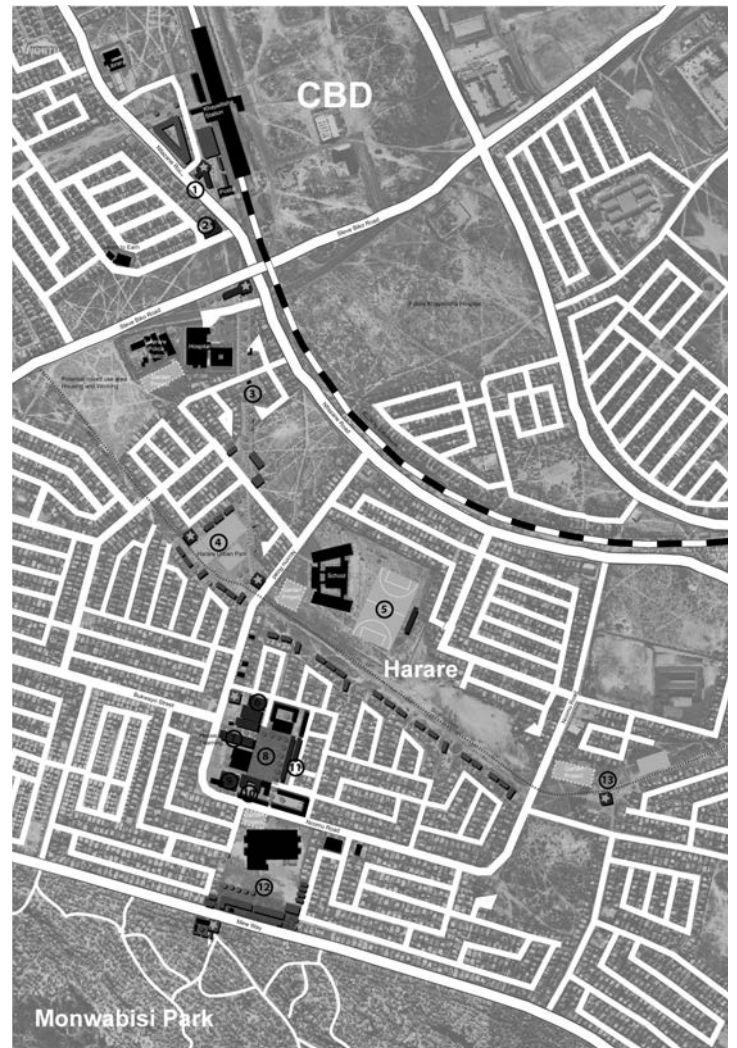
prohibited under Apartheid law in townships. VPUU overcomes this legacy by constructing Live Work Units at strategic points and with many customers. These units cater to the types of operations that usually leave a township due to the fact that well managed spaces in good locations are scarce (Fig. 8).

From an urban design perspective the Active Boxes and Live Work Units function as the glue to reinforce pedestrian activity lines, integrate community facilities, provide economic opportunities, and, not least, to increase safety. (Fig 8, 9, 10)

Enhancing mutual trust, these micro interventions illustrate that community participation processes are a key to transformation on a neighbourhood scale. Confidence is a necessary basis to facilitate larger investments in the area resulting in social, cultural, economic and institutional integration, as postulated by the constitutional mandate. In the case of Harare Square, the Community Action Plan foresaw a space for youth development and employment enhancement. Anchor projects include the multifunctional House of Learning which combines an Early Childhood Development resource centre with a neighbourhood library, evening classrooms, a community hall, and a helpdesk for women. A bulk buying and selling cooperative for Spaza shops (small local stores) coupled with a consultation centre provides economic opportunities and support for start-up businesses. A LoveLife Youth Centre complements the other developments (Fig. 8, 9).

Some of the results after 5 years into the programme are specifically in Harare:

- The murder rate has been reduced by 35%.

- The perceived sense of safety is increasing, and 48% of residents feel safer than 12 months ago.

In Khayelitsha as a whole:

- Close to 9,000 people received support after gender-related violence incidents (94% women).

- On average, 107 people receive free legal advice per month.

- 20 construction projects have been completed.

- 215 small community projects were started or completed by the residents.

- The library had 76,000 visitors in the first 4 months of operation.

Figure 6b: Harare neighbourhood: Public facilities prior to intervention

Figure 7: Urban Design Framework Plan

Figure 8a/b: Harare Live Work Units – positively occupying strategic locations for local business people (Left: Aerial view, Right: Streetview)
Source Streetview: Bruce Southerland, City of Cape Town

These remarkable results are only possible in partnership with a host of partners from business, administration and civil society such as: Mosaic (gender based violence), UWC legal Aid clinic, loveLife (youth centre and outreach), Grassroot Soccer (Youth and Sport), Carnegie Corporation (stocked books for 2 libraries), Metro Police (safety), Triple Trust Organisation (economic development, conceptual development of bulk buying cooperative), Learn to Earn (skills training), local and international Universities, government departments at city, provincial and national levels, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, private sector companies, community institutions such as the Khayelitsha Development Forum and representative community structures – like the SNAC the neighbourhood project committee.

The City of Cape Town serves as a custodian for the programme and contributes about two thirds of the funds. These are either the city's own funds or national budget allocations to Cape Town such as the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant or the Urban Settlement Development Grant. The German Development Bank (KfW) provides about one quarter of the funding aimed at new infrastructure, strategic partnerships and programme development. The balance is contributed by the Government of the Western Cape and private funders. Currently the overall programme budget sits at approximately R600 Mio (60 Mio Euro).

A Programme Management Unit within the City of Cape Town has been set up to implement the programme. The Unit is supported by an implementing agent made up of AHT Group AG (a German development consultancy), its South African partner SUN Development PTY Ltd and a number of South African practises.

About 50 people are working on the VPUU programme. A team of overall managers and work stream leaders representing social, situational, institutional, knowledge management, community participation and mainstreaming issues manage the programme. This team is supported by field-based professional staff who facilitate local negotiations, the implementation of activities, and the follow-up of management and maintenance. Representing one third of the current staff, the number of field officers is set to

rise as new communities enter the programme. Typically the field staff are general workers, landscapers or staff of local NGOs. These local people are paid out of funds directly generated through the programme.

Based on 5 years of implementation, one needs to ask whether it is possible to develop a new urban management typology in South Africa that enhances inclusion and transformation towards a sustainable neighbourhood and demonstrates financial sustainability at the same time. The VPUU team feels that this is possible provided that local government fulfils its constitutional mandate in cooperation with provincial and national government, along with the support of local business and civil society to increase the social capital and cohesion at neighbourhood level.

Can the VPUU approach be applied to informal settlements?

For the past two years solutions have been negotiated with residents in several informal settlements to adapt the VPUU methodology to an informal settlement context. The top-down provision of structures (houses) was removed from the catalogue of priority services and exciting new solutions are being developed. The work in informal settlements is based on the understanding that people are here to stay and need to be accommodated in the existing settlement. The discourse started by formulating a wider approach to basic infrastructure: going beyond water taps, toilets and electricity.

Urban design is seen as the primary discipline that can weave together socio-cultural development aspects, economic aspects, as well as operation and maintenance solutions.

One example of the city's policy on universal access is a project on Early Childhood Development services in an informal settlement to educate 0-6 year old children for 2-4 hours per day. The plan seeks to provide access to early childhood learning for about 80% of the children of an area. It works with local crèches and an education forum, involving the utilisation of public spaces. (Fig. 13)

▲
Figure 9a: Harare managed spaces at beginning
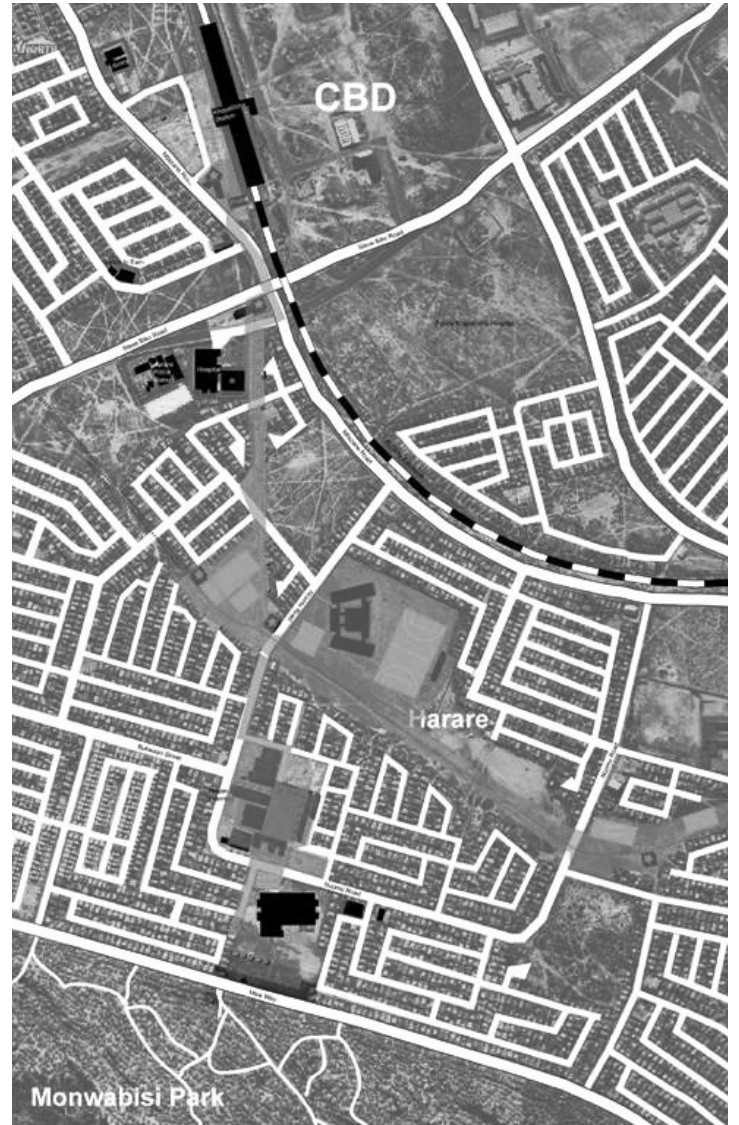
▲
Figure 9b: Harare managed spaces by VPUU

▲
Figure 9c: Harare Square aerial photo

▲
**Figure 9d:** Harare Square House of Learning. Street view.

▲ **Figure 10a:** Harare Urban Park was transformed from a rainwater detention pond to Urban Park

▲ **Figure 10b:** Harare Urban Park aerial view. The figure shows a typical example of an integrated development around a recreational space. It allows recreational activities for a wide variety of user groups

▲ **Figure 11a/b:** Impressions of informal settlements in Khayelitsha adjacent to the planned township
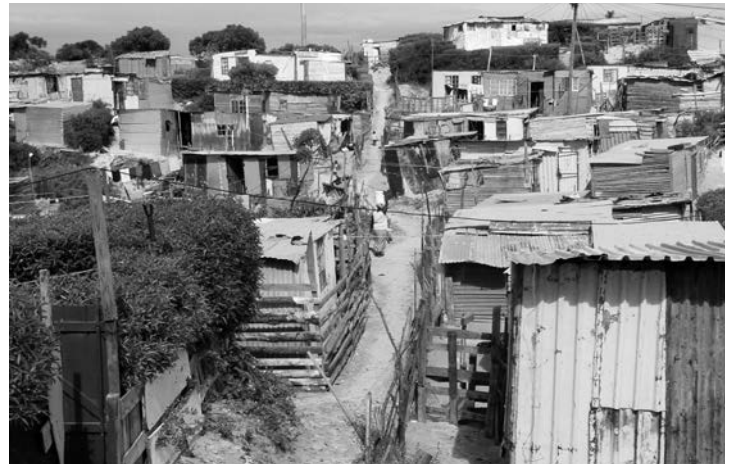
The operation and maintenance concept comprises three consecutive stages: 1) improve maintenance on existing infrastructure with volunteers, 2) add basic services and public infrastructure as shared services, 3) provide basic services (potable water, toilets, security of tenure, electricity, stormwater management, etc.) for households. While community leaders are able to adapt to this incremental, participatory driven approach, it poses challenges to the public administration who are driven by budget rationales and top-down planning approaches.

Summary, comments, and future plans

VPUU operates under the guidance of Cape Town's City Manager and has the support of key departments, the provincial government and a host of civil society organisations. The programme's adaptability and flexibility is based on the institutional set up of the implementing agent, having the mandate to negotiate solutions between communities and the local authority. This approach is being replicated in other parts of the city and discussions are under way to develop a knowledge hub to share and exchange experiences and ideas with likeminded departments and people.

Since July 2011 the concept is being replicated in Hanover Park (a gang and drug-affected area in Cape Town with a mainly Coloured community profile). Also, a replication of

the VPUU programme is imminent in Port Elizabeth, a city of 700,000 residents in Eastern Cape Province.

The programme received international recognition at the 5th UN-Habitat World Urban Forum in Rio in 2010 and at the preparation of the Global Network for Safer Cities of UN-Habitat in 2011. VPUU received a special mention in July 2012 at the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize 2012. It was cited by the jury as follows:

The scheme is already accepted by Cape Town for emulation in comparable areas and will soon be implemented in other South African cities. The potential for its emulation across Africa, the continent with the fastest-growing urban population worldwide, is almost incalculable. This achievement, despite its modest funding, is potentially one of the most important for cities across the developing world, and therefore deserving of exceptional recognition.

Currently, the set-up of a Centre of Excellence in regards to safety as a public good is being negotiated with the programme partners as well as local and international partners in order to ensure that the knowledge generated can benefit many more communities across South Africa.

The next challenge is to fully demonstrate financial sustainability on the neighbourhood level in Harare.

Urban Design Principles of a Safer Neighbourhood

The 'Safety' Principles

- *Surveillance and visibility*
- *Territoriality*
- *Defined access and safe movement*
- *Image and aesthetics*
- *Physical barriers*
- *Maintenance and management*

Design Tools for the Implementation of the Safety Principles

- *Assemblage of activities*
- *Integration of uses*
- *Site layout, "Active Frontages" and landscaping*
- *Visual connections*
- *Signage*
- *Movement networks*

◀
Figure 12: Spatial reconfiguration plan for Monwabisi Park informal settlement

◀
Figure 12: Emthonjeni – Early Childhood Development in public spaces

Michael Krause
———

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From 1995 onwards he had the privilege to work for a couple of years with Rodney Harber and Associates in Durban, South Africa mainly in informal settlements including Phoenix Settlement – Gandhi's second Ashram. Since 2006 Michael leads a highly dedicated and transversal team of people to implement and further develop the programme Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading – an area based approach model of transforming low income areas into neighbourhoods. The programme started off in formal areas and is now being adapted to suit informal settlements in the Cape Town metropolitan area.
Michael is the Director of Sustainable Urban Neighbourhoods PTY Ltd, a practise of about 30 people that seeks to enable a dialogue between residents, local authorities and other interested partners in a development with the vision to find appropriate social, economic and cultural solutions in the urban context to achieve resilient neighbourhoods. Contact: <michael@sundevelopment.co.za>

IDEAN Principles:
Ingredients of Sustainable and Resilient Neighbourhoods[1]

Peter Gotsch, Radostina Radulova

This approach envisions cities and neighbourhoods that are compact, integrated and connected. The resulting fabric consists of fine grained mixed use, a variety of housing types, compact form, attractive public realm, pedestrian friendly streetscapes, defined centres and edges and varying transport options. A city that promotes public transport, walkability, green areas and efficient use of energy, and where collective interest prevails will be better placed to address the urbanization challenges of the 21st century.

(Raf Tuts, Chief of UN-Habitat's Urban Planning and Design branch in the foreword of the IDEAN book, forthcoming).

1
The term IDEAN is a combination of Ideal and Indian. The urban planning studio "The Ideal Sector" based in the outskirts of Hyderabad (India), generated essential ideas. It served as a test bed for verification and as a means of communication. This article presents excerpts from documentation of the dual project (www.idean-project.net). A book will be published in Fall 2012.

2
BRE Environmental Assessment Method (BREEAM), Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), Green Rating for Integrated Habitat Assessment (GRIHA), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Nachhaltiges Bauen e. V. (DGNB)

Die IDEAN Prinzipien – Bestandteile nachhaltiger und belastbarer Stadtquartiere
In den kommenden 30 bis 40 Jahren wird sich die städtische Bevölkerung weltweit noch einmal verdoppeln, vor allem im sogenannten globalen Süden. Quartiere sind grundlegende Module, die städtische Systeme wesentlich bestimmen. Sie sind für eine nachhaltige und belastbare Stadtentwicklung entscheidend. Freiwillige Bewertungssysteme wie BREEM, LEED, GRIHA, oder DGNB versuchen die Leistung von Gebäuden und Siedlungen rational und ergebnisorientiert zu werten. Was uns aber immer noch fehlt, sind gemeinsame Wertesysteme, die über den Maßstab des Projektes hinausgehen und welche Prozesse der Konsensbildung und die Definition von Zielen und Visionen zwischen unterschiedlichen Akteuren fördern. Basierend auf den klassischen Dimensionen von Nachhaltigkeit schlägt IDEAN 7 Säulen und 33 Kernprinzipien für die Entwicklung von nachhaltigen und belastbaren Stadtquartieren vor.

Summary
The world will experience a doubling urban population in the next 30 to 40 years, mainly in the so called global South. Neighbourhoods are basic modules that largely condition urban systems. As such they are critical elements in steering resilient and sustainable development. Voluntary rating systems, such as BREEAM, LEED, GRIHA, DGNB[2], aim to assess the performance of buildings and settlements in a result oriented and rationalised manner. Yet what is still missing is an overarching set of shared values, looking beyond the individual project, and facilitating consensus building, visioning and goal setting among diverse stakeholders. Based on the classical dimensions of sustainability, IDEAN proposes 7 pillars and 33 core principles for the development of sustainable and resilient neighbourhoods.

Context

The world's hopes of putting carbon emissions on a manageable path depend upon how developing Asia urbanises in the coming decades. The scale is staggering. According to the Asian Development Bank, 44 million people join city populations each year. Every day sees the construction of 20,000 new dwellings and 259km (160 miles) of new roads. Energy consumption in Asia grew by 70% in the ten years to 2008. (The Economist 2010: 52)

South and South-East Asia are at the forefront of contemporary global urbanisation. China and India are the vanguards of this development. The sheer dimension of this South- and South-East Asian transformation represents one of the key elements of the global warming problem.

Masses of populations have already migrated from rural to urban locations as part of what is one of the largest population movements in human history. Hundreds of millions of new urban residents will shift to cities in the coming decades (Cf. UN-Habitat and the World Bank Data). Most of the new city dwellers will live, work and amuse themselves in new settlements (and sometimes completely new cities) at peripheral greenfield sites. The predominant module of urban growth is the large privately developed superblock. It presents an additive 'instant urbanism' using a toolbox of western models. Unfortunately these models feature many problematic principles and details of the fossil age: outdated air condition technology, absent insulation systems, a focus on individual car traffic, a lack of multi-functional uses, etc.

About IDEAN

IDEAN is represented by a tree with 7 branches and 33 principles that guide the development of sustainable and resilient neighbourhoods (Fig 3). The IDEAN principles' innovation lies in the fact that it complements the conventional approach to sustainability, which is composed of social, economic and ecological terms, with the dimensions of technology, culture, politics and space. Five overarching principles bind together these seven strands, and three pointers facilitate the assessment of a good neighbourhood. However, rather than constituting a closed system, the IDEAN principles amount to an open, multifaceted and interrelated network. IDEAN is responsive to the fact that Ideal Sectors are highly context specific. Every situation may require a specific combination of values. Not all have to be applied at the same time and new branches can be added to the tree.

In this way IDEAN's approach aims at supplementing the common green building rating standards such as LEED, IGBC, GRIHA, BREEAM, or DGNB. IDEAN is not another system of certification. Instead of rating and assessing results, it provides guiding principles for the entire process of creating sustainable and resilient neighbourhoods: planning, design, and implementation, as well as
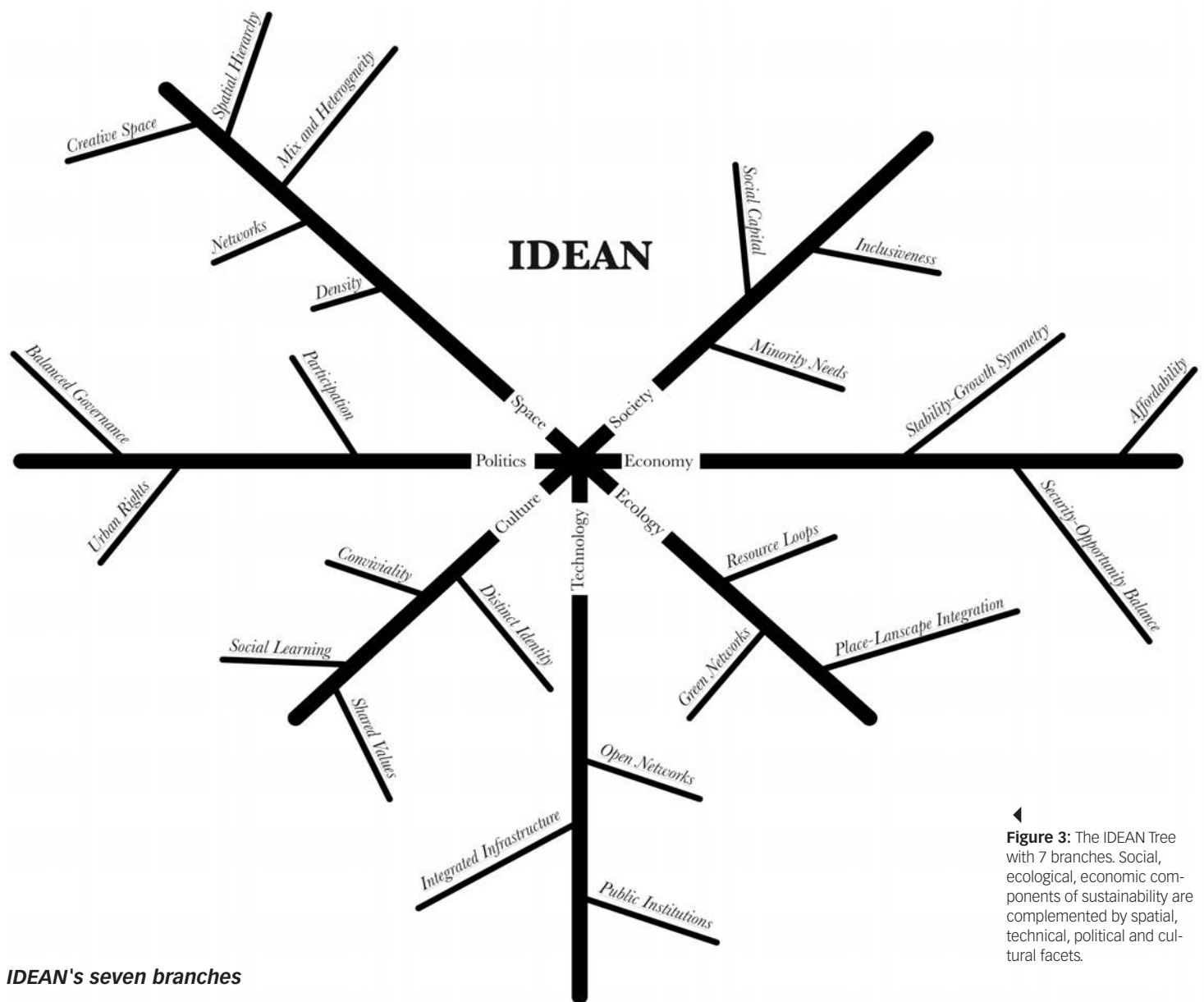
Figure 3: The IDEAN Tree with 7 branches. Social, ecological, economic components of sustainability are complemented by spatial, technical, political and cultural facets.

IDEAN's seven branches

Inclusive Society
Social sustainability is one of the prime principles of sustainable urban development. Ideal Sectors foster minorities' needs, encourage inclusive and integrated development, and generate social capital. Neighbourhoods that work for weak groups such as children, handicapped people, the elderly, and other minorities feature the best quality of life for all and enhance social capital.

Balanced Economy
Ideal Sectors strive for a balanced security and opportunity and between growth and stability, while at the same time promoting affordability. Shared resources such as fresh air, clean water, natural light, and public space, etc. need to be integrated into a new value system while affordable housing secure a basic mix and heterogeneity in the neighbourhood and open up perspectives for weaker sections of the population.

Integrated Ecology
Above all, Ideal Sectors promote Place-landscape-integration, Green Networks, and Resource Loops. Ideal Sectors engage in a comprehensive process of contextual planning and design that interweaves the natural assets and ecological systems of a specific location as the best means of promoting a neighbourhood's profile, authenticity, and identity.

Enabling Technology
The three pillars of IDEAN's enabling technology dimension are Integrated Infrastructure, Open Networks, and Public Institutions. Idean's Infrastructure promotes principles of integration, accessibility, human scale, and security. It promotes education and media skills for the maximum number of people beyond the physical backbones of networks.

Open Culture
The agglomerated activities and outcomes resulting from the application of the shared values generate a distinct identity. "Our ability to act and trigger change surpasses our capacity to understand and to represent the current situation." (Jameson) Distinct Identity, Shared Values, Social Learning and Conviviality encourage synergies between different cultures.

Equitable politics
Co-creation, open access and participation are the benchmarks. As a basis, the approach aims to guarantee basic services and rights to all. Participation implies that political and administrative power is generated from bottom-up, grounded of equal citizenship and independent of class or possession. Policy is the art of consensus and negotiation, and urban rights and participation are the main elements of its architecture of power.

Open Space
Optimal densities need to be correlated with other social, economic, cultural and environmental parameters. Open space puts into practice the principle of mixture and heterogeneity and transforms these into distinct urban cultures. IDEAN sectors promote a distinct spatial hierarchy based on the human scale. Open spaces serve as active generators of creativity and innovation.

management and operation. Yet above all, IDEAN aims at facilitating and developing a consensual vision. The approach intents to help community representatives, urban planners, architects, property developers, and the staff of municipalities and other planning institutions.

IDEAN's overarching principles

General
Six overarching principles delineate Ideal Sectors: Open Access, Opportunity, Communication, System Integration, Resilience & Flexibility, and Reflexivity. These values link up the seven branches of the IDEAN tree in the same manner as coloured bands of a rainbow.

Open Access
Ideal Sectors, as part of a sustainable and equitable urban fabric, provide their residents with open access to basic services and resources, as well as to social, cultural and economic assets, and to knowledge, learning, and basic rights. The principle of Open Access addresses in particular the needs of 'others': minorities and disadvantaged groups such as women, the elderly, children, and other 'weaker' sections of society.

Opportunity
The ability to offer a diversity of opportunities is what makes some cities better then others. IDEAN urbanism stands out because of its capacity to spawn opportunities for innovation. Its principles generate social, economic, ecological, cultural, political, and spatial prospects. The thinking relates to Amartya Sen's and Martha Nussbaum's 1993 capability approach aiming at enhancing collective opportunity.

Communication
Communication is a focal quality of IDEAN urbanism. The exchange of knowledge and ideas is a precondition for the balance of a social system, its tolerance and integration. It is a vital component for its ability to accommodate progress and adaptation. Likewise it is an essential component of creativity, conviviality, co-creation, and innovation.

System Integration
As an urban module aspiring to be equitable and sustainable, the Ideal Sector cannot exist in isolation. It is an essential part of a greater system of common public goods and resources at multiple scales: ecologically, socially, technologically, economically, culturally, spatially, and politically. As a consequence the Ideal Sector is closely integrated with its neighbours and with various larger systems from green networks and regional public-transport systems, to global flows of goods and information and communication.

Resilience and Flexibility
The Ideal Sector is grounded on a balance between resilience and flexibility. It features stability, but also openness to change. IDEAN promotes tolerance and the flexibility to cope with all sorts of incidents: from demographic transformations, economic crises, technological progress and climate change, to natural disasters. At the same time its seven strand of principles, such as open culture of identity, shared values, social learning and conviviality or its political division of balanced governance, urban rights and participation, provide a unique integrity and strength.

Reflexivity
Reflexivity is the sixth colour on IDEAN's 'rainbow' of general principles. It relates to self-knowledge and self-awareness promoting the capacity of a system (and its components) in order to reflect its own status and learn and plan for change. Neighbourhoods are complex and self-organised arrangements featuring diverse components, dynamic processes, multiple scales, and differing interests. IDEAN cultivates the capacity for individual neighbourhoods to reflect their own situation through self-inquiry and collective learning as an essential prerequisite to development and adaptation, including modern sensing and crowd sourcing techniques.

Figure 4: Meeting and communicating in the traditional way. German and Indian Students talk to a village community in Hyderabad's vicinity about future expectations.

Stability-growth Symmetry

To promote the symmetry between stability and growth is an important aspect of economic balance. Growth is a primary principle of our market economy. By definition a stable economy is one that grows. This standard is increasingly challenged in times of limited resources and climate change. Ideal Sectors need to create alternative market values promoting stability, frugality, or even 'smart' contraction. Shared resources such as fresh air, clean water, natural light, and public space, etc. need to be integrated into a new value system.

Minority Needs

Ideal Sectors consider the needs of minorities. Children, the elderly, and handicapped people are among the most vulnerable urban groups. Youth, women, and the poor represent the future of the Indian population. These are the segments of society that usually do not find it easy to assert their basic needs. In this context the requirements of universal design become IDEAN's benchmarks in conception, planning, management and operation. Neighbourhoods that work for weaker groups such as children, handicapped people, the elderly, and other minorities feature the best quality of life for all and enhance social capital.

Social Learning

Life-long collaborative learning practices are an essential component of IDEAN's philosophy. In present times, social, economic, and environmental settings are changing at an ever-faster pace. Today, to be born and raised and to die within a particular and stable cultural setting is a marginal experience. Swift demographic change, the progress in information and bio-technologies, progressing climate change, or the increasing scarcity of resources – all require arrangements of life long collaborative learning. Our ability to act and to trigger change surpasses our capacity to understand and to represent the current situation (the cultural critic Frederic Jameson refers to this dilemma as the crisis of orientation). Facing rapid changes and unpredicted events, present day societies require continuous collaborative learning processes. In addition to scientific knowledge and technological competence, IDEAN's 'learning culture' embraces diverse social capacities and tacit knowledge.

Conviviality

The fourth major pillar of IDEAN's open ethos is a culture of conviviality. In most present day urban settings the category of neighbourhood is not congruent with the dimension of community. Sectors comprise heterogeneous populations and life styles, and conviviality addresses this fact. It also allows for anonymity, but requires civic courage. Mainly, it builds on the inclination of humans to socialise, communicate, question, care, to express solidarity – even towards 'strangers'. IDEAN's conviviality uses genuine places to promote communication, the experience of individuality and difference, the exchange of ideas, the production of innovation, and the co-creation of common goods and shared values. Thus, more than representing a particular culture, conviviality encourages synergies between different cultures.

Balanced Governance

Balanced governance is a focal point of IDEAN's policies. Political consensus is difficult to achieve and often short lived. It needs to be actively promoted and sustained. For this reason Ideal Sectors are grounded on democratic principles and decentralised, bottom-up control. This is also regarded as the most resource friendly approach. Co-creation, open access, and participation are the benchmarks. Despite this, the limitations have to be cautiously negotiated and explored. Governance needs a consciously designed form.

Individual freedom and autonomy need a balance with authority. The latter must be representative. Moreover, power and civic control exist at various scales in a system of nested hierarchies. Authority protects common values and shared resources (from democratic principles and procedures, to access to services, to clean air and fresh water). Important places for the development and implementation of balanced governance are public institutions such as schools and community centres (and also virtual public domains).

All images by the authors

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Autorship of IDEAN

———

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◄

Figure 5: The Idean Boy represents the Ideal Sector and the Idean Girl IDEAN's Principles. Inspired by the children's book "An Ideal Boy – Charts from India"

The Reign of 'Madness' in Istanbul:
Economies of Scale of Urban Transformation

Yaşar Adnan Adanali

Die Herrschaft des "Wahnsinns" in Istanbul: die Maßstabssteigerung der städtischen Transformationen

Istanbul ist seit einiger Zeit einer beschleunigten Veränderung unterworfen. Gleichzeitig nimmt die „globale" Bedeutung der Stadt in ökonomischer, kultureller und politischer Hinsicht zu. Große Mengen an Kapital sind mittlerweile in dieser Stadt akkumuliert; unter anderem leben hier 30 Dollar-Milliardäre. Stadtverwaltung, Zentralstaat und private Investoren verfolgen gemeinsam das Projekt des Ausbaus einer internationalen „Global City", das mit massiven physischen Veränderungen und Eingriffen in die Stadtstruktur, mit einem offensiven „City Branding" sowie einer Reihe auch von der Zentralregierung und insbesondere dem Ministerpräsidenten Erdogan persönlich voran getriebener „größenwahnsinniger" Prestigeprojekte (wie dem Ausbau eines Parallelkanals zum Bosporus, der Errichtung zweier Satellitenstädte u.a.m.) einhergeht. Soziale Aufwertungsprozesse und Verdrängungen, Flächenabbruch von ganzen (vorwiegend auch informellen) Stadtgebieten sowie die Eingrenzung politischer und sozialer Mitspracherechte stellen die Kehrseite der Medaille dar. Am Beispiel des Projektes für den Taksim Platz, einen der zentralen öffentlichen Räume der Stadt, wird diese Entwicklung näher verdeutlicht.

Introduction: Istanbul Becoming Global

Istanbul is transforming. The city is turning global, becoming one of the nodal hubs that knit the global economy together. According to the MasterCard's Global Destination Cities Index, in which the 20 most visited cities in the world are listed, Istanbul is ranked as the fastest growing destination, positioned number 5 after London, Paris, Bangkok and Singapore.[1] International Congress and Convention Association ranks Istanbul 9th in terms of international meetings organised by international organisations, signifying its political influence.[2] For the second consecutive year, ULI and PwC ranked Istanbul 1st for both real es-

tate investment and development in Europe.[3] GaWC's list of the Alpha World Cities (Fig. 1), which are characterized as "very important world cities that link major economic regions and states into the world economy", comprised 47 cities and Istanbul is ranked 35th.

If put together, these striking figures indicate that Istanbul is rapidly becoming a global attraction point, not only for people but also for capital. Istanbul is already a city of billionaires. It is now number five on the list of world cities with the highest number of dollar billionaires. Today, Istanbul is home to 30 such residents with a total combined wealth of $ 48.7 billion.[4] To open a parenthesis,

1
MasterCard Worldwide Insights (2Q 2012) MasterCard Global Destination Cities Index. <www.mastercardworldwide.com>

2
ICCA (16 May 2012) ICCA 2011 statistics: international association sector is resilient and showing healthy growth. ICCA Press Release. <http://www.iccaworld.com/npps/story.cfm?nppage=2931>

3
PwC and the Urban Land Institute. Emerging Trends in Real Estate® Europe 2012. London: PwC and the Urban Land Institute, 2012

4
<http://www.forbes.com/pictures/eiif45edhh/5-istanbul/#gallerycontent>
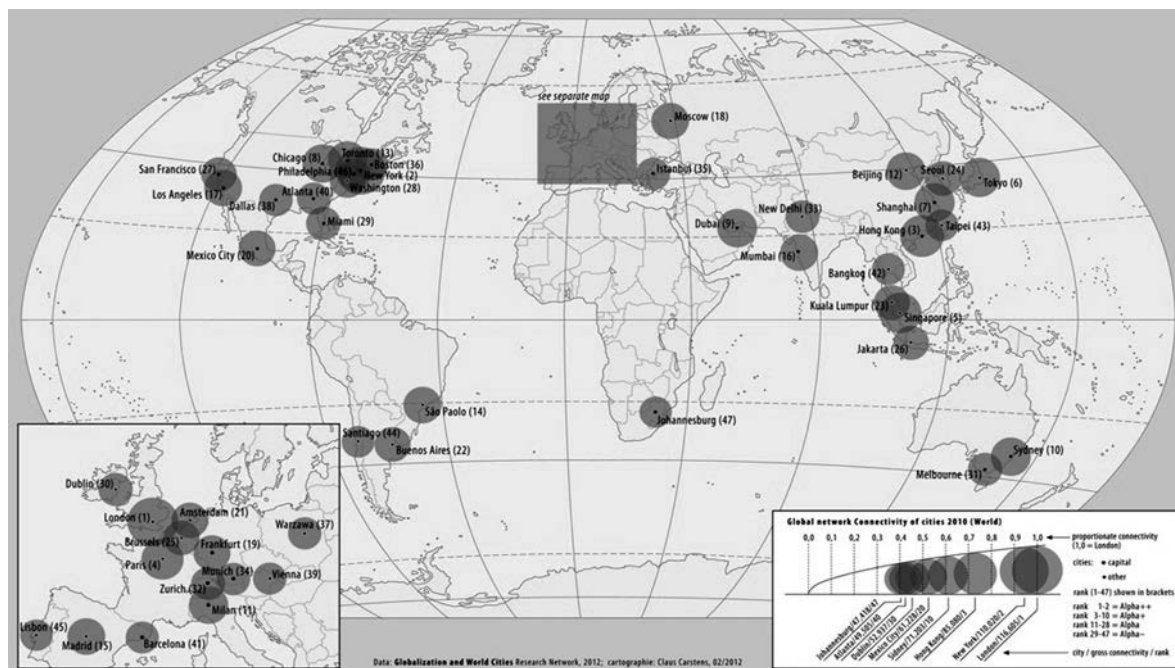
◄ **Figure 1:** GaWC's list of the Alpha World Cities (2011). Source: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb394.html>

Figure 2: Tarlabasi Urban Transformation Project envisions to replace the current 'marginalised' communities with the 'new' Istanbulites. Photo by the author.

5
Bertelsmann Stiftung (2011) Social Justice in the OECD – How Do the Member States Compare? Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011

6
Y. Cabannes, S. G. Yafai, C. Johnson (2010) How people face evictions. Development Planning Unit: University College London, pp. 13-15

7
IBB (2010) Kültür ve Turizm Yatırımları 2004 – 2009

8
<http://www.gamesbids.com/eng/olympic_bids/2020_bid_news/1216136240.html>

9
<http://www.integralarastirma.com/>

10
David Harvey (2012) Rebel Cities. From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution. London: Verso, p. 9

Table 1: Rate of Growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Construction Sector in Turkey. Source: State Statistical Institution

Turkey is ranked last among 31 OECD countries in terms of social justice, according to the Justice Index prepared by the Bertelsmann Stiftung.[5] Hence, there is a connection to this growing number of wealthy inhabitants and the polarising urbanisation policies. Moreover, on the list of Turkey's 100 richest persons, it is not industrialists who constitute the majority anymore, but those in the real estate and construction businesses. Almost one third of the richest Turkish persons are directly profiting from the business of global 'city-making'.

The 'global city' project is made possible via the reproduction of the city in the framework of processes of capitalist accumulation and mechanisms of neoliberal production and consumption. This project consists of spatial, economic and social processes as well as those that are by content and application political. In the following, the way in which 'the urban' is transforming Istanbul within the processes of globalisation and its impact beyond the 'city of billionaires' will be discussed - by first focusing briefly on the overall strategies at work; secondly, unpacking the discourse of transformation by focusing on the mega-projects; and thirdly, zooming in Taksim Project, an emblematic intervention at the city's most visible public space.

Making the Global City: Urban Strategies

Global(urban)isation
Although Istanbul's current rapid transformation has been presented as a 'non-Western' miracle of development in the face of the destructive effects of economic crises, it is actually possible to think of this transformation as a 'skilful' application of well-known global(urban)isation strategies by an alliance formed between the state, the investors and local governments: (a) The segmentation

of the city into detached islands through the construction of profit-making fragments of the global urbanisation catalogue, such as shopping malls, gated communities, mass housing settlements (TOKI: Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Housing Development Administration of Turkey), residences, plazas, airports, techno parks, golf courts, cruise harbours; (b) rendering lower and middle classes 'powerless' in the face of this transformation by means of forced evictions and legal pressure in order to secure the land necessary for the construction of these urban fragments; such that social and class-based segregation is conducted alongside spatial segregation; (c) the production of urban corridors and transportation infrastructures that will facilitate the flow of capital, goods and humans between these fragments of the urban catalogue.[6] Consequently, while prioritising the city of fluxes composed of corridors to the city of integrated urban spaces, Istanbul's global(urban)isation project constructs the spaces of wealthy on the spaces of poor and the marginalised. Lower class neighbourhoods inhabited by the city's poorest, which at the same time carry the highest potential in terms of the rising value of urban land, are refashioned by local municipality and private investors partnerships and allotted to new Istanbulites with highest cultural and economic capital – such as local and foreign executives working in sectors that are in great demand in the post-industrialist era like finance, design and informatics, as well as professionals of the institutionalised field of arts and culture (Fig. 2).

Branding Istanbul
The global(urban)isation project is not a one-way process of globalisation of the world's cities but a dynamic and dialectical transformation through which the meaning of the 'global' has also been redefined. This transformation, on the one hand, is rapidly changing the appearance of the cities, and their sub- and super-structures as briefly described above. On the other hand, economy and politics, broadly speaking, have been redefined and 'urbanised'. Cities are not just passive receivers of those fluxes but are coming into the picture as active participants of the globalisation via implemented urban policies. The competition among cities as 'market actors' for attracting global fluxes (of capital, people, investment, and political leverage) reveals itself in the city branding discourse. The emphasis of inter-city global competition on "becoming a city brand" is an attempt to institutionalise cities within the global capitalism by discovering their potentiality or by creating/assigning new 'assets' with strategic planning.

To start with, Istanbul has all the essentials necessary for this project to be marketed and institutionalised: being centrally located (between Europe and Asia); having a young and educated population and surplus labour with high human capital that is required for the services sectors; having a unique position in Turkey with an uneven geographical development; resting on a multi-layered history ready to be capitalised by the global tourism industry;

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Construction	13,9	7,8	14,1	9,3	18,5	5,7	-8,1	-16,1	18,3	11,2
GDP	6,2	5,3	9,4	8,4	6,9	4,7	2,0	-4,8	9,2	8,5

and with its Ottoman heritage, providing an anti-thesis to Ankara, the 'Kemalist' capital of the 'old' secularist regime, for reshuffling the (national and regional) hegemonic power.

Building on this basis, local and central authorities are performing entrepreneurial governance and hence working hard to make Istanbul a rising and marked up 'value' with branding projects such as European Culture of Capital 2010 (*cool Istanbul*), European Culture of Sport 2012 (*dynamic Istanbul*), candidacy for 2020 Olympics and European Championship for Football (*the global Istanbul*), etc. As described by the city's strategic plan, the ambitious aim is "a centre for art & culture, tourism, finance, trade and sport".[7] Articulating on being ranked as the fifth mostly visited city in the World, the 2020 Olympics bid leader Hasan Arat states that "our economic growth is enabling Istanbul to build towards a spectacular 2020 Games. Our ranking… displays that Istanbul is a city that people from all over the world want to experience".[8]

Politicised Istanbul
We have been observing the consolidation of (re-positioning) Istanbul at the central stage of national politics for the last few years, precisely throughout the last national elections in 2011. The Prime Minister Erdogan had preferred to label his 'visionary' urban interventions for Istanbul as 'mad projects' during his election campaign. Here, madness was synonymous with mega and grandeur. Those mega-projects, varying from constructing an artificial channel paralleling the Bosphorus to building two satellite cities out of scratch, had became the most visible and debatable subjects of the election, dominating all the others, such as democratisation process, right of the Kurdish citizens, making the new constitution. As the political process turned more urbanised, 'mad projects' got normalised. With the changing discourse, we are not talking about urban policies and politics per se anymore, but instead about how the broader political framework is becoming urbanised. Given the turnout of the elections, it seems that many voters buy into the "branding cities with mad projects" message.[9] Hence, it is possible to consider the global(urban)isation project of Istanbul as the totality of those operational strategies supported from above (the government, and international capital) and from below (local government and investors).

Political Economy of Construction
Indeed, 'rediscovery of the urban' and the political economy of city branding via mega-projects are strongly related to the extraction and absorption of surplus value, as discussed at length by David Harvey (2012) with references from Haussmann's Paris to Robert Moses and suburbanisation of America. Harvey explains the intrinsic relationship between the crisis of capitalism and urban interventions at grandeur scale "to resolve the capital surplus absorption problem".[10] Following his vein of thought, Istanbul's recent building boom has been very much related to the attempts of the long governing AKP, which came into power following one of the worst financial crisis in the country, to overcome economic crisis via initiation of an ambitious urbanisation process. If mega-projects are one aspect of this process, facilitation of (national and supranational) capital for having access to urban land for real-estate investments is another. As seen in Table 1, Turkey's 'economic miracle' has heavily

▲
Figure 3: Istanbul a 'Mega-Construction Site'. Source: Radikal Newspaper, 24.06.2012
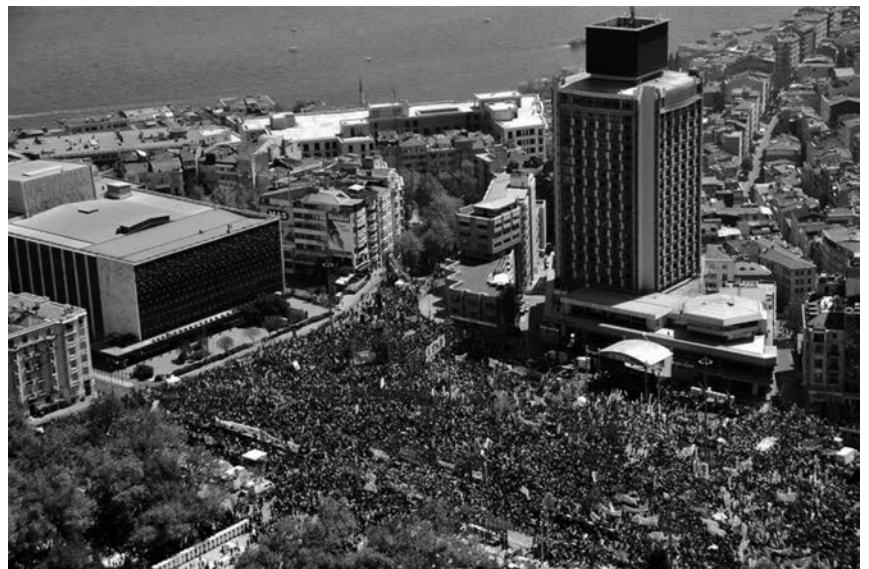
▲
Figure 4: Taksim Square during the May Day 2012. Source: <http://fotogaleri.ntvmsnbc.com/taksimde-1-mayis.html>
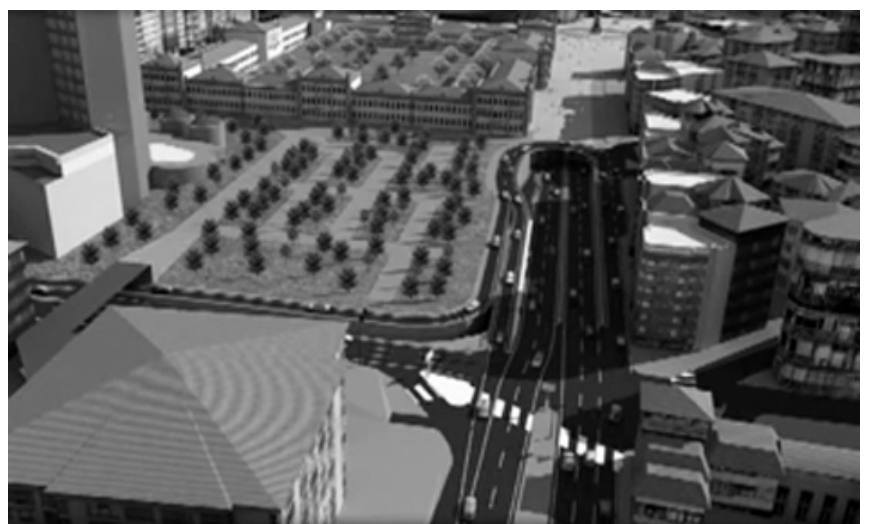
▲
Figure 5: Taksim Project with reconstruction of the former Artillery Barracks and construction of an underground motorway. Source: Screenshot from the project's video

Figure 6: Taksim Barracks (1900). Photographer: Sebah-Joailler, German Archeological Institute

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K. T. Frick (2008) The cost of the technological sublime: daring ingenuity and the new San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. In: H. Priemus, B. Flyvbjerg, B. van Wee (Eds.) Decision-Making on Mega-Projects. Cost-Benefit Analysis, Planning and Innovation, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp. 239-262

Figure 7: Prime Minister Erdogan presents Taksim as one of his 'mad projects'. Source: <http://radikal.com.tr>

relied on the construction sector boom for the last decade, which is a questionable miracle as the sector itself is highly vulnerable to ups and downs in the economy.

To sum up, the mentioned strategies can be explained with reference to gentrification processes inherent to neoliberal urban transformation. While these processes construct new wealthy spaces and forge new socio-spatial relationships, they are abstracted from the concrete space where the transformation is taking place; they are de-spatialised. If we take a bottom-up look at gentrification rather than adopting the bird's eye view of capital, we will see that the transformed spaces are renewed/executed without respect to their cultural and ecological contexts or the existing spatial habits and relationships of their inhabitants. Consequently, instead of a 'rational' planning process that functions via the accumulation of consecutive stages, in line with the conjunctures of the neoliberal economy Istanbul's global(urban)isation project treats the city space as an abstract, empty plate (a tabula rasa) and plans, designs, and reconstructs the city and its constitutive elements from scratch on a daily basis.

The 'Mad' Projects Discourse: Big, Bigger, and the Biggest

Mega-urban projects (a.k.a. 'mad' projects) require a special attention within the context of Istanbul's urban transformation process. They signify those urban infrastructure and/or development projects with certain characteristics as summed up by Frick: mega-urban projects are colossal in size and scope; captivating because of their size, engineering achievements or aesthetic design; costly – and often under-costed; controversial, complex and have control issues.[11] With reference to the mega-urban transportation projects, Sturup states that their advocates go straight to the question "can we do this thing?" and the question of "should we do it?" is subsumed by the fact that we can.[12] Considering the colossal impact of those projects on the environment, society and economy, such reasoning poses great challenges.

Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius, and Rothengatter argue that "cost overruns are endemic and are largely the product of deliberate misinformation provided to government by project proponents."[13] Flyvbjerg provides a 'Machiavellian' formula for this cost overrun:[14]

Under-Estimated Costs + Over-Estimated Revenue + Under-Estimated Environmental Impacts + Over-Valued Economic Development Effects = Project Approval

In the case of Istanbul the official labelling of mega-projects as 'madness' adds extra layers to this formula, one being the 'branding' and the other 'politicising' the city, as briefly described above. The shopping list of 'projects with scale' is lengthening to such an extent that the city is now called 'a mega-construction site': opening up a canal (similar to Suez or Panama) in the European side of Istanbul between the Black Sea and Marmara, 45 to 50 km long, 140 m wide and 25 m deep, which would provide to the ships and tankers passing the Bosphorus an alternative route; filling the seashore to create a demonstration/concert area for over a million people; building a cross-continental underground metro-tunnel; constructing the biggest mosque in 'the city of mosques'… just a few of those projects. The Taksim Project is one of the most controversial urban transformation projects high on the urban agenda of Istanbul at the moment (Fig. 3).

The Taksim Project
Indisputably, one of the most important public spaces in Turkey is the Taksim Square. In the minds and hearts of Istanbulites and anyone who visits the city, Taksim will remain as a dazzling, cosmopolitan urban centre where people from very different backgrounds co-exist and pass-by in a somewhat surprising harmony not only among thousands of pedestrians but also with slow-paced flowing car traffic. There are seven roads coming together at the square, including the city's most lively pedestrian main street, Istiklal, with over 2 million passers-by a day. This is such a central urban space with extensive visibility that it is not surprising to see the appetite of the city's and the capital's officials to intervene, re-design and put their sign on the space.

Taksim Square, being as much as a vibrant urban centre, has always been a political space in the contemporary history of the Turkish Republic, a space where the May Days were celebrated (Fig. 4), various protests took place, access to social movements were denied by the authorities many times for many years; but over and over again, Taksim has been reclaimed by the social and political movements. It can indeed be considered as the Tahrir Square of Istanbul.

In the making of the global city, the urban transformations of Istanbul are visible more than ever. Taksim Square is at the centre of this rapid change and now targeted by the government as a space of intervention for another 'mad' project. 'Urban madness' has become a norm and ethos of transformation for some time now. Among others, Taksim Project was introduced and propagated during the election by the Prime Minister. Recently, as the urban plans were approved, and some details were revealed, we have had a better idea about the scale of this project.

According to these plans (Fig. 5), the car traffic will be transferred to underground by the construction of a complicated motorway and viaducts' system connecting those seven streets; the diving and escaping tunnels will be built with service roads replacing the pedestrian streets; and an old army barracks demolished 70 years ago (Fig. 6) will be 'reconstructed' on the only remaining green park in this part of the city, probably to function as a lucrative shopping mall, one of the symbolic consumption spaces in the rapidly globalising city. With such project, according to the Taksim Platform, a civic initiative composed of various urban social movements, the accommodating symbiosis of the square will be radically damaged; a parallel automobile universe will be constructed underground; the tunnels will drastically limit the pedestrian access to the square and de-humanise the space; and the shopping mall will replace a very valuable green oasis and commercialize this 'political' space, probably with an out-fashioned architectural intervention.

The initiation of the project was as striking as the project itself. One of the events of 'Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture' was the 'Ghost Buildings' project by the Istanbul-based architects PATTU, which was aiming to "open a discussion about the destructions and reconstructions in the city through 12 selected buildings".[15] Following a provocative question – "what would have happened if these destruction never took place?" – the project provided different urban scenarios about long-gone buildings, to be shared through in-situ installations and an exhibition, however, without the intention to actually re-build them. The idea of "re-thinking those demolished buildings" was partly related to the contemporary demolitions, due to the urban transformation projects, in Istanbul's inner city and informal 'gecekon-du' neighbourhoods where mainly the urban poor live.[16] Hence, one of the 12 buildings of the project was Taksim Artillery Barracks, which was built in 1806 at Taksim Square, was used as a stadium for a few decades, and then transformed into a public park in 1942 following its demolition. Figure 7 shows the Prime Minister Erdogan presenting his Taksim Project in 2011, with an image of an old barrack and a football field in the middle. Indeed

this image was taken from PATTU's Taksim Project, nonetheless, it was used for Erdogan's presentation without their knowledge.

PATTU developed 5 scenarios for this space, under the titles of 'leisure city', 'provisional city', 'open city', 'improvisational city', and 'city of collective memories'. The concept of the last one, depicted by Figure 7, was described as following:

"Taksim Barracks housed many sports events during the Ottoman era as well as the early years of the Turkish Republic. The football games that started during the occupation years in Talimhane area between the occupation forces and Turkish teams were later transferred to the courtyard of the Taksim Barracks. The matches of teams like Galatasaray, Besiktas and Fenerbahçe with English and French teams, as well as the first national games of the young Republic were played here. The barracks not only housed football games, but also boxing matches, horse races, car and motorcycle races. If the barracks was not destroyed could it preserve its modest atmosphere? Would people still play street football on its field covered with weeds, while you find yourself 70 years in the past when you enter its courtyard surrounded by old walls?"[17]

Surprised by the utilisation of their drawings at the highest level, the curator of 'Ghost Buildings', Cem Kozar stated that "our project was one that was against the reconstruction of such buildings. Our thoughts in the beginning were those demolitions shall remain as unpleasant memories. Because when you aim to reconstruct such buildings they cannot go beyond a theatre décor. We were teasing ourselves by saying: what if they decide to realize them?"[18] Not surprisingly, despite the efforts of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality to commission an architect, none of the renowned offices in Turkey had volunteered to be associated with such a reconstruction project.[19]

Conclusion: the State of Emergency of Planning

Taksim Project and the other 'mad' ones raise important questions with regards to the limits to urban democracy. Neither civil society, nor Istanbulites were part of the decision-making process. The central authority was above the local level. The decisions were made behind closed doors, hidden from the public until the final shows where the Prime Minister himself presented the concepts. The projects were not part of the urban development plans. Those in power preferred to go straight to the question "can we do this thing?" instead of posing the question of "should we do it?" They were presented as quick-fixers to many challenging inter-related urban problems, however, vigorously endorsed as catalysers for economic development, heavily depended upon the construction sector. One can hardly miss the 'modernist' vision behind them, aiming to impress one's seal to the city, in the tradition of Haussmann or Robert Moses. Whilst doing so, these projects pave the way into a 'state of emergency' regime of planning, and repositioned the planning above the politics. In line with the technocratic, managerial governance prioritised by the neoliberal system, urban transformation projects become means to delink democracy and urban spatial reproduction.

12
S. Sturup (2009) Mega Projects and Governmentality. In: World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology, 54, pp. 1036-1045

13
B. Flyvbjerg, N. Bruzelius, W. Rothengatter (2003) Megaprojects and Risk: An Anatomy of Ambition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

14
Flyvbjerg, B. (2005) Machiavellian Megaprojects. In: Antipode, vol. 37, p. 18

15
<www.hayal-et.org>

16
<http://www.arkitera.com/gorus/index/detay/hayal-et-yapilar-sergisi-nde-taksim-kislasi/268>

17
<http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/building/taksim_klas>

18
<Radikal Newspaper, 03.06.2011

19
<http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/topcu-kislasi-nda-mimar-krizi/6783>

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Book Reviews / Neue Bücher

Chigara, Ben (ed.) Re-conceiving Property Rights in the New Millennium – Towards a New Sustainable Land Relations Policy, Routledge/London und New York, 2012, 234 S., ISBN 978-0-415-67870-4, 102,99 €

Neues zur facettenreichen Bodenpolitik, Bodenrechtsreform und zum Land Management im südlichen Afrika: Dies ist ein wichtiges Buch, das sich auf hohem theoretischem Niveau bewegt und gleichzeitig für Land Law-Consultants von praktischem Nutzen ist. Dem Herausgeber Ben Chigara, einem in England tätigen Professor für Internationales Recht, ist es gelungen, fachkundige Autoren der Politikwissenschaften, Ökonomie und des (Boden-)Rechts zu versammeln. Die Verfasser haben den zweifellos lesenswerten Versuch unternommen, Planung und Bodenpolitik innerhalb der Southern African Development Community (SADC) kritisch zu diskutieren und weiter zu entwickeln. Das Buch beschäftigt sich in 9 Hauptkapiteln mit der Globalisierung des Landmarkts und stellt wichtige Theorie geleitete Verbindungen zu den Hauptschwerpunkten auch der deutschen entwicklungspolitischen Landentwicklung her: Dies sind Armutsreduzierung und Gender gerechte Konfliktsensitivität durch angepasste Implementierung von „Land Policies". Bodenpolitiken sind höchst selten etwas Statisches, sondern ständig den Evolutionen der Landnutzung gemäß zu Aktualisierendes. Boden- und Rohstoff bezogene Konflikte, die eine solche Anpassung erforderlich machen, gibt es in Afrika mannigfache: Differenzierte, sich teilweise überlappende Landnutzungsrechte, Bodenrechtssysteme und unterschiedliche, auf die koloniale Phase und/oder Apartheidspolitik zurückgehende Eigentumsarrangements gestalten den Überblick als schwierig. Als absolut erforderlich erweist sich die Schaffung von Rechtssicherheit für die auf ungewisser bodenrechtlicher und katastertechnischer Grundlage errichteten Wohnsiedlungen (customary land; informal settlements; squatter). Eigentumspolitisch ist zu unterscheiden zwischen Privateigentum, Staatseigentum (Gemeineigentum), kommunalem Gemeinschaftseigentum sowie einem unbeschränkten Zugang zu Boden (open access), der das Rechtskonstrukt der „terra nullius" beinhaltet. Vollwertiges, beleihungsfähiges und einklagbares Eigentum ist lediglich das freehold, welches Private oder Gemeinschaften beanspruchen können und das ein Spekulationsobjekt ist. Das lesenswerte Buch bietet vielfältige Einblicke in Bodenpolitiken und das Land Management (Kap. 1, 2, 3 und 5) u. a. in Südafrika, Namibia, Botswana, Malawi und Zimbabwe, um den Zugang zu Boden als Menschenrecht und als Instrument der Grundsicherung zu gewährleisten. Das Problem entschädigungsloser Enteignungen wird am Beispiel Zimbabwes gezeigt (Kap. 9). Moderne und fortgeschriebene, an die Rechtskultur des jeweiligen Landes angepasste Verfassungstexte (Beispiel: Botswana und Namibia; Kap. 7) und umspannende Land Administrationen werden im SADC zunehmend als essenziell für nachhal-

tige wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklungen erkannt. Chigara et al. thematisieren die Landfrage vornehmlich als „Soziale Frage". Umso mehr spielt die Sicherheit von Nutzungs- und Pachtrechten für landwirtschaftliche und wohnbauliche Flächen eine überragende Rolle. Die Staaten südlich der Sahara sind jüngst wegen der „Land Grabbing"-Phänomene sowie der durchaus damit verbundenen ausländischen Direktinvestitionen (FDI) ins Blickfeld geraten. Mangels brauchbarer Umweltstandards, Planung und die Vielfalt der Property Rights widerspiegelnder Bodenpolitiken wird es vielen Investoren durchweg leicht gemacht, auch unverantwortliche finanzielle Engagements in Grund und Boden in Entwicklungsländern zu realisieren. Afrika steht nun vor einer neuerlichen Periode der Landnahme. Umso wichtiger werden nationale Bodenpolitiken, die den Charakter von Grund und Boden als unvermehrbares, unentgeltliches Wirtschaftsgut und Lebensgrundlage betonen. Boden- und Eigentumspolitik beschränkt sich naturgemäß nicht auf die Analyse der jeweiligen Investitions- und Landgesetze und insbesondere nicht nur darauf, ob diese einem Investor einen möglichst schrankenlosen Zugang zu Privateigentum an Grundflächen und Rohstoffquellen gewähren. Dies deutlich zu machen, ist das Verdienst des Buches. Das Werk ist aufgrund seiner Aktualität, wegen weiterführender Hinweise zur Thematik und durchweg guter Lesbarkeit ausdrücklich zur Lektüre empfohlen.

Fabian Thiel

Cole, Daniel H., Ostrom, Elinor (eds.) Property in Land and Other Resources, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge/Massachusetts, 2012, 494 S., ISBN 978-1-55844-221-4, US-$ 28

Seitdem die Politikwissenschaftlerin Elinor Ostrom im Jahr 2009 den Co-Nobelpreis für Ökonomie erhielt, befindet sich die Beschäftigung mit Gemeinschaftsgütern (Commons) scheinbar im Aufwind. Das umtriebige Lincoln Institute of Land Policy hat unter der Herausgeberschaft von Ostrom und Daniel Cole ein vielseitiges, anspruchsvolles, indessen textlastiges und Theorie gestütztes Kompendium zu Land- und Ressourceneigentumsthemen, Property Governance und Institutionen herausgebracht. Die diffizile Vielfalt der Property Rights wird anhand 15 großvolumiger Kapitel mit überwiegend US-amerikanischen Raumbeispielen zu Fischerei, Goldabbau, Atmosphäre und Luftverschmutzung, Wasser, indigenen Gemeinschaften und Raumplanung behandelt. Die Quintessenz der Monographie könnte man unter folgende Schlagwörter subsumieren: „Die Herausforderung der Gemeinschaftsressourcen" sowie „Institutionenanalyse für eine bessere Commons-Verwaltung neu denken". Der Terminus „Common Property" taucht allerdings nur an wenigen Stellen im Buch auf, das Schlagwort Commons, auf dem die Ostrom'sche Wissenschaftskarriere fraglos im Wesentlichen aufbaut, erscheint gar nur auf einer

einzigen Buchseite (S. 413). Den Leser beschleicht mithin ein Verdacht: Wurde hier Elinor Ostrom gar nur als Zugpferd benutzt? Wäre Raumplanung zumal in Entwicklungsländern einfacher, wenn es kein privates, exklusives Bodeneigentum gäbe? Man hätte sich eine deutlich stärkere Orientierung der einzelnen Beiträge an der Weiterentwicklung der Idee der Gemeinschaftsgüter in der Planung gewünscht. Veranschaulichende Graphiken, Planentwürfe oder Skizzen, wie der Commons-Gedanke in die Planungs- und Rechtswissenschaften, in den Städtebau oder in die Architektur zu integrieren wäre, sucht der geneigte Leser leider vergebens. Eines wird freilich bei der vereinfachenden Frage nach Privat oder Gemeineigentum einmal mehr deutlich: One size does not fit all. Die Schwierigkeiten, zu einer gemeinsamen Nutzung von Allmenderessourcen zu gelangen, ließen sich anschaulich anhand der Themenbereiche Land- und Wassernutzung, Naturschutz und Rohstoffe darstellen. Das Prinzip des Common Heritage of Mankind ist darüber hinaus kein Gemeinschaftsprinzip aller Staaten, denn ihre Rechtsordnungen divergieren, und das Leitprinzip der Räume und Nutzungsarten ist recht verschieden. Ideale, vermeintlich universell gültige Lösungen für Gemeingüter verschlechtern die Sache eher, als dass sie sie voranbringen; dies wird als Fazit der Buchbeiträge klar. Die wuchtige Monographie ist abgesehen von den skizzierten Defiziten für all diejenigen, die sich für die essenzielle Frage „The earth – private or common?" unter Berücksichtigung angelsächsischer Judikatur zu begeistern vermögen, durchaus zur Lektüre empfohlen.

Fabian Thiel

Davy, Benjamin. Land Policy. Planning and the Spatial Consequences of Property, Hardcover, Ashgate/Farnham, 2012, 276 S., ISBN 978-0-7546-7792-5, ca. £ 65

Veröffentlichungen von Benjamin Davy zu lesen ist immer aufs Neue ein überraschendes Erlebnis. Davy ist der gleichsam „allwissende Autor" im Themenfeld der Bodenpolitik. Wer bislang noch geglaubt hatte, Bodenpolitik sei spröde und langweilig, der wird nach der Lektüre eines besseren belehrt. Der Jurist Davy ist Inhaber des soweit ersichtlich einzigen Lehrstuhls für Bodenpolitik in Deutschland. Boden-"politik" thematisiert die Funktionen des Bodens für die Raumplanung als soziale Konstruktion, nicht als naturalistische Vorgabe oder Rechtsposition. Der Autor zeigt, dass durch Souveränitätsrechte und Grundstückseigentum der Boden zum Territorium wird, durch die Verknüpfung mit Geld der Boden zur Immobilie mutiert und sich schließlich durch Biodiversität zur Naturressource wandeln kann. Inhaltlich präsentiert das Buch in acht Hauptkapiteln die Querverbindungen zwischen Bodenpolitik (Kap. 1 und 2), Mono- versus Polyrationalität (Kap. 3, 7 und 8), Grundstückswertermittlung (Kap. 4) sowie Eigentum und Planung (Kap. 5 und 6). Die Monographie knüpft damit nahtlos an das Buch „Essential Injustice" (1997) desselben Autors an, nunmehr ergänzt u. a. um die „Monorationalität von Kondomen" (S. 61) in Anlehnung an Georg Simmel, den Davy ebenso leidenschaftlich gerne

zitiert wie – ausweislich des Literaturverzeichnisses – Mary Douglas nebst ihrer „cultural theory". Quintessenz: Raumplaner sollten zumindest in Ausübung ihrer beruflichen Tätigkeit zu Gunsten der auf Mary Douglas zurück gehenden Polyrationalität auf die Benutzung von Kondomen verzichten, um nicht einseitige Entscheidungen zu treffen (S. 59 ff.). Ob diese Forderung die Planungspraxis wohl erreicht? Zentraler Satz der eng bedruckten Monographie ist die Feststellung: „Land uses are what land users do". Man könnte aus Sicht des Leviathans modifiziert sagen: „… what land users are allowed to do" (S. XII). Bodeneigentümer, Nutzer und Planer sind im Text übrigens – gendermäßig überkorrekt – durchgängig weiblichen Geschlechts. Davy treibt fraglos die Frage um, ob Raumplanung einfacher wäre, wenn es kein Bodeneigentum gäbe. Anders gewendet: Braucht Raumplanung das Eigentum? Zweifellos kann ein Mensch glücklich leben, ohne Bodeneigentümer sein zu müssen. Boden- und Eigentumspolitik darf sich nicht auf die Analyse der jeweiligen Bodenrechte dahingehend beschränken, ob diese einem Investor einen möglichst unbeschränkten Zugang zu Privateigentum an natürlichen Ressourcen und somit zur Abschöpfung der Bodenrente gewähren. Davy nennt dies die „myths of property" (S. 15; Kap. 1). Privateigentum kann oftmals nicht ohne die Arrondierung von räumlichen Gemeinschaftsgütern funktionieren (S. 59 ff.). Eines wird bei der vereinfachenden Frage nach dem Pro und Contra von Privat- oder Gemeineigentum einmal mehr deutlich: „One size does not fit all" (S. 224). Ideale, vermeintlich universell gültige Lösungen für Gemeingüter und Bodenpolitiken verschlechtern die Sache eher, als dass sie sie nachhaltig voranbringen (dazu auch: Daniel H. Cole/Elinor Ostrom: Property in Land and Other Resources, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2012). Davy gelingt es deutlich zu machen, dass Bodenpolitik zunächst von Vorstellungen, Idealen und Grundsätzen des Gesetzgebers ausgeht. Idealtypische Umsetzungsmodelle von Bodenpolitik beruhen auf den Rationalitäten der Kontrolle, der Wettbewerbsfreiheit sowie der Gemeinschaft. Das Umsetzungsmodell der Gemeinschaft verbindet bspw. die territoriale und ökologische Wertschätzung des Bodens (vgl. Kap. 4) mit gemeinschaftlich organisierten sozial-ökologischen Nutzungen. Die Umsetzung etwa von Energie-, Naturschutz- und Bodenschutzzielen des Gesetzgebers könnte zugleich eine Renaissance der Commons im Sinne von Elinor Ostrom (S. 193 ff.) bedeuten, indem durch Allmenden, „land trusts" oder Stiftungen die Mitglieder des Gemeinwesens Grundstücksnutzungen zur Steigerung des ökologischen Marktwerts initiieren (S. 78 ff.). Index und Literaturverzeichnis sind umfassend, tief gehend und aktuell. Es fallen jedoch zahlreiche Wiederholungen im Text auf. Das Buch hätte folgerichtig m. E. nach um mindestens 50 Seiten gekürzt werden können, ohne an Aussagekraft zu verlieren. Abgesehen hiervon ist das Werk als anspruchsvolle Grundlagenliteratur für Landmanagement-, Planungs- und Bodenpolitikstudiengänge und Interessierte prädestiniert.

Fabian Thiel

Forthcoming Events / Veranstaltungen

September 1–7, 2012 in Naples, Italy
World Urban Forum 6: 'The Urban Future and Prosperity of the City', organised by UN-Habitat. Contact: E-mail <wuf@unhabitat.org >, website <www.unhabitat.org/categories.asp?catid=672>

September 6-8, 2012 in Bochum, Germany
'The History of Social Movements – a Global Perspective' Conference, organised by Institut für Soziale Bewegungen, Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Contact: phone +49 234 32 24687, E-mail <stefan.berger@rub.de>, website <www.isb.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/forschung/tagungen/konferenz_history-of-social-movements.html.de>

September 10–13, 2012 in Perm, Russia
48th Annual World Congress of ISOCARP: 'Fast Forward – Planning in a (hyper) dynamic urban context', organised by the International Society of City and Regional Planners (ISOCARP). Contact: phone +31 70 346-2654, website <www.isocarp.org/subsites/isocarp-congress-2012/home/>

Sept. 16–19, 2012 in Gothenburg, Sweden
56th IFHP World Congress: 'Inclusive cities in a global world', organised by the International Federation for Housing and Planning (IFHP). Contact: E-mail <ifhp2012@stadshuset.goteborg.se>, website <www.ifhp2012goteborg.se/en/index.html>

Sept. 17–19, 2012 in Durban, South Africa
5th Planning Africa Conference, organised by the South African Planning Institute (SAPI) and the African Planning Association (APA). Contact: phone +29 83 3789 883, E-mail <KarenF@match-hospitality.com>, website <www.sapi.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=62>

September 27-29, 2012 in Barcelona, Spain
7th European Biennial of Landscape Architecture, organised by the Institute of Architects of Catalonia and the Polytechnic University of Catalonia. Contact: phone +34 93 401 64 11, E-Mail <biennaladm@coac.net>, website <www.coac.net/landscape>

October 8-10, 2012 in Barcelona, Spain
6th Urban Research & Knowledge Symposium: 'Rethinking Cities: Framing the Future' (URKS6), organised by the World Bank, in partnership with the City of Barcelona. Contact: website <http://www.urbanknowledge.org/urks6.html>

October 9-12, 2012 in Tirana, Albania
Tirana Architecture Week: '[Re]appropriation of the City', organised by POLIS – International School of Architecture and Urban Development Policies, Tirana. Contact: phone +355 4 240 74 20 / 240 74 21, E-mail <contact@tiranaarchitectureweek.com>, website

October 11-12, 2012 in Berlin, Germany
International Congress 'Urban Energies', organised by the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development. Contact: phone +49 30 69 53 70 8-0, E-mail <nsp-kongress@sbca.de>, website <www.sbca.de>

Oct. 22-26, 2012 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
CODATU XV: 'The role of urban mobility in (re)shaping cities', organised by CODATU (Cooperation for urban mobility in the developing world). Contact: E-mail <codatu@wanadoo.fr>, website <www.codatu.org/codatu-xv-addis-ababa/>

November 11-15, 2012 in New York, USA
36th World Urban Development Congress. Contact: phone +33 1 58 30 34 52, E-mail <intainfo@inta-net.org>, website <www.inta36.org/en>

November 15-17, 2012 in Milano, Italy
'Cities to be tamed? Standards and alternatives in the transformation of the urban South', International Conference curated by ContestedSpaces, and promoted by Politecnico di Milano, Department of Architecture and Planning. Contact: E-mail <info@contestedspaces.info>, website <www.contestedspaces.info>

November 20–23, 2012 in Nagpur, India
Conference on Decentralised Wastewater Management in Asia, co-organised by the International Water Association (IWA) with the Bremen Overseas Research and Development Association, the Consortium for DEWATS Dissemination Society and the National Environmental Engineering Research Institute of India. Contact: E-Mail <secretariat@iwadewats-nagpur.com>,website

November 22-24, 2012 in Paris, France
13th Conference of the Network-Association of European Researchers on Urbanization in the South (N-AERUS): 'The Unequal City. Contested Spaces. Governance in Tension'. Contact: E-mail sec.naerus2012@ird.fr, website <www.n-aerus.net>

December 6-7, 2012 in London, GB
'Urban Age Electric City Conference'. A detailed investigation of how the combined forces of technological innovation and the global environmental crisis are affecting contemporary urban society, organised by LSE Cities at the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society. Contact: website. Contact: website <http://lsecities.net/ua/conferences/2012-london/>

Dec. 7-8, 2012 in Surabaya, Indonesia
'Urban Mobility: Its Impacts on Socio-cultural and Health Issues', organized by Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Airlangga. Contact: website <http://www.fib.unair.ac.id/urbanmobility2012/>

December 12-13, 2012 in Sydney, Australia
'Design and Crime Conference and Exhibition' to explore new ways of preventing crime, increasing safety and making places functional and friendly, organised by Designing Out Crime Research Centre. Contact: website <http://www.designandcrime.com/default.aspx>

Dec. 12-15, 2012 in Aubervilliers and Saint-Denis, France
'Security, Democracy and Cities: The Future of Prevention', organised by the European Forum for Urban Security (Efus) in partnership with Aubervilliers and Saint-Denis. Contact: website <www.2012conference.eu>

Dec. 27-28, 2012 in Wuhan, China
'2nd International Conference on Green Buildings Technologies and Materials' (GBTM 2012). Contact: website <http://www.gbtm2012.org/webSiteindex.asp>

February 1-2, 2013 in Austin, USA
'Food and the City 2013' Conference, organised by the University of Texas at Austin. Contact: <http://foodincubator.wordpress.com/conference/>

April 26-28, 2013 in Tallinn, Estonia
'Between Architecture of War and Military Urbanism' Conference, organised by Estonian Academy of Arts, Faculty of Architecture. Contact: website <http://www.architectureofwar.com>