URBAN ZERO POINTS

INDETERMINATE PUBLIC SPACE AND
THE UTOPIA OF DIY URBANISM

by
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Acknowledgements

Abstract

This doctoral thesis investigates the relevance of indeterminate public space, defined as urban zero points, for the political empowerment of local agents in urban environments in the form of DIY urbanism. Ever since industrialization and the triumph of the rational plan, defining the physical and non-physical features of the city fell to the supremacy of politicians, planners, and investors. As opposed to the traditional aestheticization and marketing of the city through urban regeneration, DIY urbanism signifies both an alternative way of urban planning and the re-negotiation of existing power relations in the city. The thesis examines to what extent the architectural and spatial parameters of the public realm inspire and empower their respective users to self-organized planning. Zero points are understood as vacant, functionally not predefined yet physically clearly framed places in the city. Whether implemented in the urban fabric through planning or emerging as a consequence of other modifications of the city, they are discussed as a prerequisite of new ways of spatial appropriation and interaction amongst different urban actors. The lack of authority and hierarchic structure in urban zero points facilitates the empowerment of individuals or groups vis-à-vis traditional decision-makers, or in other words, the emergence of political subjects.

The investigation is assisted by three exemplary projects—regeneration in Barcelona, Budapest, and Berlin in the aftermath of formal political change—and the theoretical frameworks of urban regeneration, spatial perception, and political subjectivity. It combines literature and plan analysis, and is complemented by expert interviews. The thesis expands the range of conceptualizations of indeterminacy in urban studies by linking architectural-spatial parameters to socio-political implications and by providing a specific set of properties that seem relevant in this light.

Beyond the romanticized vision of self-organization, the thesis offers a critique of the concept of DIY urbanism. While it appears to succeed in involving a variety of people in unauthorized productions of space, it also raises concern with regard to issues such as exclusion or the longevity of results. Spatial settings aside, political subjectification is hinged on additional parameters, notably a high level of cultural capital. Thus, the concept of zero points does not present a blueprint for future articulations of public space. On the grounds of this retrospective analysis, it rather displays spatial qualities such as maintaining a sense of 'no authority' in order to encourage the formation of political subjects.

Preface

Context

Large-scale regeneration projects, irrespective of their geographical and cultural context, have shown a long-standing popularity in retrofitting cities for the postindustrial age. While nation states have been increasingly deprived off their status as superior economic and social regulators, individual cities are forced to comply with the rules of global competition and to continuously reinvent themselves. Architecture and urban planning are influential factors in this striving for uniqueness, with strategic urban projects not only spatializing economic transformations and market-driven politics but also enforcing urban fragmentation and demographic change. Economically-steered planning objectives such as accommodating the service sector and attracting more affluent residents have been continuously high on the agenda when reconfiguring sites in inner-city areas. On the one hand, regeneration projects contribute to counteracting urban sprawl, but on the other, they tend to deliberately aggravate unevenness as their very purpose is for one area to gain advantage over another. The aestheticization of the city thus manifests processes of exclusion and segregation in fragmented urban layouts. It consolidates uneven geographies in physical as well as political terms. Cities that have seen radical political change since the late 1970s were particularly affected by these transformations. They show accelerated economic and spatial adjustments following the postindustrial/postmodern paradigm with regeneration as the dominant motif of urban design.

Nevertheless, a large variety of local initiatives and alternative planning approaches opposing the one-sided modification of urban environments have emerged. This shift in the dynamics of urban life and planning is based on two aspects: first, the experiences from previous projects were less than satisfying for the reasons mentioned above, and second, the global financial crisis of 2008 has impaired the planning and implementation of comprehensive projects. Instead, innovative approaches have been formulated, diversifying the planning culture through joint building ventures, cooperatives, and various forms of participatory planning, which stand in contrast to conventional planning frameworks of public authorities and private investors. Even though these concepts are not necessarily new, they certainly have gained momentum under the influence of economic recession. In this light, urban development is increasingly becoming a collective effort, which extends beyond mere profitability and contains distinct cultural and social objectives.

Motivation

My interest in the matter of urban regeneration, its effects, and potential alternatives refers back to my childhood in East Berlin and the changes the city has experienced in the aftermath of 1989. The reestablishment of Berlin as the German capital and the large amount of former industrial, undeveloped, or vacant land in central areas attracted a great deal of investment interest and construction activity. The opening of the Berlin Wall was thus also the opening of an East German (construction) market. The city has seen the formulation of new urban concepts and guidelines as well as the fast-paced implementation of more or less successful flagship projects.

Later on, the issue of strategic urban development by means of physical restructuring became a substantial part of my professional experience as an architect when I was engaged in the development scheme for the Melbourne Docklands. Over the past 20 years, the former industrial area in immediate proximity to the Central Business District has been turned into a new inner-city neighborhood in order to counteract the city's extensive urban sprawl. Despite its programmatic mix of commercial, residential, and recreational space, the first stages of the scheme led to

ambivalent results. The lack of green areas and of sense of community was viewed critically by both planners and users and resulted in the alteration of planning objectives. The later stages of the project addressed these problems, with measures such as enhancing the design and use of public space and nurturing a heterogeneous demographic structure.

My research for this thesis has amplified my professional knowledge of urban regeneration while diverting the focus from architectural objects to the articulation and appropriation of the spaces in between them. The thesis investigates the meaning of the unbuilt realm and its correlations to built frame. Moreover, it tries to link these findings to the everyday practices of urban agents. Thus, this thesis is not aimed at conceiving a theory for the mere benefit of theoretical knowledge, but rather at the retrospective analysis of a spatial practice that might inform future planning efforts. In other words, it attempts to establish a *practical theory*.

Scope of Research

The substantial modification of urban environments under the influence of a globalizing economy not only demands new urban layouts and building typologies, it also requires new socio-political concepts. It raises questions of self-perception and belonging. Providing an arena for political mobilization and empowerment is becoming crucial in ever densifying and diversifying urban contexts, where changing demographics influence all aspects of life—from governing and planning to culturally differentiated perceptions and appropriations of space.

In this respect, the thesis discusses the relevance of public space in the context of large-scale regeneration projects and their potential implications in the political sphere. It delineates the architectural and spatial parameters of an indeterminate public space—defined as urban zero points—and suggests that this space shows signs of nurturing participatory and self-organized initiatives of urban planning and urban life. Indeterminacy is understood as a precondition for the empowerment of local agents in terms of articulating their claim to the city government, which can be called DIY urbanism.

DIY urbanism does not only signify informal kinds of urban planning or the staging of collaborative urban events, it also implies the re-negotiation of existing power relations in the city. It questions the authority over physical urban space and the way in which it is appropriated. DIY urbanism comprises the sum of alternative concepts in the city ranging from joint socio-cultural activities to physical interventions. It displays benefits beyond temporary use scenarios and is gaining increasing acceptance on local government level. This makes it all the more necessary to critically review its achievements and shortcomings. On the one hand, DIY urbanism appears to succeed in addressing a variety of people and involving them in unauthorized productions of space. Yet on the other hand, it raises concerns with regard to issues such as exclusion or longevity of results.

If one conceptualizes DIY urbanism as the empowerment of political subjects, Jacques Rancière's terminology of politics becomes a central aspect of the analysis. He defines politics as the *enunciation of a wrong*, meaning those who have not had a say in public affairs are making themselves heard, often in opposition to existing power structures. With regard to the built environment this means that those who have been excluded from planning processes in the city are developing alternative concepts and self-determined ways of transforming the city. This thesis examines to what extent the architectural and spatial parameters of the public realm inspire and empower their respective

users to take matters into their own hands. Additional aspects that encourage or restrict public space appropriation and political engagement are also considered.

In order to specify the scope of work and to enable comparison between theory and practice, the thesis includes three case studies: the restructuring of El Raval in Barcelona, Józsefváros in Budapest, and the Holzmarkt site in Berlin. The European nature of these case studies relates to the debate on the revival of the European city, which reaffirms concentric urban layouts and the historical value of the center in contrast to both modernist visions of the functional city and contemporary dispersed peripheries. The European city is the spatial setting where urban regeneration is most forceful because issues of density and scenic appeal have to be addressed. It is here, that regeneration is often economically viable yet politically tricky.

Concerned with the design and use of public space, the focus on European case studies also signifies a return to the birthplace of the concept of public space. While the ancient Greek agora is the historical precedent, it is modern industrialization which has been responsible for staging the space between buildings as significant for communal life—from joint socio-cultural activities and signs of collective memory to the political rallies of workers' unions. Essentially, public space as a space where society represents itself in all its facets is a modern European invention. The case studies exemplify the acknowledgement of public space as a valuable spatial resource and reference for the very roots of collective urban life.

Barcelona, Budapest, and Berlin are cities of historical significance, which play an important role in their respective geographical contexts. They have a capital city status in either a country or an autonomous region and represent principal commercial, cultural, and political centers. In addition, their locations show strategic advantages for economic activities: Barcelona is a major trading port on the Mediterranean Sea while both Budapest and Berlin are gateways to Eastern Europe. During the nineteenth century, the three locations gained in importance as industrial cities, meaning their urban agglomerations experienced substantial spreading and densification during industrialization. As a result, comprehensive plans were developed to manage fast-paced urbanization and the hygiene and safety issues that came with it. Cerdà's urban plan for Barcelona (1859), Hobrecht's plan for Berlin (1862), and the foundation of the agglomeration of Budapest accompanied by the first comprehensive planning schemes (1873)—the urban visions of the industrial era had laid the foundation of the modern metropolises.

The three cities are also comparable in terms of their experience of radical political change in the late 1970s and 1980s. While Spain saw the end of the Franco dictatorship, Hungary and East Germany overcame the Socialist regime. The subsequent restoration of democracy, simultaneous to the increasing globalization of markets, altered their international standing and resulted in opening up for Western capitalist influences and fast-paced economic restructuring. Likewise, the gradual decline of manufacturing industries was aggravated by the increasing exposure to international competition. It follows that the common denominator of these regeneration projects is their origin in both industrial decline and powerful political transformations. Furthermore, the neighborhoods selected for this thesis had seen long-term neglect under the previous political regime and were marked by abandonment and social problems. They showed signs of marginalization and stigmatization. Spatial and social reconstruction was urgently needed. Hence, the promotion of renewal could generate substantial public visibility. The projects have seen critical

reflections—both approval and disapproval—in public media and academic discourse.

Though the three examples show distinct similarities as outlined above, they vary greatly in terms of their planning approaches and outcomes. While the projects in Barcelona and Budapest are largely complete, the one in Berlin is currently being constructed following years of temporary use and uncertain planning prospects. The schemes range from multiple small-scale interventions to the comprehensive reprogramming and rebuilding of a large area. They demonstrate different examples of participatory planning and self-organized urban design. Between the three projects, contradictory notions of public space and local empowerment can be asserted. The relationship *indeterminate – public – political* will be investigated.

Research Question

Based on the case study analysis as well as the theoretical framework of urban regeneration, spatial perception, and political subjectivity, the thesis investigates the following research question:

What are the architectural and spatial parameters of indeterminate public space in the selected regeneration projects and to what extent do they encourage or hinder the dynamics of DIY urbanism?

In relation to this central topic of the thesis, additional questions arise that need clarification: What are the driving forces in the process of urban regeneration and how do they express themselves in the design of public space? How can indeterminate public space occur or be implemented in the city? Apart from material environments, which other aspects appear to affect public space appropriation and political empowerment? Which general conclusions can be drawn about the architectural-spatial and socio-political properties of urban zero points?

Research Methods

literature review. With a wide range of influences, Urban Studies are an extensive academic field. It touches upon the disciplines of Economics, Geography, and Urban Planning, but also includes Sociology and Anthropology. Accordingly, the literature review requires a discussion of the different aspects of the thesis in relation to each of the respective disciplines. More precisely, this work sheds light on the background of urban regeneration as developed in the field of Human Geography, debates the matter of public space in the context of Urban Sociology and Planning, and attempts to outline the concept of political subjectivity within the field of Political Theory. The findings of this analysis inform the hypothesis that there is a relationship between indeterminate public space and immediate political consequences in terms of self-organized interventions in the urban environment.

plan analysis. Based on a set of analysis criteria, the articulation of public space in the three case studies is examined, thereby formulating the architectural and spatial parameters of indeterminacy. A review of the planning documents delineates the varying design approaches with regard to public space. For this purpose, archive material and illustrations by planners and other participants in the planning processes have been collected. The review is followed by a study on how these spaces have been appropriated. The analysis thus aims to compare intention and realization. It also compares the findings across case studies. Notably, the comparison of *three* different cities helps to avoid dualism and to maintain a critical distance to each of the projects. The three case studies represent model projects insofar as they constitute new formal democratic institutions and the

negotiation of new informal democratic practices. The projects address the idea of re-shaping public space with a new direct democratic ideology in mind and with varying levels of concern for participatory planning approaches.

qualitative data analysis. The research methods are complemented by empirical studies. Following the qualitative data collection—participant observation field notes and key informant interviews—the data is evaluated with regard to the research question. In particular, the interviews (eleven in total) pose a valuable and extensive source of information. They were conducted with representatives of public authorities, professional planners, academic scholars, social workers, and civil actors according to a specified set of questions and lasted between one and two hours each. The proceedings were recorded on tape and then transcribed—a lengthy procedure that however, allows one to better grasp the details, insecurities, and underlying resentments surrounding each of the projects. Given the large amount of text, it was crucial to reduce and generalize the information included in the transcripts. For the purpose of this thesis, I decided to follow the method of Qualitative Content Analysis as outlined by Philipp Mayring, and more specifically his Deductive Category Application.[1]


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Fig. 1   Step model of Deductive Category Application according to Philipp Mayring.

Qualitative Content Analysis provides for systematically working through the text. Here, the deductive method is applicable as the interview evaluation is preceded by literature and plan analysis leading to the formulation of a concrete hypothesis. This hypothesis determines the category system and codes (the indexing of raw data with keywords or phrases) that allow the researcher to traceably structure and assess the text. The process is assisted by MAXQDA, a software for qualitative data analysis. Eventually, the results are listed in coding agendas and interpreted with regard to the research question.[2] It allows the researcher to objectify and, to a certain extent, quantify the data.[3]

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1   Mayring developed his concept in the 1980s within the scope of a qualitative research project when faced with large amounts of interview transcripts. He distinguishes between *inductive category development* and *deductive category application*.

2   See Mayring, Philipp. *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse – Grundlagen und Techniken*, 11th ed. (Weinheim/Basel: Beltz, 2010) or Mayring, Philipp. "Qualitative Content Analysis" in: *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1:2, Art. 2 (June 2000) Retrieved from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089/2385 (accessed December 10, 2014).

3   Quantification can be achieved by noting how many times interviewees refer to specific aspects of the topics discussed. Though this kind quantification is still vague and relative, it certainly displays tendencies in the data.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into three chapters analogous to the main areas of concern: 1) the apparatus of urban regeneration, 2) the dimensions of zero, and 3) the utopia of DIY urbanism. An excursus between chapters two and three provides for additional insight into the relevant political theory.

Chapter One: The Apparatus of Urban Regeneration
The first chapter demarcates the consequences of economic transformation in the postindustrial age on the urban realm. It outlines David Harvey's theory of the Entrepreneurial City, manifested in built environments through strategic physical restructuring. This is followed by an introduction of the case studies, which show accelerated economic and spatial adjustments under the motif of regeneration after the changes in the political system. The ideology of 'place-making' and 'place-marketing' is examined as to its objectives, individual actors, marketing rhetoric, and planning tools. Subsequently, this comprehensive system of intertwined elements is interpreted as the apparatus of urban regeneration. It modifies urban environments and thereby appears responsible for aspects of desubjectification, as conceptualized by Giorgio Agamben. Agamben relates desubjectification to the defeat of politics vis-à-vis economic interests. It follows that the level of involvement in urban regeneration, i.e., to what extent individuals are targeted as potential residents or users, can be regarded as disproportional to the level of local political engagement.

Chapter Two: The Dimensions of Zero
Following the discussion on urban regeneration, the second chapter places an emphasis on public space as an important category in urban theory and planning and a potential space for opposing desubjectification. The hypothesis is formulated that indeterminate public space, defined as urban zero points, provides for a variety of appropriations by different users resulting in a complex *lived* space in a Lefebvrian sense and the political empowerment of its actors. A set of criteria is employed to identify the architectural and spatial properties of indeterminate public space. In this light, the three case studies offer different conceptualizations and articulations of space. This is followed by a review of concepts of indeterminacy in urban theory and planning. Based on examples by Rem Koolhaas, Raoul Bunschoten, and Ábalos & Herreros, the presence of zero points in urban environments and their implementation through urban design is evaluated.

Excursus
A brief excursus into the topic of political subjectivity in classical and modern political theory is offered between chapters two and three. It provides insight into Jacques Rancière's theoretical understanding of politics and explains the issue of post-politics as the disaffection with political matters that facilitates dissatisfaction and insurgencies in urban environments.

Chapter Three: The Utopia of DIY Urbanism
The third chapter focuses on the link between the built environment and the people that occupy it. It revisits utopian concepts in architectural as well as political terms, and interprets recent self-organized approaches to urban design as a contemporary version of utopia. The case studies are consulted for the correlations between urban zero points and the emergence of individuals or groups that manage to define aspects of their urban surroundings. Eventually, these dynamics of DIY urbanism evoked by and articulated in indeterminate public space are assessed with regard to their achievements and shortcomings. Additional preconditions of DIY approaches are also considered, most notably a high level of cultural capital as defined by Pierre Bourdieu.
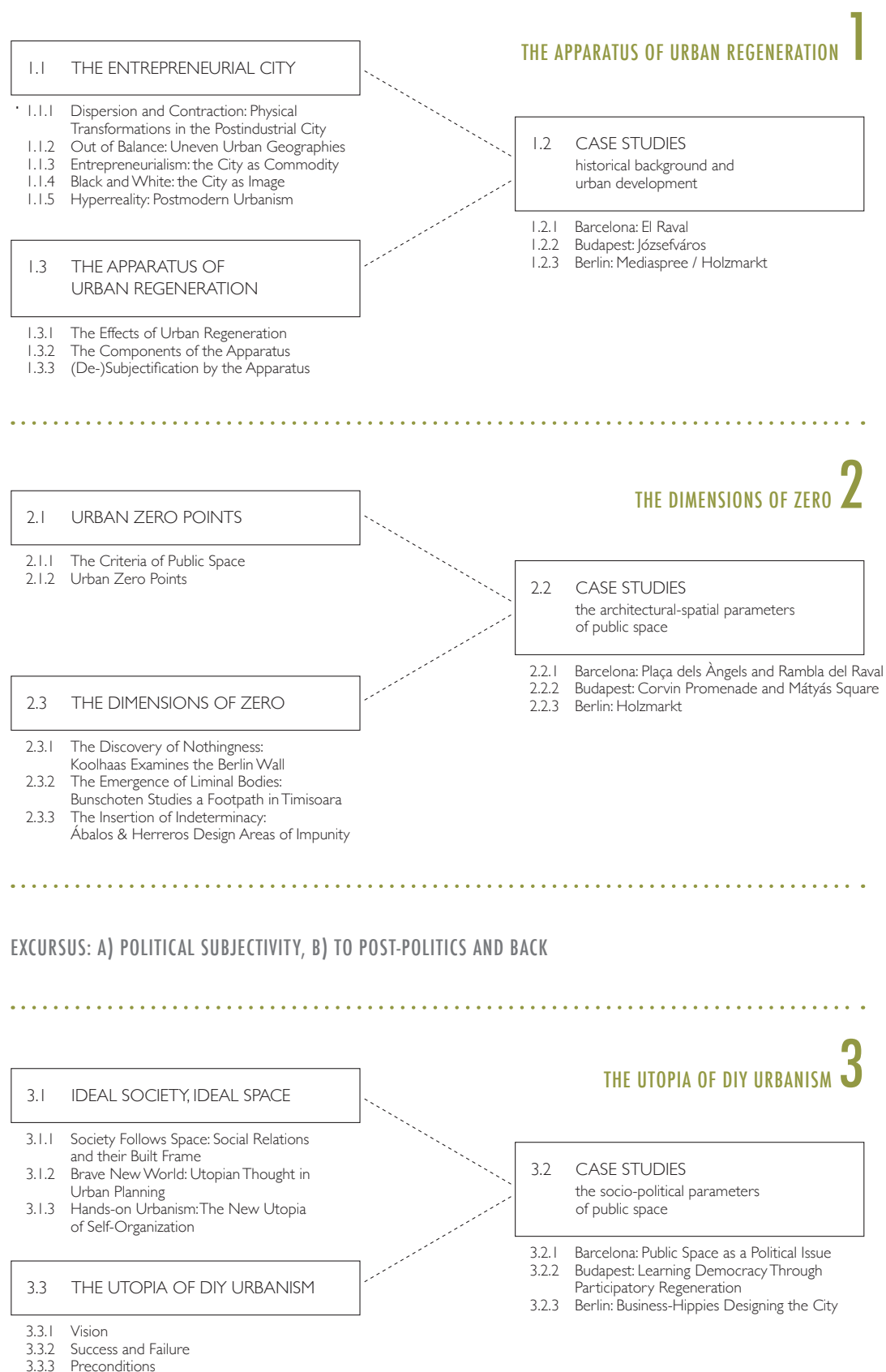
THE APPARATUS OF URBAN REGENERATION 1

1.1 THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY

- 1.1.1 Dispersion and Contraction: Physical Transformations in the Postindustrial City
- 1.1.2 Out of Balance: Uneven Urban Geographies
- 1.1.3 Entrepreneurialism: the City as Commodity
- 1.1.4 Black and White: the City as Image
- 1.1.5 Hyperreality: Postmodern Urbanism

1.2 CASE STUDIES
historical background and
urban development

1.2.1 Barcelona: El Raval
1.2.2 Budapest: Józsefváros
1.2.3 Berlin: Mediaspree / Holzmarkt

1.3 THE APPARATUS OF
URBAN REGENERATION

1.3.1 The Effects of Urban Regeneration
1.3.2 The Components of the Apparatus
1.3.3 (De-)Subjectification by the Apparatus

THE DIMENSIONS OF ZERO 2

2.1 URBAN ZERO POINTS

2.1.1 The Criteria of Public Space
2.1.2 Urban Zero Points

2.2 CASE STUDIES
the architectural-spatial parameters
of public space

2.2.1 Barcelona: Plaça dels Àngels and Rambla del Raval
2.2.2 Budapest: Corvin Promenade and Mátyás Square
2.2.3 Berlin: Holzmarkt

2.3 THE DIMENSIONS OF ZERO

2.3.1 The Discovery of Nothingness:
Koolhaas Examines the Berlin Wall
2.3.2 The Emergence of Liminal Bodies:
Bunschoten Studies a Footpath in Timisoara
2.3.3 The Insertion of Indeterminacy:
Ábalos & Herreros Design Areas of Impunity

EXCURSUS: A) POLITICAL SUBJECTIVITY, B) TO POST-POLITICS AND BACK

THE UTOPIA OF DIY URBANISM 3

3.1 IDEAL SOCIETY, IDEAL SPACE

3.1.1 Society Follows Space: Social Relations
and their Built Frame
3.1.2 Brave New World: Utopian Thought in
Urban Planning
3.1.3 Hands-on Urbanism: The New Utopia
of Self-Organization

3.2 CASE STUDIES
the socio-political parameters
of public space

3.2.1 Barcelona: Public Space as a Political Issue
3.2.2 Budapest: Learning Democracy Through
Participatory Regeneration
3.2.3 Berlin: Business-Hippies Designing the City

3.3 THE UTOPIA OF DIY URBANISM

3.3.1 Vision
3.3.2 Success and Failure
3.3.3 Preconditions

Fig. 2   Thesis Structure.

CHAPTER 1

THE APPARATUS OF URBAN REGENERATION

The urban dimension is determined by material things—the built environment—as much as by social, cultural, and political dynamics linked to economic processes. A globally operating economy has proven particularly influential in the development of cities. In this light, the term *Entrepreneurial City* has emerged as a theoretical construct as well as an administrative attitude on the local government level, assisted by strategic spatial restructuring, or in other words, urban regeneration. This chapter reviews the concept of urban regeneration. It introduces the case studies with their planning objectives, most relevant actors, and implementation processes. Finally, urban regeneration is interpreted as a comprehensive apparatus of intertwined elements, which shows implications for the city beyond its architectural and spatial form. It aims to strategically modify urban environments and thereby leads to a certain degree of desubjectification.

1.1   The Entrepreneurial City

1.1.1   Dispersion and Contraction: Physical Transformations in the Postindustrial City

A globally operating economy is not a new phenomenon, albeit its dominance as an economic ideology has developed over the past three decades and its far-ranging effects on various societal aspects—including urban environments— are certainly quite recent. An increasingly global orientation in economic matters, initiated by the automobile industry as a response to the crisis of Fordism,[1] has been mirrored in many other industries and received substantial assistance from transnational, liberal economic politics such as the dismantling of trade barriers. Taking profitability as a strategic determinant for entrepreneurial organization and deliberately neglecting the cultural and political context encourages the development of uneven economic geographies, competition, and strong correlations between otherwise non-related locations. This global reshuffling manifests itself in simultaneous processes of substantial decline of traditional manufacturing and the rise of new high-tech industries as well as the fast growth of newly industrializing economies.

With lean production migrating across the globe, specialized services and the possibility of direct investment through immediate availability of capital became indispensable for the territorial expansion of transnational firms.[2] In the attempt to satisfy global capital needs and in expectation of faster and higher profit margins, the economic focus of the industrialized world started shifting in the early 1980s from manufacturing industry to the tertiary sector of services and finance[3] and made the global capital market and producer services[4] the key pillars of *postindustrial* economy. In addition to transnationally operating companies, the immediacy and flexibility of global money further transcends geographical, cultural and political boundaries and, in times of economic recession (e.g., the Great Financial Crisis in 2008), provokes potentially devastating reactions.

Thus, transnational company structures and an extensive finance and service sector, assisted by communication technology, became the driving forces of economic globalization and created a work environment of unprecedented immediacy, proximity, and rivalry, which has profoundly altered societal structures around the world. During the 1980s, this new economic ideology, defined by David Harvey as *flexible accumulation*, became the dominant paradigm "with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption."[5] While flexible accumulation certainly appears responsible for boosting economic development and competition on various levels, its entrepreneurial nature has also reached beyond the economic realm, dissolving long-established, traditional societal entities and creating new ones in their stead. Overall, it can be stated that economic globalization exceeds any previous economic transition in terms of its

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1   Once the Fordist model of mass production and consumption had led to a largely saturated market, the interventionist attitude of nation-states in trying to manage overaccumulation overextended its economic viability and financial capacity. The results were a stagnation of economic growth and the rise of unemployment. The crisis culminated in the 1973 oil shock. For more information on the car industry's path to lean production, see Womack; Jones; Roos. *The Machine That Changed the World* (1990).

2   See Sassen, Saskia. *Cities in a World Economy* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1994).

3   The three-sector differentiation comprises the extraction of raw materials (primary), manufacturing (secondary), and services (tertiary).

4   "Producer services cover financial, legal, and general management matters; innovation; development; design; administration; personnel; production technology; maintenance; transport; communications; wholesale distributions; advertising; cleaning services for firms; security; and storage." Sassen. *Cities in a World Economy*, 55.

5   Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) 147.

social,[6] cultural,[7] and political[8] implications. These diverse and at times contradicting implications eventually manifest themselves physically. The following pages will therefore trace the physical consequences as they have become visible in urban environments in the industrialized world. They result in two simultaneous yet contrasting phenomena: *dispersion and contraction*.

The advances in information and communication technology have seemed to result in a devaluation of physical parameters, e.g., in favor of cyberspace. Harvey notes that the perceived immediacy provided by new technologies and infrastructure evokes a neutralization of space and time, described as postmodernity's time-space compression, where "space appears to shrink to a 'global village' of telecommunications and a 'spaceship earth' of economic and ecological interdependencies" and "time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is."[9] The dismantling of spatial and temporal boundaries translates to a dilution and disorganization of the physical itself, most notably in the layout of the contemporary metropolis, which has abandoned the idea of centrality in favor of spreading urban fabrics that challenge the bodily experience of the city. The overlapping of different layers and scales exceeds the capabilities of human perception making it increasingly difficult to grasp these new configurations. The urban community experiences an increasing disengagement from its built surroundings. Social practice is diverted to the realm of technology, thus it is increasingly despatialized and dematerialized, which, in turn, facilitates a sense of placelessness.

In this respect, North American cities, and Los Angeles in particular, have been repeatedly used as case studies by urban planners, geographers, and sociologists for analyses of the new spatial logic and its social implications.[10] The Ghent Urban Studies Team (GUST), for example, identifies the large metropolitan areas lacking density and centrality as the *post(sub)urban* reality. The polynuclear structure of peripheral nodes and edge cities rivals the traditional center. Centrality as a concept of urban planning appears to have become irrelevant. The vast urban fabric leaves the dichotomy of center and periphery behind and continuously expands into the rural landscape. Though sprawl is most prominent in these cases, the phenomenon is not exclusive to North America. "Not

6 The precarization of employment relations is examined by David Harvey in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989) and by Hans-Peter Martin and Harald Schumann in *Die Globalisierungsfalle* (1996) [engl. *The Global Trap*, 1997]. The disintegration of traditional social strata like the working class under the influence of Capitalist urbanization is noted by Anthony Giddens in *The Consequences of Modernity* (1991) while Ulrich Beck addresses the subsequent individualization and pluralization of society in *Risk society: Towards a New Modernity* (1992).

7 As a result of dissolving social structures, Martin Riesebrodt notes in *Die Rückkehr der Religionen* (2000) the expansion of class heterogeneous cultural milieus along lines of shared moral agreements or lifestyles. His thoughts are also a response to the apocalyptic and highly controversial theory of cultural conflicts along religious lines put forward by Samuel Huntington in *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996). Predictions of diminished cultural markers due to transnational economic and technological connectivity are expressed by Thomas L. Friedman in *The World is Flat* (2005).

8 The manifestation of neoliberal politics in alliance with global economy is considered in Martin; Schumann. *Die Globalisierungsfalle* (1996) [engl. *The Global Trap*, 1997]. For details on the term Neoliberalism, see Hartwich, Oliver Marc. "Neoliberalism: The Genesis of a Political Swearword" (2009). Compelling thoughts on the diametrical opposition between free market and democracy are offered by Ulrich Beck "Kapitalismus ohne Arbeit" (1996), Jacques Attali "The Crash of Western Civilization" (1997), or Slavoj Žižek "From Democracy to Divine Violence" (2011). Saskia Sassen elaborates on the diminished power of nation states in view of a transnational economy in "Globalization or denationalization" (2003).

9 Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 240. Harvey thus draws on Marx's definition of the annihilation of space with time as an essential characteristic of capitalism: "[…] while capital must on the one side strive to tear down every spatial barrier to intercourse, i.e., to exchange, and conquer the whole earth for its market, it strives on the other side to annihilate this space with time, i.e., to reduce to a minimum the time spent in motion from one place to another." Marx, Karl. *Grundrisse* (London: Pelican, 1973) 539-40. quoted in Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 240.

10 Los Angeles shows signs of dispersion and fragmentation of both urban space and society, rendering it a prominent example of the postindustrial/postmodern city. For more details see writings in urban geography by Edward Soja.

only did edge cities surface in the immediate surroundings of European metropolises, but the space in-between metropolises has also silted up, giving rise to so-called metropolitan corridors."[11] According to GUST, the megalopolis, a sprawling urban fabric of connected, formerly independent agglomerations, signifies the European equivalent to postsuburbia. Though the traditional concentric layout of the European city, its spatial and socio-economic density, offers some form of resistance to postindustrial influences on the built form, it becomes obvious that, here too, the differentiation between historical center and periphery is now less hierarchical and bares traces of decentralization.

> While cities seem for ever expanding, their cores have in turn become subject to processes of dilution. As a result of suburbanization, many core cities have for instance seen the rise of monofunctional districts consisting of no more than isolated office towers. The suburbanization of industry, likewise, has laid waste large industrial sites in the earlier centers of cities.
>
> GUST 1999[12]

Likewise, Tim Hall notes that industrial decline is followed by a decline of the city center and thus draws attention to another aspect of the dispersion of the physical. In his insightful reader on contemporary urban geography, he claims that traditional locational requirements of urban space lose importance for conducting business. As "the economy is characterized more by the exchange of information than hard goods, geographical centrality has been superseded by attempts to create a sense of cultural centrality."[13] And with the services and finance industry having little or no capital tied up in machinery or factories, it is generally more footloose than the secondary sector.

Saskia Sassen, on the other hand, contrasts these thoughts of diminished spatial necessities by pointing out the local features required for attracting and accommodating foreign capital. In 1991, she offered an innovative, yet controversially discussed re-conceptualization of urban environments. Though nested within national sovereignty, multinational companies and global capital transcend nationality and instead put an emphasis on local scales and urban infrastructures. While the widespread belief at the turn of the twenty-first century was that communication technologies would render concrete space obsolete, her theory of the **Global City** [14] focused on the intersection of globalization and urbanization and argued that the very nature of the globalizing economy is to rely on the urban context. Sassen states, "that the more globalized and digitized the operations of firms and markets become, the more their central management and specialized servicing functions […] become strategic and complex thereby benefiting from agglomeration economies."[15] Cities are not only key locations for managerial purposes, providing financial and service infrastructure; they are also sites of both production and sales of goods as well as ideas.

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11 The Ghent Urban Studies Team. *The Urban Condition: Space, Community, and Self in the Contemporary Metropolis* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1999) 33.

12 Ibid., 39.

13 Hall, Tim. *Urban Geography*, 2nd ed. (London/New York: Routledge, 2001) 130.

14 In *The Global City*, Sassen describes a new hierarchy of cities headed by New York, London and Tokyo and tied to each other by enforced economic relations between company headquarters and their respective service requirements. See Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

15 Sassen, Saskia. "Globalization or denationalization" in: *Review of International Political Economy*, 10:1 (2003) 7.
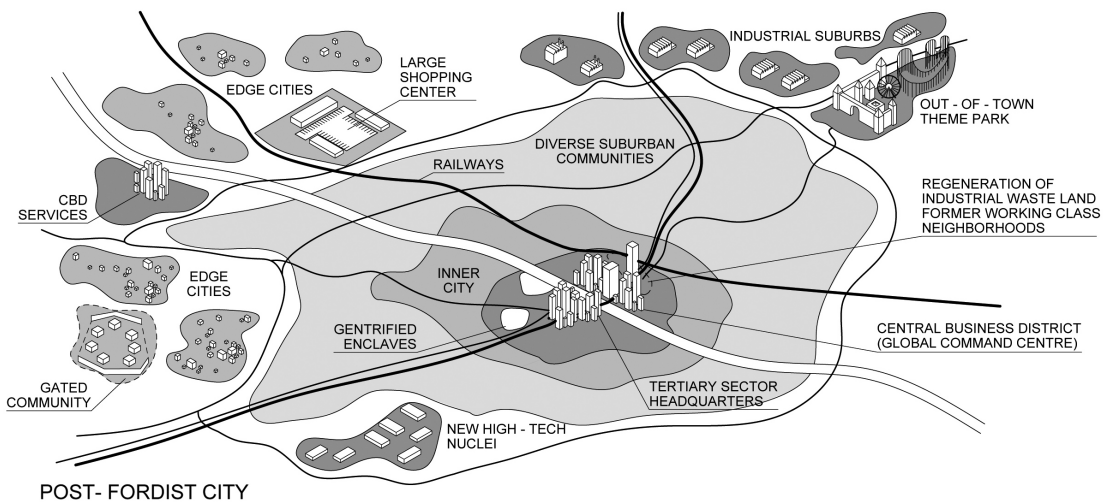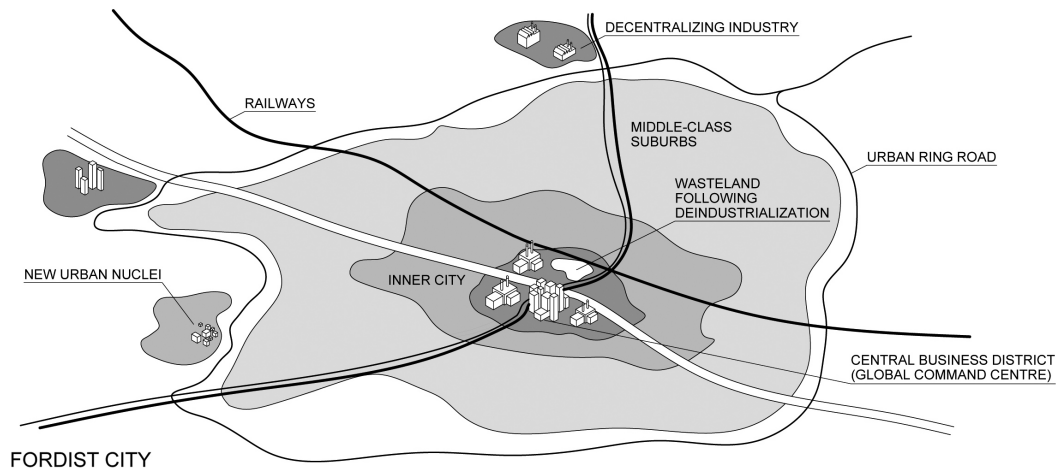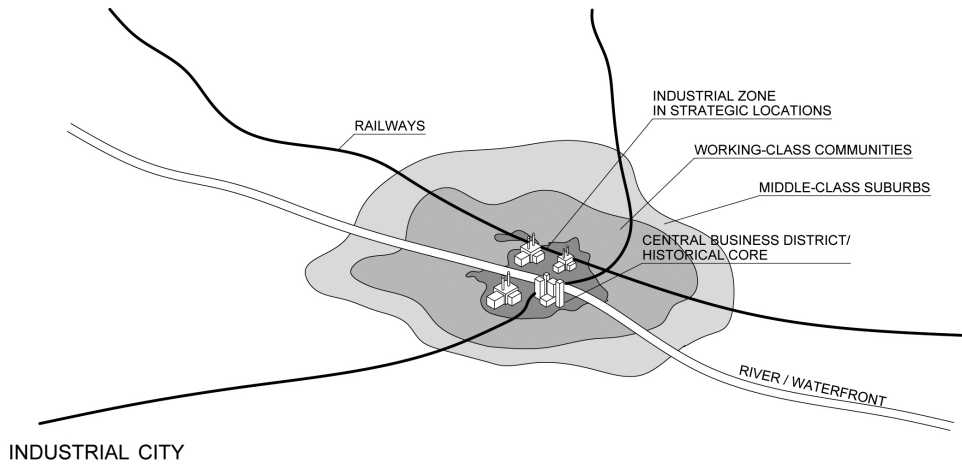
INDUSTRIAL CITY

- RAILWAYS
- INDUSTRIAL ZONE IN STRATEGIC LOCATIONS
- WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITIES
- MIDDLE-CLASS SUBURBS
- CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT/ HISTORICAL CORE
- RIVER / WATERFRONT

FORDIST CITY

- DECENTRALIZING INDUSTRY
- RAILWAYS
- MIDDLE-CLASS SUBURBS
- WASTELAND FOLLOWING DEINDUSTRIALIZATION
- URBAN RING ROAD
- NEW URBAN NUCLEI
- INNER CITY
- CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (GLOBAL COMMAND CENTRE)

POST- FORDIST CITY

- EDGE CITIES
- LARGE SHOPPING CENTER
- INDUSTRIAL SUBURBS
- OUT - OF - TOWN THEME PARK
- DIVERSE SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES
- RAILWAYS
- REGENERATION OF INDUSTRIAL WASTE LAND FORMER WORKING CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS
- CBD SERVICES
- INNER CITY
- EDGE CITIES
- CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (GLOBAL COMMAND CENTRE)
- GENTRIFIED ENCLAVES
- GATED COMMUNITY
- TERTIARY SECTOR HEADQUARTERS
- NEW HIGH - TECH NUCLEI

Fig. 3   The transition from industrial to post-Fordist city. Though individual cities vary, these urban typologies can be identified irrespective of geographical or cultural context.

The urban context changes to better suit these requirements and to assist economic growth. According to Sassen, globalization is not defined by the flows of capital and information, but by the specific local implications that follow. It follows that physical contraction—manifest in regenerated, re-densified urban centers and high-rise architecture—is such a local implication of globalizing economy and socio-economic polarization. Though Tim Hall has a point when he argues that the services and finance industry is less static, Sassen notes that it still depends on urban agglomerations as a concentration of skilled labor and sophisticated producer services. After the city's dramatic loss of relevance at the hands of modernist planners in the mid-twentieth century, Sassen's theory therefore reaffirms the importance of the urban dimension. Nevertheless, her concept faced a good deal of criticism, mainly with regard to the term Global City itself, which was regarded as too limiting and failing to address the complexity of urban society.[16]

Two years before Sassen published her thoughts, David Harvey had already hinted at the growing relevance of local specificity for economic prosperity.

> The free flow of capital across the surface of the globe, for example, places strong emphasis upon the particular qualities of the spaces to which that capital might be attracted. The shrinkage of space that brings diverse communities across the globe into competition with each other implies localized competitive strategies and a heightened sense of awareness of what makes a place special and gives it a competitive advantage.
>
> Harvey 1989[17]

In conclusion, Sassen and Harvey emphasize that the dispersion of the urban fabric is not unlimited, but rather counteracted by an increased attention to re-urbanization. This observation is verified by a multitude of projects, which aim to strengthen the appeal of city centers as commercial, residential, and recreational spaces. Postindustrial cities function as concentrations and manifestations of capital flows. While the tertiary sector is generally more independent from the physicality of urban space and its local attributes, as Hall stated, it simultaneously enforces the formation of a few distinct places that function as focal points of labor, services, and money. It can be concluded that these cities face dispersion and contraction alike. The urban dimension in both the North American and European context shows simultaneous signs of deindustrialization and reindustrialization, decentralization and recentralization, and a considerably increased spatial sensitivity (Fig. 3). While cities may differ in aspects of growth and shrinkage, they display equally heightened levels of spatial awareness and efforts to adjust themselves physically in response to economic transformations. In this thesis, the mostly Anglo-American literature on the matter and the European nature of the case studies underline the analogies in both contexts.

> We thus approach the central paradox: the less important the spatial barriers, the greater the sensitivity of capital to the variations of place within space, and the greater the incentive for places to be differentiated in ways attractive to capital. The result has been the production of fragmentation, insecurity, and ephemeral uneven development within a highly unified global space economy of capital flows.
>
> Harvey 1989[18]

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16 For an alternative, more process-oriented conceptualization of urban physical transformations, see Short, John Rennie. *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World* (London: Routledge, 2004) 45.

17 Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 271.

18 Ibid., 295-296.

1.1.2 Out of Balance: Uneven Urban Geographies

If cities are the physical concretion of economic relations in an abstract globalized space of capital, inevitably, the subsequent changes in their spatial layouts must be considered. How does the discipline of urban planning react to the altered economic paradigm and its social consequences? Capital crossing spatial borders in its drive for profitability has not only "raised the intensity and volume of transaction among cities" but also encouraged "new forms of inequality […] visible in the geography and characteristics of urban systems."[19] With the local economy tied to global forces, waves of prosperity and decline affect urban economic and physical structures alike. Uneven socio-economic relations and polarization translates to uneven geographies manifested in spatial and social segregation.

In this respect, Peter Marcuse offers a classification of fragmented urban layouts according to diverse socio-economic groups. He notes that the contemporary city is not so much a dual city resulting from a growing gap between rich and poor, but rather a quartered city of sharply distinguished enclaves, which mirror the many facets of diversified social strata. According to Marcuse, the quartering of urban space is the effect of "really existing globalization"[20]—the uneven distribution of wealth by means of technological advances and diminished social welfare benefits. Inequality as "the most deep-seated of the potentially unfavorable effects of globalization on cities"[21] manifests itself in the "partitioning of residential space" in an "effort to wall some in and keep others out."[22] While the lower social strata are likely to be contained by social classifications such as stigmatized neighborhoods, the more affluent quarters exert their boundaries formally through physical barriers and means of security.

Sprawl, suburbanization, gentrification, and fragmentation based on class and ethnicity all exist side by side, evident in an array of urban forms ranging from degrading neighborhoods and gentrified bohemian quarters to suburban clusters, gated communities, and city centers particularly geared to commercial purposes. The postindustrial economy reformats traditional concepts of both urban space and urban life. Derelict industrial sites demand to be put to new use, alternative focal points in rivalry to the center emerge, and new office spaces consolidate the monofunctionality of Central Business Districts.

> The late-capitalist downtown is almost exclusively geared to three functions: consumption, finance, and the symbolic economy. This postindustrial symbolic economy comprises tourism, entertainment, culture, sports, the media and fashion industries, and an amalgamation of services logistically underpinning these activities.
>
> GUST 1999[23]

19 Sassen. *Cities in a World Economy*, 52.

20 Marcuse distinguishes five different types of residential cities ranging from the free-floating citadel of the very rich to the abandoned city of the homeless and permanently unemployed. See Marcuse, Peter. "The Dark Side of Really Existing Globalization" in: *The European City in Transition, Bd. 2: Urbanism and Globalization* edited by Frank Eckardt and Dieter Hassenpflug (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004) 87-105.

21 Ibid., 89.

22 Ibid., 90.

23 The Ghent Urban Studies Team. *The Urban Condition*, 98.

As mentioned above, the European city with its existing mixed-use building typologies in the historical city center is somewhat more resistant to this development than the comparably new CBDs of, for example, the North American cities. Yet, it shows similar signs of a programmatic erosion of its central areas and rising real estate prices further aggravate the drift toward the outskirts. The construction of sub-centers in the periphery and the terminological shift to urban *landscape* or *geography* suggest the loss of the city center as a focal point. At the same time, an effort to restate centrality through urban regeneration—though largely for commercial purposes—must be acknowledged. City centers continue to be the main transport hubs. Consequently, locating new office spaces in central areas simplifies the logistics of getting people to their designated work place. Inner-city office buildings also promise higher financial returns than residential buildings. Besides, corporate headquarters in city centers are essentially a marketing strategy due to their perceived proximity to potential clients.

> The pressure to reorganize the interior space of the city […] has been considerable under conditions of flexible accumulation. The vitality of the central city core has been reemphasised, themes such as the quality of urban living […], and enhanced social control over both public and private spaces within the city, have been of widespread significance.
>
> Harvey 1989[24]

1.1.3   Entrepreneurialism: the City as Commodity

The transfer of traditional state responsibilities like economic growth and social stability to other authorities and institutions has substantially affected power relations. The allocation of rights and responsibilities has seen increasing decentralization and diversion from national to local scales. The administrative change, however, was not accompanied by an equivalent diversion of funding, which required urban authorities to be more economically innovative. Local governments, facing the consequences of the degrading secondary sector and the increasing volatility of business relations, began generating strategies in reaction to economic constraints and instabilities, a shift in urban policy from managerialism to what David Harvey describes as *entrepreneurialism*.[25] Economic growth coalitions between property owners, administrative authorities, and private investors as well as the tendency to attach excessive economic relevance to the urban form and to efforts towards regeneration have become the common political framework of urban governments over the past three decades. "The growth coalition uses its political and economic power to push the urban region into an upward spiral of perpetual and sustained accumulation."[26]

A first influential essay along these lines was put forward by Harvey Molotch in 1976: "The City as a Growth Machine" displays great analytical insight into the marketable qualities of urban space. The study emerged at a time when the modern urban project had to be declared a failure. It breaks with the traditional definitions of the city based on numbers or density. Instead, it focuses on urban space as a commodity, the competitive nature of growth aspirations, and related political

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24   Harvey, David. *The Urban Experience* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) 264-65.

25   See Harvey, David. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism" in: *Geografiska Annaler* 71B (1989).

26   Harvey. *The Urban Experience*, 157.

aspects of hierarchy and power. Population growth, usually framed by other phenomena such as the increase in labor force, land development, and financial activity, is considered indicative of generally spreading wealth in reference to the city. Therefore, Molotch defines the city as a growth machine. He describes growth management as the essential function of local governing and its motivation to bridge political gaps whenever necessary.[27]

According to David Harvey, continuous striving for accumulation and growth results in heightened levels of competition, generally in relation to the distribution of the following assets: labor, consumption spaces, command functions, and governmental benefits.[28] He states that competitive dynamics amongst cities are not a new phenomenon, since similar concepts can be traced back to the cities of the Hanseatic League or the ancient Greek polis. Contemporary inter-urban competition, however, seems to exceed its historical level, including a comprehensive alteration of urban policies pursuant to flexible accumulation. Increasing interaction on a global level, the diminished power of the nation-state, and growing financial constraints of local environments encourage place sensitivity and require cities to adhere to the dictate of capital flows. Harvey notes that competition brings cities even "closer in line with the discipline and logic of capitalist development."[29]

In response to the dire economic situation on the local level, facilitated by deregulation, unemployment issues, and low growth expectation, municipalities compete for private investment and adjust their political agendas accordingly. Cities require new administrative concepts, modified urban fabrics, and a thriving marketing industry. Harvey's notion of entrepreneurialism is a good representation of this distinct political culture. He summarizes the key characteristics of entrepreneurialism as follows: the organizational structure of public-private-partnerships (PPPs), the speculative nature of urban projects, and the focus on place-making rather than general welfare issues. Hence, entrepreneurialism is about recognizing and facilitating a comprehensive shift from an inward perspective of providing public goods and services to a more outward-oriented agenda of foreign investment and particular beneficiaries.[30]

> Entrepreneurialism is about the public sector running cities in a more businesslike manner, in which institutions of local governance operate like the private sector or are replaced by private-sector-based systems.
>
> Swyngedouw *et al.* 2002[31]

As such, entrepreneurialism is the manifestation of market-oriented politics on the local level. It offers subsidies such as tax deduction and the provision of infrastructure to lure investors into the market. Remarkable is the amount of approval the political shift has received irrespective of geographical or political boundaries.

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27 See Molotch, Harvey. "The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place" in: *The American Journal of Sociology*, 82:2 (September 1976).

28 See Harvey. *The Urban Experience*.

29 Harvey. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism," 11.

30 See Harvey. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism."

31 Swyngedouw, Erik; Moulaert, Frank; Rodriguez, Arantxa. "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy" in: *Antipode* 34:3 (July 2002) 573.

> One of the more seductive aspects of urban entrepreneurialism is that it sounds as if there are no alternatives; competition, local entrepreneurialism, growth and prosperity seem linked to one another in a seamless whole.
>
> Leitner and Sheppard 1998[32]

Although the idea of a real existing inter-urban competition has been challenged by academia, what eventually affects urban environments is its perceived existence and how economic and political actors are addressing it. Today, the imperative of competitiveness is immanent to urban governing. Here, Harvey notes two important effects of (perceived) competition: an uneven distribution of subsidies and a repetitive portfolio of entrepreneurial answers to the competitiveness of the market.[33]

Political authorities pursuing an active role in local economic development have engaged in complex administrative structures like PPPs—part and parcel of entrepreneurialism. In view of altered urban politics and planning from production and distribution approaches to progressive economic expansion policies, cities are facing unfamiliar entrepreneurial issues. Local governments are in need of new methods of managing and funding their ambitious entrepreneurial agenda, and thus form alliances with private companies. These alliances diverge from traditional planning hierarchies in favor of collaborative concepts that include political and economic interest groups alike. Though the coalition of forces might increase the feasibility of economic plans, it does so at the expense of democratic policies. The new cooperation of public and private sector increases the cross-referencing between business-related matters and governmental behavior. Being rendered an indispensable stakeholder through budgetary necessities, private capital gains the power to directly influence the planning process and its outcomes, thus eluding political negotiation. In *The Entrepreneurial City*, which further examines Harvey's concept, the authors Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard introduce the term **urban governance** in order to acknowledge the substantial expansion of local governmental power, but also its entanglement with private sector interests.

> Therefore, it seems that urban entrepreneurialism can be defined through two basic characteristics; firstly, a political prioritisation of pro-growth local economic development and, secondly, an associated organisational and institutional shift from urban *government* to urban *governance*.
>
> Hall and Hubbard 1998[34]

The economic effectiveness of local entrepreneurialism has been called into question by various scholars.[35] As projects are developed in competition to each other, the increased benefit of one area implies the neglect suffered by another. Transcending the scale of the project and taking into account its wider context reveals that urban entrepreneurialism in response to competition is in fact, as Harvey noted, a zero-sum game.

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32   Leitner, Helga; Sheppard, Eric. "Economic Uncertainty, Inter-urban Competition and the Efficacy of Entrepreneurialism" in: *The Entrepreneurial City* edited by Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard (Chichester: Wiley, 1998) 306.

33   See Harvey. *The Urban Experience*, 260.

34   Hall, Tim; Hubbard, Phil. "The Entrepreneurial City and the 'New Urban Politics'" in: *The Entrepreneurial City* edited by Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard (Chichester: Wiley, 1998) 4.

35   See: *Antipode* 34:3 (July 2002) or Hall; Hubbard (eds.). *The Entrepreneurial City* (Chichester: Wiley, 1998).

1.1.4   Black and White: the City as Image

Increasing spatial sensitivity implies drawing attention to the real and imagined features of urban environments. With regard to urban development, Häußermann and Siebel distinguish between hard and soft locational factors. While there used to be a high importance attached to the former, e.g., in terms of labor or land costs, today the latter, like climate and urbanity, has claimed superiority. As a result, a strong emphasis is placed on the aestheticization and marketing of the city.[36]

Imagery is the consequent cultural answer to flexible accumulation and envisaged as the vital ingredient for economic success. In a consumption-oriented society, local governments attach great importance to the outer appearance of the city, thus commissioning comprehensive campaigns of urban branding. Though imagery and advertising are no recent inventions, their importance in generating an urban brand and thus their implications on urban matters have increased since the 1980s due to market deregulation and the perceived intensification of competition. Antonella Bruzzese, who examined the dynamics of city imaging, underlines the relevance of urban imagery to economic objectives. The city's image is "not only and not simply a visual representation of the city itself, rather [it is] a city's fame, or reputation" taking on "the role of an 'immaterial asset,' which contributes to the definition of […] the 'urban product'."[37]

Considering its economic dependency, the city can no longer simply rely on the existence of its features and potential; instead, it is forced to communicate them in a positive manner. Successful imaging requires credibility, uniqueness, and emotional appeal. Usually a number of key elements are identified in their specific context, singled out, and emphasized through visuals and slogans. The reduced complexity paints a simplified, selective portrait of urban reality: appealing, easy to understand, and most importantly marketable. Bruzzese identifies ***sectoriality*** (the specificity of image-creation) and ***synthesis*** (the connection of various elements in one overall image) as the key aspects of city imaging. Thus, marketing strategies typically focus on a limited and clearly defined range of aspects, which in combination construct the envisaged identity of the campaign. While synthesis was traditionally an objective of master planning, she notes that today image production through comprehensive marketing techniques seems to offer more effective and longer lasting results.[38] These techniques include large cultural or sporting events, reinterpretations of specific local features and urban restructuring. They are not to be understood as individual phenomena but rather tend to be employed simultaneously. The influence of urban marketing exceeds the level of mere image production and consumption, it "intersects, supports and often redirects multiple and very diverse processes of urban transformation."[39]

Tim Hall summarizes it this way: "Place images typically exaggerate certain features, be they physical, social, cultural, economic, political or some combination of these, while reducing or even excluding

36   Häußermann and Siebel offer a precise analysis of urban development of (West) German cities in correlation to economic growth or decline. See Häußermann, Hartmut; Siebel, Walter. *Neue Urbanität* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1987).

37   Bruzzese, Antonella. "Images in Action. City-Image Making in Processes of Urban Transformations" in: *The European City in Transition, Bd. 3: City Images and Urban Regeneration* edited by Frank Eckhardt and Dieter Hassenpflug (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2004) 101.

38   Ibid., 108.

39   Ibid., 107.

Fig. 4   Vancouver Green Capital. City Branding, Haymaker Creative for the City of Vancouver Economic Development Commission, 2009. The campaign combines aspects of environment (green) and high culture (capital).

others."[40] In *Urban Geography*, he distinguishes city imaging/marketing from selling the city. While selling affects the urban economy through direct business transactions like land sales, marketing affects the urban landscape insofar as the environment is altered to match the advertised image. He draws the conclusion that "city landscapes are increasingly shaped according to views of what potential consumers want,"[41] which leads to one of the key issues of city marketing: exclusion generated by consumer-centric imaging. Cities are not just promoting themselves as a good place to live or a good place to work but rather strive to create a package that targets a well-defined audience associated with specific business and lifestyle issues. The typical target groups include tourists, private (foreign) investors, and educated professionals either as new high-income residents or business tourists. These groups can be summarized as the imagined urban identity of the 'white and wealthy.'

Based on the targeted audience, the promotion of urban space and life typically revolves around a small range of non-offensive features, e.g., culture, environment, and safety. In marketing rhetoric, culture is employed in a narrow sense, often only referring to "high culture of international standing and with international appeal"[42] such as theatres, galleries, and museums, which imply the existence of associated exclusive leisure facilities like wine bars and restaurants. Thus, culture becomes a synonym for everything sophisticated: high technology, innovative research facilities, and upper middle-class. The interests of cultural minorities are often poorly provided for. In contrast, the notion of environment provides for a broader interpretation, mainly in terms of historical sites, picturesque suburbs, or a recreational countryside in proximity to urban residential space (Fig. 4).

The potential of marketing the environment also relies on actually changing the built urban form, e.g. by giving historical centers, derelict industrial sites, or working-class neighborhoods a remake. Apart from framing the city as a brand, political and economic actors bank on the iconographic power of flagship developments.

> The image of the city therefore comprises two main components: the *physical* image of the city - the actual city itself, as it is produced, lived in and experienced by people on an everyday basis and represented in a series of visual symbols, physical places, and social characteristics - as well as the *rhetorical* image of the city - the 'idea' or conceptual image of the city as it is imagined and represented in collective consciousness. Urban images are both visual and mental constructs, constituted through discourse – as found in city marketing campaigns, promotional brochures and tourism advertising – and through more concrete transformations of the built environment including public works, preservation of historic sites, and urban redevelopment.
>
> Broudehoux 2004[43]

Hence, the entrepreneurial agenda of city imaging is as much about **place-making** as it is about **place-marketing**. Though it has seen widespread acceptance amongst planning officials, it has also generated a large amount of criticism mainly concerning its longevity, exclusionary nature and arguable effectiveness. Being strongly connected to the logic of postindustrial economy and postmodern culture with its reliance on image production and consumption, urban projects

40 Hall. *Urban Geography*, 119.

41 Ibid., 127.

42 Ibid., 163.

43 Broudehoux, Anne-Marie. *The Making and Selling of Post-Mao Beijing*. (London: Routledge, 2004) 26.

offer quick, yet superficial and only temporary fixes to economic problems. According to Harvey, entrepreneurialism and postmodernism find common ground in following the same paradigm of "medium over message and image over substance."[44]

Though the longevity of urban projects might be extended if the developments are led by powerful, visionary individuals, Hall and Hubbard point out that project-based alliances like PPPs still "tend to result in a piecemeal approach to urban development that lacks strategic foresight."[45] With public matters subjected to private business interests, the heterogeneous urban space and culture can easily fall victim to exclusionary schemes. Due to its speculative nature, the actual effectiveness of entrepreneurialism cannot be secured and only to a certain extent be predicted. Achieving the desired financial returns often relies on extensive, one-sided marketing tactics accompanying individual projects. The creation of an attractive image has become the decisive method of communication, usually employing the metaphor of the 'white and wealthy'. Overall, city imaging is an elite process—from its creation at the hands of political and economic leaders to the particularity of aspects featured in campaigns as well as of urban plans and the groups addressed. Other social or cultural groups than the ones mentioned above are rarely included in these schemes due to their lack of economic capital and the unlikelihood of them becoming relevant consumers. Thus, urban branding creates "a particular imagination of the urban in line with demands, dreams, and aspirations of the included, while marginalized or otherwise excluded groups remain symptomatically absent."[46]

Apart from using imagery as a means of branding the urban context for a well-defined market, it is also employed as a tool for negative representation in reference to poor neighborhoods and economic stagnation, enforcing social polarization and a restricted cultural profile. 'Irregularities' of physical and societal structures alike are singled out and focused on, similar to the positive imaging discussed above, but by employing a distinctly negative vocabulary like unsafe, unhealthy, or unhygienic. Obsolescence, in particular, has proven a flexible metaphor for referring to various urban issues ranging from run-down buildings to inefficient economic relations. Public and private sector form a powerful alliance for identifying and altering areas of perceived obsolescence. While governmental institutions determine relevant sites for potential projects, investors have a substantial influence on their outcomes by steering projects towards the highest possible profit. As such, "[o]bsolescence has become a neoliberal alibi for creative destruction, and therefore an important component in contemporary processes of spatialized capital accumulation."[47]

As Guy Baeten points out, deprived neighborhoods become the excuse for market-driven politics to ease their way into planning objectives and justify future regeneration projects. "The poor neighbourhood is Neoliberalism's Other."[48] Poor neighborhoods are stigmatized as degenerated in order to leverage a conceptual conflict between deprived areas and economic expansion.

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44   Harvey. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism," 13.

45   Hall; Hubbard. "The Entrepreneurial City and the 'New Urban Politics'," 10.

46   Swyngedouw; Moulaert; Rodriguez. "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe," 561.

47   Weber, Rachel. "Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment" in: *Antipode* 34:3 (July 2002) 532.

48   Baeten, Guy. "The Uses of Deprivation in the Neoliberal City" in: *Urban Politics Now. Re-Imagining Democracy in the Neoliberal City* vol. 6., edited by BAVO (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2007) 46.

Marginalized groups are established as the internal enemy who compromise urban security and the 'quality of life'. This attitude also resonates in Neil Smith's concept of the *revanchist city*.[49] Smith coined the term to summarize the hostile opinions and policy frameworks that emerged in reaction to diversifying socio-cultural milieus. Growing diversity and increasing numbers of immigrants in urban societies are perceived as a threat and cause insecurity amongst the local population. By defending traditional values and privileges and by employing a language of civic morality, the supposed theft of the city by minority groups is to be prevented.

Smith describes the radical change in attitude as most obvious in the policies introduced by New York's mayor Rudy Giuliani in the 1990s, when he announced his efforts in securing the 'quality of life' and pursuing a *zero-tolerance* strategy in response to degrading social relationships and economic depression. Over the past decade, zero-tolerance policing—control and exclusion in the name of civility—has become a well-accepted form of urban governing. As a result, additional police forces were allocated to poor neighborhoods and areas known for 'anti-social behavior' like prostitution or drug dealing. These forces are typically handed more power for on-the-spot measures against petty crime. The zero-tolerance approach indicates that social or cultural problems are being transformed into issues of security. The poor and culturally diverse are synonymous to criminal activity and considered a threat to public safety.

The actual effectiveness and success of enforced police presence has been repeatedly called into question, but zero-tolerance law enforcement has managed to spread and become a general prejudicial attitude. "Beyond its original domain of urban policing, the language of zero tolerance has been generalized with explosive speed."[50] Consequently, zero-tolerance assists entrepreneurial strategies. Gaining a strong market position for the city through urban regeneration is presented as the only possible answer to both economic instability and the lack of urban safety. Therefore, planners strive for an economic solution to a social problem. Urban regeneration projects are designed to physically, economically, and socially restructure cities and attract private capital. In the process, they generate new typologies of "security obsessed architectures"[51] like gated communities and internalized public space accompanied by surveillance technology.

1.1.5 Hyperreality: Postmodern Urbanism

The end of Cold War politics, to a certain extent, facilitated the alignment of ideological and economic paradigms, while at the same time, the increasing technological connectivity supported the notion of immediacy and proximity. These phenomena seem to have led to a spreading sense of disorientation and loss. As traditional patterns of social and cultural practice are altered and potentially threatened, people search for new identity markers to substitute for the perceived loss. This disorientation has sent academics on a quest for new theoretical concepts to grasp the

Note:

Postmodernism can be defined as an array of artistic expressions or styles realized in film, painting, architecture, and so on, whereas *postmodernity* characterizes a new economic and social order, the substantial restructuring of modern institutions.

49   Neil Smith relates the late twentieth century political climate, especially in New York, to the revanchist movement in nineteenth century France. See Smith, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996).

50   Smith, Neil. "Revanchist City, Revanchist Planet." in: *Urban Politics Now. Re-Imagining Democracy in the Neoliberal City* vol. 6., edited by BAVO (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2007) 33.

51   See MacLeod, Gordon. "From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a 'Revanchist City'? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance" in: *Antipode* 34:3 (July 2002) 602-624.

change. While some have reacted with apocalyptic proclamations of the finiteness of particular ideas or the end of their respective field altogether,[52] others have concentrated on strengthening previous paradigms and re-vitalizing notions such as tradition, identity, or permanence. A substantial body of work has emerged around the concept of postmodernity and postmodernism, which scholars like Harvey and Jameson understand as the implication or the cultural logic of flexible accumulation, or late capitalism.[53]

The loss of hierarchical structures and the diminished role of traditional meta-identities like class and nation challenge social, cultural, and political identities today. With reference to Habermas, Nan Ellin claims that the exhaustion of utopian energies during the 1960s has left postmodern societies stranded without ideals and visions, a gap which the market is trying to exploit by encouraging consumption. Postmodernism's "anti-Utopian attitude"[54] has evoked a sense of placelessness in fragmented and shifting environments that calls for new identity markers. Identity can no longer be understood as static but must be conceptualized as flexible and hybrid. People seek to attain compensation for the loss of traditional class structures and the subsequent lack of identity by retreating from the public realm and "by filling one's life with as much as possible, in terms of both experience and consumer goods."[55]

Shortly after the turn of the previous century, sociologist Georg Simmel had already noted the human desire to distinguish oneself from others, even in eccentric ways, in order to become noticed in a largely anonymous urban context.[56] Today, this desire seems to have evolved into habitual representation on an individual level, a "compulsion to self-identity"[57] in ethnic, social, political, religious, sexual, cultural, or lifestyle terms. In particular, lifestyle has become an important category when addressing diverse social and cultural groups. It has changed patterns of consumption from the mass consumer goods of Fordist times to more customized items. Consumers not only seek more distinctive and exclusive niche products, but also attach considerably more importance to their symbolic value. The consumption of goods and entertainment as a replacement for traditional identity markers also translates to architecture and urban planning as exemplified in Nan Ellin's book **Postmodern Urbanism**. Here, Ellin draws an image of contemporary urban designs clearly opposing its modernist predecessors. While modernist architects saw rational form and order as a precondition for their social ambitions, postmodernists advocate the separation between surface (facade) and content (function) in order to create a seductive and marketable package. Likewise, the discipline of urban planning and design seeks to supersede the mass production/consumption-based urban layouts of Fordist-Keynesian times: The strict functional zoning is being replaced by an homage to heterogeneity, a layering of references and styles. Symbolism and cosmetics supersede purpose and politics.

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52 A few examples of finiteness in postmodern thought: the *end of history* proclaimed by Francis Fukuyama, the *end of ideology* in Jameson's *Postmodernism* (both in reference to the leveling East-West dichotomy), or Baudrillard's *death of the real* at the hands of postmodern *simulacra*.

53 See Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity* and Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. (London: Verso, 1991).

54 Ibid., 334.

55 Ellin, Nan. *Postmodern Urbanism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 107.

56 See Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903) in: *Simmel on Culture. Selected Writings*, edited by David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (London: SAGE, 1997) 174–85.

57 The Ghent Urban Studies Team. *The Urban* Condition, 148.

> Whereas modern urbanism included a political stance critical of the unregulated capitalist economy, private property, and inegalitarian class relations, postmodern urbanism tends to regard these issues as outside the line of duty and sometimes even to champion them.
>
> Ellin 1996[58]

Based on the shift in urbanism's objectives and outcomes, David Harvey draws a terminological distinction between urban plan and urban design. Modernist planners subscribed to "large-scale, metropolitan-wide, technologically rational and efficient urban plans, backed by absolutely no-frills architecture," whereas postmodernists through "a palimpsest of past forms superimposed upon each other, and a 'collage' of current uses" provide an "urban design," which "simply aims to be sensitive to vernacular traditions, local histories, particular wants, needs, and fancies, thus generating specialized, even highly customized architectural forms."[59]

> In the urban context, therefore, I shall simply characterize post-modernism as signifying a break with the idea that planning and development should focus on large scale, technologically rational, austere and functionally efficient 'international style' design and that vernacular traditions, local history, and specialized spatial designs ranging from functions of intimacy to grand spectacle should be approached with a much greater eclecticism of style.
>
> Harvey 1989[60]

Fig. 5   Superkilen, aerial view. The redesigned public area of the Red Square shows a patchwork of surfaces and a selection of symbolic elements of street furniture.

Similarly, Erik Swyngedouw et al. describe the post-Fordist large-scale urban project "allegedly combining the advantages of flexibility and targeted actions with tremendous symbolic capacity" as a substitution for Fordist planning.[61] Symbolism is incorporated on the scale of architectural objects as well as urban configurations. Its collage-like combination of styles and references creates an abundance of associations and images. A more recent example and a literal understanding of symbolism is the public space project **Superkilen** (= Superwedge) in Copenhagen's Nørrebro neighborhood.[62] The design for the large open area aims to address its culturally diverse context by providing one piece of representative street furniture for each of the 57 nationalities resident in the area. In addition to these individual signs, the project is characterized by eye-catching finishes of the horizontal urban surfaces. The project is divided into three main areas—the Red Square, the Black Market and the Green Park—which differ in terms of their materiality, design, and identity. In particular, the two former demonstrate a great level of detailing (Fig. 5). The use of bold colors and the collection of supposedly meaningful symbols is expected to create an inviting environment and appeal to different actors. Though portraying a social agenda of assisting mediation between neighborhood groups, the completed project is hardly more than a collection of iconic tables, benches, and rubbish bins. Objects and signage evoke a sense of open-air exhibition rather than common meeting ground.

As a design method, collage also hints at and incorporates the heterogeneous nature of existing cities—a layering of periods, styles, and identities. In postmodern urban theory, the concept of the collage as a design strategy and a critique of modernism's functional zoning was first comprehensively

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58 Ellin. *Postmodern Urbanism*, 158.

59 Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 66.

60 Harvey. *The Urban Experience*, 258.

61 Swyngedouw; Moulaert; Rodriguez. "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe," 562.

62 *Superkilen* was completed in 2012 by BIG architects in collaboration with artist's collective Superflex and landscape architects Topotek1.

described by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter.[63] Just as Robert Venturi's reconsideration of the ordinary built environment tried to break with modernist utopia,[64] Rowe and Koetter promote a pluralistic and fragmented approach as opposed to modernism's tabula rasa. In their opinion, the city should retain and reproduce its historical references, poetic metaphors, and programmatic layers in order to develop an urban context rich in experiences and potentials.

> […] a collage technique, by accommodating a whole range of axes mundi […] might be a means of permitting us the enjoyment of utopian poetics without our being obliged to suffer the embarrassment of utopian politics. […] Which is to say that, because collage is a method deriving its virtue from its irony, because it seems to be a technique for using things and simultaneously disbelieving in them, it is also a strategy which can allow utopia to be dealt with as image, to be dealt with in fragments without our having to accept it in toto …
>
> Rowe and Koetter 1978[65]

Likewise, Ellin describes postmodern urban design as the layering of styles and objectives. It follows various trajectories such as fiction, fear, and finance instead of subscribing to the modernist paradigm of form follows function. Concepts of the vernacular and the traditional coalesce with the imaginary to create a sense of preindustrial history. Employing nostalgia through historical references, reconstitutes a sense of safety and tradition and establishes a sanitized version of reality, or *hyperreality*. The phenomenon of hyperreality cannot be investigated further without drawing Jean Baudrillard into the discussion. Postmodernism's fictitious urban design reflects his notion of the *simulacrum*, a near perfect replication of reality or in fact an image or place superior to reality, in which real and imagined are increasingly hard to distinguish. According to Baudrillard, simulacrum is the postmodern attention to symbols and consumption represented in increasingly mediated environments (TV, films, internet). It can be seen as responsible for the death of the real as the simulation seems more real than reality itself.[66] Today, urban environments are filled with elements that simulate what is supposedly urban: master-planned communities, entertainment facilities, the interiorized streets of shopping malls. They provide secure urban spaces exempt from unwanted functions or individuals.

Postmodern urban design features a combination of manicured simulations of public space and pseudo-traditional architecture.[67] By placing a strong emphasis on aesthetics and imagery, it runs the risk of degenerating to mere stage design and places of spectacle and image consumption. Thus, "shoppers and tourists are today's consumer-aesthetic counterparts to Benjamin's popular flaneur."[68] The contemporary spectator—just like the flaneur—renders the city a commodity

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63   See Rowe, Colin; Koetter, Fred. *Collage City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1978) The break with modernist urban planning and the relationship between built and unbuilt are underlined by figure-ground diagrams. While modernist urban plans are comprised of individual architectural objects in vast open spaces, Collage City, based on traditional concepts of perception and appropriation, commits to small-scale interventions and a more balanced relationship of built and vacant, with buildings not only occupying but also framing space.

64   Venturi, Robert; Scott Brown, Denise; Izenour, Steven. *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972).

65   Rowe; Koetter. *Collage City*, 149.

66   See Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*, translated by Sheila Faria Glaser (University of Michigan Press, 1994).

67   A prominent example is the large development project Battery Park City, the construction of an entire new neighborhood on an inner-urban landfill in New York City reminiscent of traditional skyscraper architecture.

68   The Ghent Urban Studies Team. *The Urban Condition*, 133. The authors draw on Walter Benjamin's flaneur—a bourgeois individual who experiences the city of Paris through leisurely strolls. This can be understood as a form of urban consumption and is thus linked to the concept of capitalism. See also Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project,* edited by Rolf Tiedemann, translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. (New York: Belknap Press, 2002) The book was published posthumously, Benjamin's unpublished manuscripts date back to 1927-40.

and consumes it. This link to capitalist ideals of accumulation and consumption was indicated by Benjamin but becomes more prominent in today's urban environments.

Nan Ellin highlights that—notwithstanding its ambitions be different than modernist planning—postmodernism displays some of the same shortcomings. "Despite its eagerness to counter the human insensitivity of modern urbanism, postmodern urbanism's preoccupation with surfaces and irony makes it equally guilty of neglecting the human component."[69] The anti-urban reality is marked by piecemeal regeneration amidst spreading low-density metropolitan areas with residual spaces that are not unlike those of modernist planning. These leftover spaces appear in extended commercial strips, in bland residential subdivisions, and in the surroundings of large inward-oriented buildings such as shopping malls.[70] In a nutshell, postmodern urban design is characterized by "fiction, fragmentation, collage, and eclecticism, all suffused with a sense of ephemerality and chaos."[71] Finally, David Harvey summarizes the differences between modernity and postmodernity as follows:

Fordist modernity	Flexible postmodernity
economies of scale / master code / hierarchy homogeneity / detail division of labour	economies of scope / idiolect / anarchy diversity / social division of labour
paranoia / alienation / symptom public housing / monopoly capital	schizophrenia / decentering / desire homelessness / entrepreneurialism
purpose / design / mastery / determinacy / production capital / universalism	play / chance / exhaustion / indeterminacy fictitious capital / localism
state power / trade unions state welfarism / metropolis	financial power / individualism neo- conservatism / counterurbanization
ethics / money commodity God the Father / materiality	aesthetics / moneys of account The Holy Ghost / immateriality
production / originality / authority blue collar / avant-gardism interest group politics / semantics	reproduction / pastiche / eclecticism white collar / commercialism charismatic politics / rhetoric
centralization / totalization synthesis / collective bragaining	decentralization / deconstruction antithesis / local contracts
operational management / master code phallic / single task / origin	strategic management / idiolect androgynous / multiple tasks / trace
metatheory / narrative / depth mass production / class politics technical-scientific rationality	language games / image / surface small-batch production / social movements / pluralistic otherness
utopia / redemptive art / concentration specialized work / collective consumption	heterotopias / spectacle / dispersal flexible worker / symbolic capital
function / representation / signified industry / protestant work ethic mechanical reproduction	fiction / self-reference / signifier services / temporary contract electronic reproduction
becoming / epistemology / regulation urban renewal / relative space	being / ontology / deregulation urban revitalization / place
state interventionism / industrialization internationalism / permanence / time	laissez-fair / deindustrialization geopolitics / ephemerality / space

Fig. 6   Modernity / postmodernity, a comparison according to Harvey.

69   Ellin. *Postmodern Urbanism*, 162.

70   See The Ghent Urban Studies Team. *The Urban Condition.*

71   Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 98.

1.2   Case Studies: Historical Background and Urban Development

This section presents the three case studies in chronological order. Each regeneration project is explained within its historical context and with regard to its organizational structure and planning objectives. The examples originate in radical political change during the late 1970s and 80s and are thus simultaneous with the globalization of the postindustrial economy and the rise of inter-urban competition. The three areas, of the case studies, which had seen considerable neglect under the previous political regime, suddenly experience accelerated economic and spatial adjustments following the postindustrial/postmodern paradigm as explained above. Economically-steered regeneration and aestheticization of the city quickly emerges as a leading motif of urban design.

1.2.1   Barcelona: El Raval

A. historical background

El Raval, situated immediately to the west of the Barri Gòtic—or Gothic Quarter—was constructed on agricultural land as an extension of the old center of Barcelona. The city walls were expanded accordingly between the fourteenth and sixteenth century (Fig. 7). During the time of progressive industrialization in the eighteenth century, many factories were built in the area. The pressure on the urban fabric increased due to the simultaneous growth of industry and population, assisted by migration from the rural areas of inner-Catalonia to the city. In a very confined space, El Raval hosted different industries and was tightly packed with multi-story blocks of flats for the workers. The increasing densification resulted in health issues and a rising mortality rate. By the middle of the nineteenth century the average life expectancy had dramatically decreased to 38.7 years for the wealthy and 19.7 years for the working class.[72] The situation within the perimeter of the city walls had gotten unbearable and they were finally demolished in 1854 to enable the expansion of the city across the Barcelona plain.

Fig. 7   Engraving, 1706. The engraving differentiates between old town (*ville vieille*) and extension (*ville neuve*—the area of El Raval) within the confines of the city walls. The major axis of La Rambla divides both parts.

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72   See Busquets i Grau, Joan. *Barcelona: The Urban Evolution of a Compact City* (Rovereto: Nicolodi Editore, 2005) 128.

The famous development plans and technical details by Ildefons Cerdà, completed in 1859, became the guiding documents for the construction of the new urban area of **Eixample** (Fig. 8, 9, 10). His concept was based on a regular geometric street pattern framed by repetitive block perimeter developments. These rigid elements regulate the spatial form without limiting future extensions. Cerdà laid the foundation for a vast non-hierarchic urban field, which, in contrast to the historical core, remains adaptable and enables continuous spreading into the rural landscape. The even spatial layout, wide circulation spaces, and modern building services contrast with the extreme density of the old city center. Cerdà's plan broke with the traditional centralized urban model and provided for ample sunlight and air flow. Apart from formulating a concept for Eixample, Cerdà also reacted to the density of the center itself by proposing two major axes, in addition to La Rambla, which cut through the old town and thus link Eixample to the waterfront. While one axis, Via Laietana, was constructed in the early twentieth century, the other one—cutting through Raval—was not realized. However, Cerdà's concept for the old town continued to influence future efforts of restructuring the historical core[73] (Fig. 11, 12).
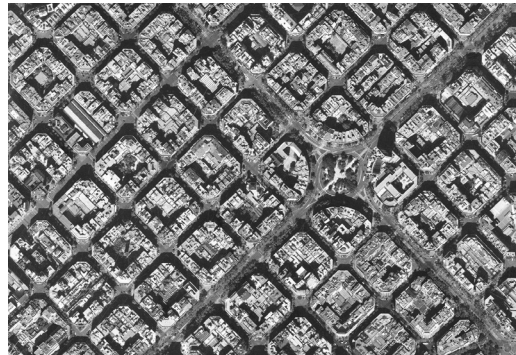
Fig. 8   Barcelona before the urban extension—enclosed city and surrounding farmland.

Fig. 9   Eixample, aerial view.
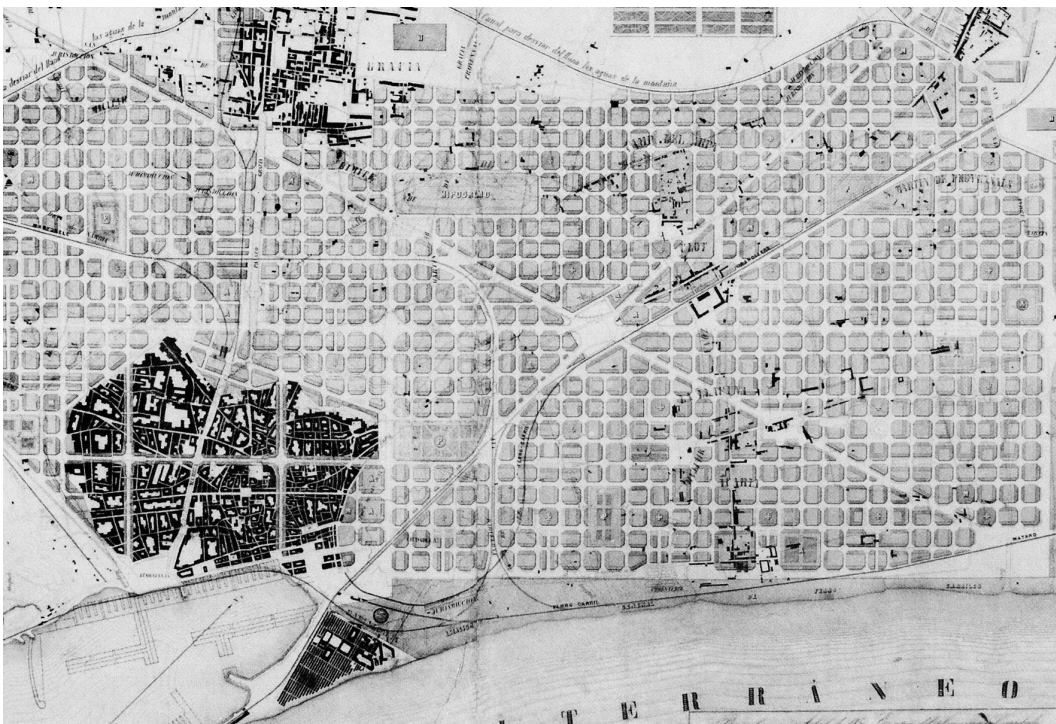
Fig. 10   The Cerdà Plan, 1859.

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73   Comprehensive references are available in Catalan and Spanish. See for exanple GRUPO 2C. *La Barcelona de Cerdà* (2009), which includes a large compilation of plans and details. For references in English, see Busquets. *Barcelona: The Urban Evolution of a Compact City* (2005) or Fuster Sobrepere, Joan. *The Cerdà Agenda* (2010).
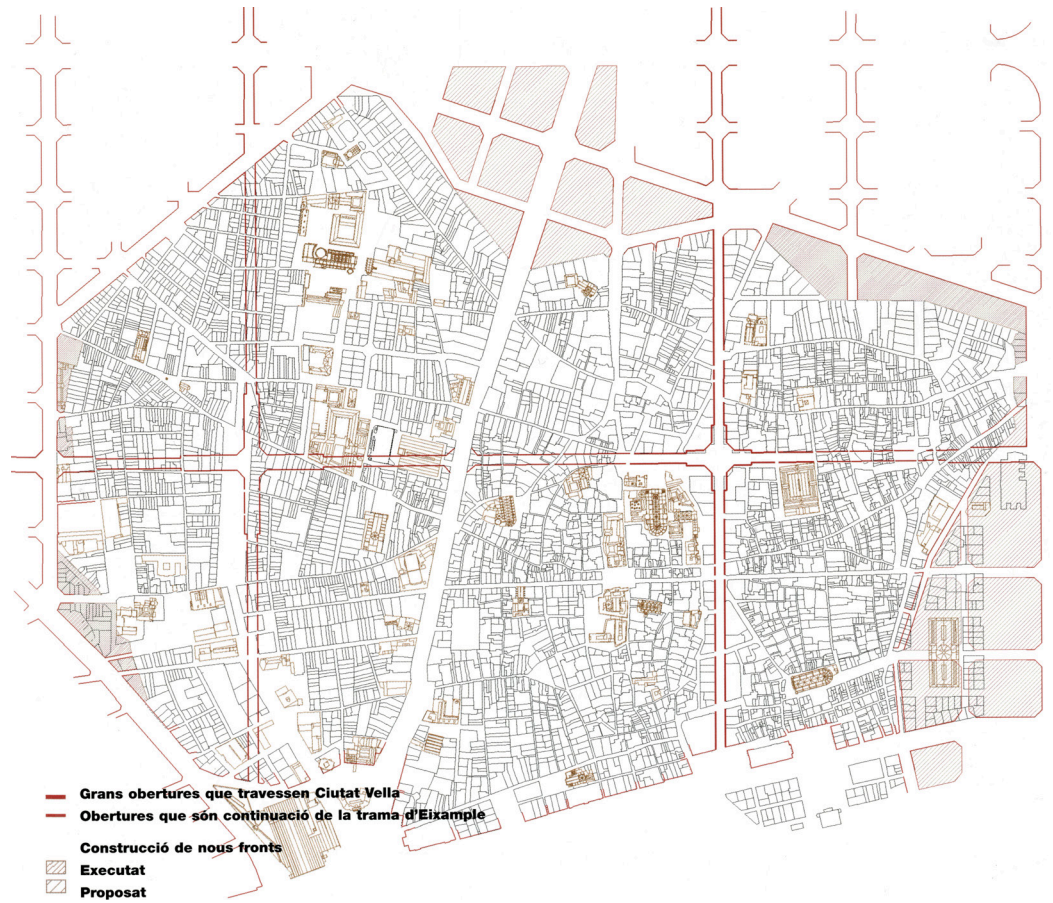
Grans obertures que travessen Ciutat Vella
Obertures que són continuació de la trama d'Eixample

Construcció de nous fronts
Executat
Proposat

Fig. 11 Comparison—Cerdà's plan (red) and the main sites of transformation in the city center.

Carrers medievals
s. XVIII a XIX
1/2 S. XIX
2/2 S. XIX
fins 1930
fins 1970
fins 2000
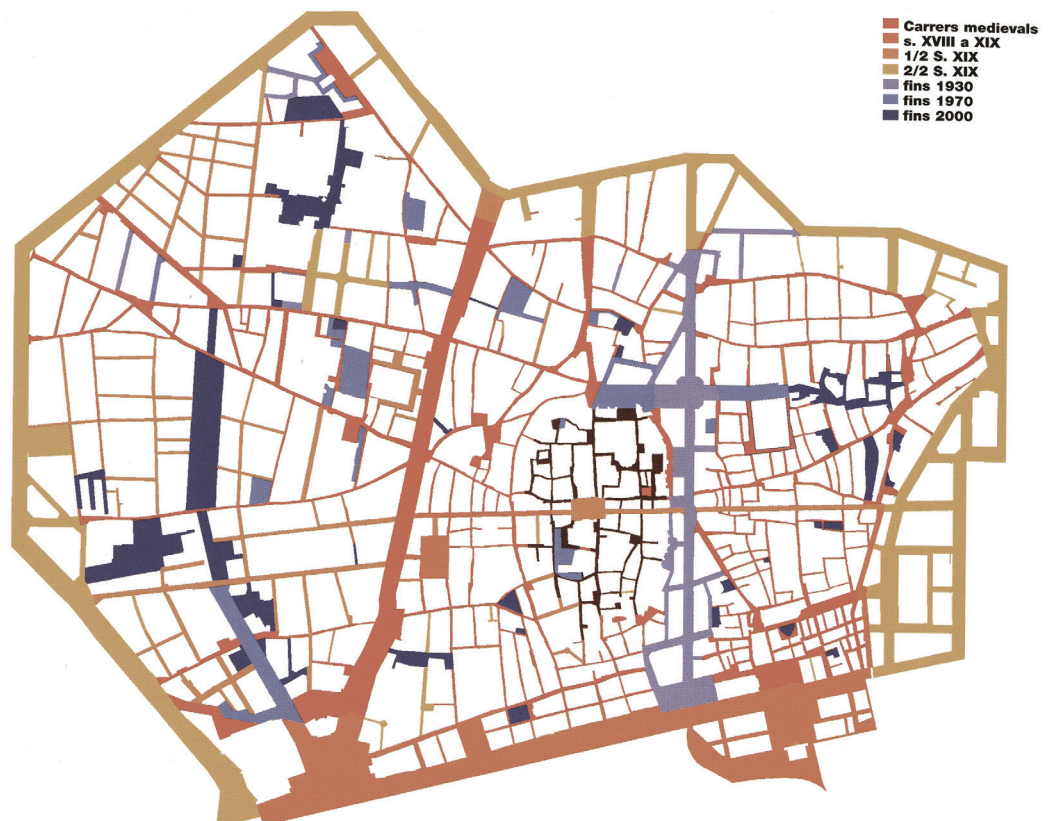
Fig. 12 Streets and squares in the city center, date of construction.

When the city started extending outwards, the industrial importance of Raval began to wane and the district suffered increasing neglect. However, it still functioned as an area for nightlife and entertainment with cabarets, bars, and cafés frequented by many artists and writers. Delinquency and prostitution were also rife, with the red-light district spreading across the southern area of the neighborhood closest to the port. In the early twentieth century, the term *Barrio Chino* (Chinatown) emerged with reference to Raval. The name underwent a transformation parallel to the development of the neighborhood and its ties to its urban surroundings. While the area was initially associated with the many illustrious places of entertainment and promoted as being open-minded and fun, the meaning soon turned into its opposite, especially during the time of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship,[74] when the area plunged into neglect. The term received a negative connotation as the neighborhood was increasingly marginalized. Thus, Barrio Chino signifies both the bohemian and the working-class identity of the quarter. These two different and contradicting identities of Raval have, to a certain extent, survived the years of political and physical change and still affect the neighborhood's struggle to determine its character today.

A first comprehensive study of the problems of Barrio Chino, including suggestions on how to tackle these issues, was the Macià Plan, put forward by the planning collective GATCPAC[75] in 1934. This avant-garde group of urban planners and artists collaborated with Le Corbusier on the project and followed his idea of the functional city. The plan determined separate activities like habitation, work, and recreation that the city had to provide space for, and allowed for circulation routes in between. GATCPAC generally adopted the radicality of the functional city and its attention to efficient traffic management as is expressed by the plan's extensive expansion beyond Eixample through rigid geometric patterns. Nevertheless, the group disagreed with Cerdà's proposal of wide traffic passages cutting through the historical center and suggested more context-oriented insertions of public space instead. While the existing street pattern was largely to be retained, the most degenerated areas—like Raval—were to be cleared and reorganized. In order to address the appalling state of housing and the subsequent health issues, the scheme suggested architectural-spatial solutions like reducing the density and creating a more permeable urban fabric that air and light could enter (Fig. 14, 15). The sanitation of the city was envisaged as a gradual process of remodeling. Here, the Macià Plan showed more consideration for the existing neighborhood than previous modernist schemes. Only the new high-rises at the seafront were a reminder of Le Corbusier's centralized vertical metropolis (Fig. 13). The plan was not implemented, as Franco seized power shortly after, but—similar to Cerdà's concept—it presented ideas which were later incorporated in the restructuring of Raval.

> It implicitly incorporated Cerdà's theoretical but as yet undeveloped plan, and was rigorous, well founded, creative and ambitious. [...] The Macià Plan was not a definitive, utopian plan, as the flexibility and pragmatism of its suggested interventions show.
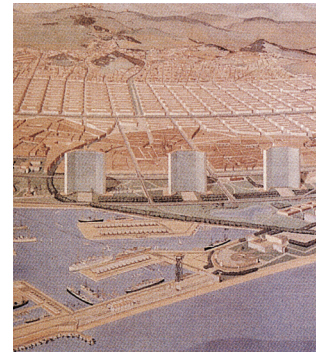>
> Busquets 2003[76]

Fig. 13 The Macià Plan, 1934: high-rises by the sea.

Fig. 14 The Macià Plan, 1934: reducing the density of Raval.

Fig. 15 The dense and narrow urban fabric of Raval.

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74 The Spanish Civil War lasted from 1936 to 1939. It put an end to the Second Spanish Republic and laid the foundation for Franco's rigorous reign in the country until his death in 1975.

75 GATCPAC - Grup d'Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per al Progrés de l'Arquitectura Contemporània (= Group of Catalan Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture).

76 Busquets i Grau, Joan. *La ciutat vella de Barcelona: un passat amb futur* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2003) 134.

During the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), construction efforts in the city center were put on hold and buildings were left to decay while the so called *polígonos*—large-scale social housing units—were constructed on the outskirts of the city. Josep Maria de Porcioles, the city's mayor at the time,[77] extended his authority and steered urban development toward a dramatic dichotomy of a deserted inner city versus isolated peripheral areas of extreme density. Polígonos formed large built masses but failed to create urban atmospheres due to their lack of public facilities. Not unlike private investors, the urban planners of the Franco era tried to maximize speculation with the help of these grand projects while the old city center lost two thirds of its population.[78] This loss reduced the meaning of the historical core as the prime cultural, economic, and political location of the metropolis. The dark, narrow streets became a shabby housing area for workers and migrants from other parts of Spain[79] amidst petty crime, drugs, and prostitution—ignored by homeowners and the City Council, and avoided by Barcelonese and tourists alike. It was a social fringe district in a central location. Apart from the degeneration of urban space, the period was marked by a degeneration of urban politics, since public collective activities were first forbidden altogether and then in the late 1950s restricted to religious and cultural festivities. Public space was denied its social and political relevance. "Political activity [was] exclusively associated with the government and the 'unity' party, the public space [was] a state matter."[80]

B. urban development following the political transition

In contrast to Berlin, where the thrust was to unify, solidify, and centralize, the political situation of Barcelona in the 1980s demanded an almost opposite structure, which could provide a new independent identity to post-dictatorship Catalonia. The new identity of Catalan architecture was constructed on the basis of difference and periphery, through an outward-looking view toward the rest of Europe instead of inward to the Iberian Peninsula.
Zaera-Polo 2013[81]

Following Franco's death and the restoration of democracy in the late 1970s, great emphasis was placed on improving the physical structure of the city as well as its social services and public life. It was the beginning of a comprehensive regeneration project. The criticism of Porcioles' one-dimensional urbanistic strategies and their devastating consequences in terms of isolated, poor inner-city quarters became the driving force behind formulating a new urban paradigm. As Jordi Borja points out, the political and professional critique of the 1960s and 70s formed the basis for the emergence of a new democratic understanding of urbanism in the 1980s and 90s. The analysis of the former in terms of its planning approach and political values affected the action of the latter.[82] In this respect, a group of politically progressive architects and urban planners called

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77   Porcioles held the position of mayor from 1957 until 1973. Through his 'Municipal Charter' he extended the rights of the city government in terms of taxing and development affairs.

78   During that time, the population decreased from 220,000 to 80,000.

79   During the Franco era about 1.5 mio people migrated from the South and the Northwest of Spain to Catalunya; 750,000 of which came to Barcelona and put additional pressure on the urban fabric and transport infrastructure.

80   Borja Sebastià, Jordi. *Luces y sombras del urbanismo de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Editorial UOC, 2009) 40: "La actividad política es exclusiva del gobierno y del partido 'único', el espacio público es un asunto de Estado." (translation by Sorana Radulescu)

81   Zaera-Polo, Alejandro. *The Sniper's Log: Architectural Chronicles of Generation X* (Barcelona: ACTAR, 2012) 111-112.

82   See Borja. *Luces y sombras del urbanismo de Barcelona*, 44.

Laboratori d'Urbanisme de Barcelona (LUB)[83] was highly influential. The group, led by Manuel de Solà-Morales and Joan Busquets, who later became the Head of Planning, promoted the model of a more democratic and more coherent approach to urbanism. This attitude also reflects the rise of local residents' movements and their concern with urban affairs. These movements first emerged during Porcioles' time as mayor and grew in proportion to the realization of his suburban housing estates. Thus, they exemplified the social problems caused by his planning strategy. The political turmoil of the post-Franco era resulted in a fruitful alliance of local movements, liberal urban planners, and opposition parties[84] that managed to implement a multitude of small-scale projects in the dense urban fabric—an **urbanism of acupuncture**.[85]

According to Borja, the example of Barcelona's regeneration, which became known as the **Barcelona model**, should not be understood as a morphological model but rather as a model of planning methods.[86] It extends well beyond mere physical restructuring and includes the reorganization of administrative powers, new forms of public-private cooperation, and a substantial agenda of cultural and social improvements. Consequently, the comprehensive project can be best described as a strategy. It became the subject of analysis and academic exchange. The results were widely published and generally well received by public authorities and urban planners; in European as well as Anglo-American literature. However, the project also raised critical voices, e.g. with regard to its implementation process and the subsequent issues of gentrification, as demonstrated by the reviews of Horacio Capel, Tim Marshall et al., or Manuel Delgado.[87]

A decisive step in reclaiming responsibilities of urban planning was the ratification of the **Pla General Metropolità** (PGM) in 1976. The PGM marked the return to planning after many years of speculation and became the basis for future development. While 'urban planning' under Franco meant to "satisfy the interest of speculators during the long administration of mayor Josep Maria de Porcioles,"[88] the PGM emphasized the need for limits to urban growth and adequate amounts of public space. It counteracted speculation by defining areas for transformation and zoning adjustments. Joan Antoni Solans, one of the planners in charge and the Head of the Planning Department in the interim period, managed to persuade the city to buy large amounts of land in order to assist the implementation of the plan. The recession had caused land prices to decrease and thus allowed Solans to buy a total of 221 hectares, about one third of which were to be turned into public space while the remaining areas were dedicated to urban functions such as public services and housing. Solans' successor, Oriol Bohigas, then set out to realize hundreds of projects on these sites in response to local demands. While the PGM presented a first coherent urban **Leitmotiv**, it did not provide concrete strategies for planning projects. It was thus followed by more specific implementation-oriented planning documents, namely the **Plans Especials de**

83   LUB, the Barcelona Laboratory of Urbanism, is a research center assigned to the ETSAB Urban Planning Department and is thus associated to the Polytechnic University of Catalonia.

84   For more detailed information on the influence of local resident movements during regeneration, see Calavita; Ferrer. "Behind Barcelona's Success Story" (2000) or Blanco; Brugue. "Urban Governance Networks and Democracy" (2010).

85   Borja. *Luces y sombras del urbanismo de Barcelona*, 73: "el urbanismo de acupuntura."

86   See Borja. *Luces y sombras del urbanismo de Barcelona*, 83.

87   See Capel, Horacio. *El modelo de Barcelona: un examen crítico* (2005); Marshall, Tim (ed.). *Transforming Barcelona* (2004); or Delgado, Manuel. *La ciudad mentirosa* (2007).

88   Calavita, Nico; Ferrer, Amador. "Behind Barcelona's Success Story: Citizen Movements and Planner's Power" in: *Journal of Urban History*, 26:6 (September 2000) 798. Retrieved from: www.academia.edu/453050/Behind_Barcelonas_Success_Story_citizen_Movements_and_Planners_Power (accessed March 24, 2014).

Reforma Interior (PERI). According to Montaner et al.,[89] Barcelona's post-Franco transformation can be subdivided into four phases of planning and implementation. They have to be understood within the broader context of the city's economic and political development, especially in connection with the citywide event of the 1992 Summer Olympic Games. The different stages are characterized by varying relations between the project stakeholders and reveal planning objectives that were altered in the process.

1979-1985: micro-interventions
In Barcelona, the first post-Franco democratic elections on local level were carried out in 1979. The Socialist Party won and remained the leading party for over 30 consecutive years. This political continuity and the presences of ambitious individual politicians and planners played a vital role in changing the urban environment. Important protagonists during the early years of implementation were Pasqual Maragall, the mayor of Barcelona from 1982 to 1997, and Oriol Bohigas, the Head of the Planning Department until 1984, followed by Joan Busquets. They were committed to spurring democratic processes and participation in the city. An emphasis was placed on micro-interventions—small and inexpensive projects that could be carried out quickly in order to improve housing, provide new public facilities, or bolster public space.

> This period is dominated by the reform and rationalization of the local administration, the decentralization of the local government functions on neighborhood level, and small low-budget urban developments for the most degraded public spaces.
>
> Casellas in Montaner et al.[90]

Under Franco, the city government was the central authority on local level. In contrast, the new Socialist government diverted administrative powers to ten newly-formed districts in the municipal area. In Borja's view, this process had three positive effects: it united political and technical agents in the decision-making and implementation phase of the urban project, it nurtured the concept of public politics, and it resulted in a revalorization of participatory processes.[91] While representative democracy with its party-based, bureaucratic structures does not encourage conflict as an inherent quality of society, the decentralization of the governing system into individual districts led to a localized urbanistic approach, which specifically encouraged political negotiation and a culture of confrontation.[92]

1986-1992: the pre-Olympic cleanup
After only a few years of planning and realization, the objectives of regeneration took a different direction. Following the approval of Barcelona's application to host the 1992 Summer Olympic Games, urban planning was employed to assist economic rejuvenation. The city tried to reinvent itself not only as a vibrant place for a large sporting event, but also as a great location

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89   See Montaner, Josep Maria; Álvarez, Fernando; Muxí, Zaida (eds.). *Archivo crítico modelo Barcelona 1973-2004* (Barcelona: Actar 2011) 14-15.

90   Casellas, Antónia. "Gobernanza y ciudad. La evolución del modelo de colaboración público-privado en Barcelona" in: *Archivo crítico modelo Barcelona 1973-2004* edited by Josep Maria Montaner; Fernando Álvarez and Zaida Muxí (Barcelona: Actar) 63:"La reforma y racionalización de la administración local, la descentralización de funciones del gobierno local a escala de barrio y las pequeñas actuaciones urbanísticas de bajo presupuesto en los espacios públicos más degradados dominan este período." (translation by Sorana Radulescu).

91   See Borja. *Luces y sombras del urbanismo de Barcelona*, 178.

92   This is exemplified by Bohigas' writings in *Reconstrucció de Barcelona* (1985) and the attention that has been paid to the notion of participation in the PERI Raval planning documents. See Ajuntament de Barcelona. *PERI El Raval* (Barcelona, 1985).

for conferences, as a design hot spot, and as an attractive place for foreign investment. These attributes resonate with the typical marketing rhetoric of urban agglomerations beyond industrial use.[93] Political and economic leaders strove to foster the tertiary sector, position the city within the competitive global network and to "once again convert Barcelona into the capital of the Western Mediterranean."[94] Staging large events or creating new points of attraction facilitated this goal. Apart from providing the infrastructure for the Olympic Games, the city, assisted by private investment, started constructing new cultural and educational facilities. It transformed the freight port into a marina for yachts and opened the city toward the sea by creating an artificial beach and a public promenade.

The physical change was accompanied by the citywide cleanup campaign *Barcelona posa't guapa!* (Barcelona, get pretty!, Fig. 16), launched by the city government. The initiative called for a joint effort in preparation for the Olympics: The completion of the required infrastructure and a generally increased awareness for a clean urban environment. It proved remarkably successful in forming a collective identity amongst the Barcelonese and in ensuring the necessary support for the event.

Fig. 16   Marketing campaign poster.
Barcelona posa't guapa!, 1986.

1992-1998: the post-Olympic crisis

The aftermath of the Olympic Games was the time to manage the drastic economic, social, and cultural transformations the event had triggered. Barcelona tried to determine its identity beyond the one-off event. Economic and professional activity, which had accelerated previously, slowed down and so did the physical restructuring itself. Despite the economic recession, however, the city enjoyed substantial "national and international prestige, as well as practically unanimous consensus with regard to the quality and beauty of its urban developments,"[95] which culminated in being awarded the RIBA Gold Medal in 1999.[96] Apart from international acclaim, the post-Olympic phase was used for reviewing previous urbanistic strategies and adjusting planning objectives and processes where necessary. At the same time, Barcelona saw a steady influx of mainly non-European immigrants as part of global migration patterns. The late 1990s were thus determined by the need to adjust to this new social and ethnic plurality.

1998-2004: the new Barcelona

During this period, the construction of enormous projects began in different locations, such as the 22@Barcelona, also known as the innovation district, or the Diagonal Mar. In both areas, situated northeast of the historical center, industrial wasteland was transformed into new mixed-use quarters. While the former is based on the idea of establishing a new research and education cluster, the latter emerged on the grounds of yet another large international event. Following the example of the 'Olympic trigger', Barcelona's political leaders—namely mayor Joan Clos—aspired to host the *Fòrum Universal de les Cultures 2004*, a large trade fair geared toward intercultural exchange and sustainability in times of globalization. Though the thematic orientation of the fair

93   See also section 1.1.

94   Capel, Horacio. *El modelo de Barcelona: un examen crítico* (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 2005) 29: "El objetivo vuelve a ser de nuevo convertir a Barcelona en la capital del Mediterráneo occidental." (translation by Sorana Radulescu).

95   Balibrea, Mari Paz. "Urbanism, culture and the post-industrial city: challenging the 'Barcelona Model'" in: *Transforming Barcelona*, edited by Tim Marshall (New York: Routledge, 2004) 206.

96   Barcelona was the first city ever to receive the prestigious award.

seemed somewhat vague and obscure, the city once again succeeded in attracting investments for the regeneration of its derelict sites and infrastructure. Supported by public subsidies, private capital was used for the construction of exhibition spaces, housing and retail. The strategy was to not only spur urban regeneration but also to consolidate a new identity beyond the event itself. By now, the city leaders had realized the marketing effect of architecture and the benefits that could be generated from it in the tourism industry.

since 2008: recession and readjustment

Montaner et al.'s review of the planning phases was published in 2004 after the most intrusive transformations had been completed. The physical restructuring of Barcelona continues until today although it has slowed down significantly, especially following the financial crisis of 2008. After the end of the dictatorship, Spain had reinvented itself as a modern social democracy with strong economic growth and decreasing unemployment rates. However, prosperity relied in large part on the real estate and construction industry—an economic legacy of the Franco era. Thus, Spain's property bubble had been half a century in the making and was assisted by transnational financial markets.[97] So when the housing market in the United States started crashing, the country likewise plunged into a deep economic depression. The subsequent years of austerity measures like salary cuts and tax increases had serious consequences for the leading Socialist Party. It was replaced by the People's Party on national level while its long-term leadership in Barcelona was ended in 2011 by the conservative Catalan party CiU. Today, the economy is on its way to recovery, mainly by diverting economic activity to other sectors, like expanding the export business and green tech industries, and advocating slow yet steady growth. At the same time, Barcelona's urban development has reverted to a reconsideration of small-scale strategies, as exemplified by the *Pla de Barris*, a concept on neighborhood level, which determines individual measures of physical, technological, and social improvement.
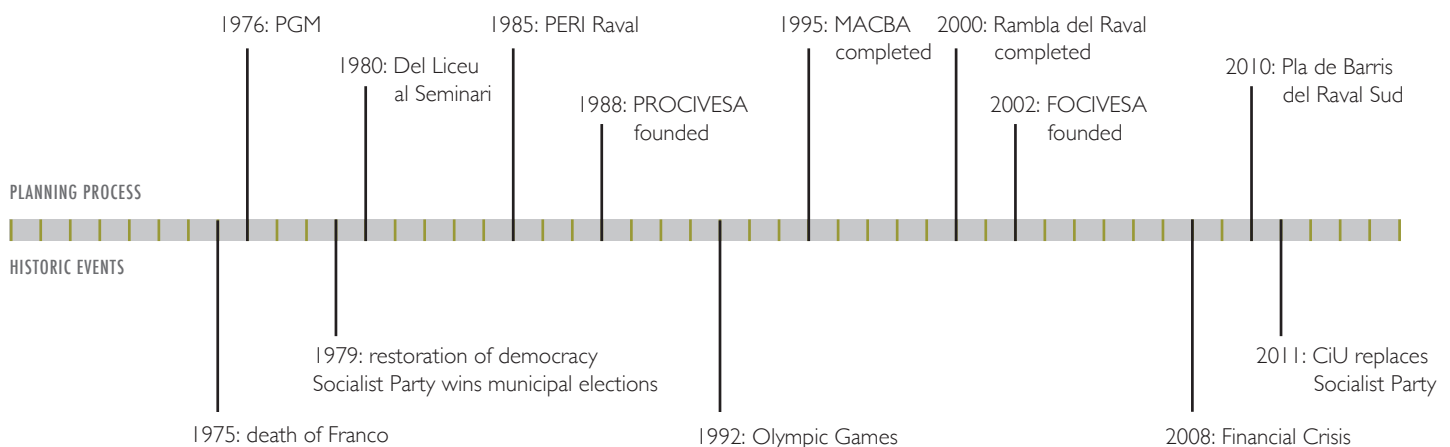

Fig. 17   The regeneration of Raval, timeline of historic events and planning process.

97   Hill, Steven. "To Hell and Back: Spain's Grotesque Recession and Its Surprising New Economy" in: *The Atlantic* (October 13, 2013). Retrieved from: http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2013/10/to-hell-and-back-spains-grotesque-recession-and-its-surprising-new-economy/280678/ (accessed July 26, 2014).

C. opening the narrow labyrinth of El Raval

The following will explain the aforementioned phases of urban development with a distinct focus on the El Raval neighborhood. During the first phase, small insertions were the leading strategy in opening up the dense urban setting, not unlike GATCPAC's strategy from the 1930s. It aimed for social and political cohesion through physical adjustments. Fostering public space was to foster urban communities. Public areas were to facilitate intense and diverse social use, promote new activities and collective uses, and guarantee easy maintenance and security in the future. According to Maragall, "the improvement of public space [was] relevant for solving social and economic problems."[98] Likewise, Bohigas underlined the value of public space like the square and the street as a generator of urban collective life (Fig. 18). He emphasized the horizontal character of the city as opposed to modernism's obsession—including Porcioles' derailed interpretation of modernism—with vertical structures.

Fig. 18   A new public space in the southern part of Raval, 2011.

> […] returning to the idea of the street, square and urban garden defined by architecture and the horizontal ground plane […] is the concern of the most far-sighted urban planning in recent years throughout Europe - also as a reaction against the speculative popularization of misunderstood rationalist urban planning […]
>
> Bohigas 1985[99]

Bohigas specifically pushed public space regeneration in accordance with his ideals of participatory processes and in order to improve socio-political dynamics in the neighborhoods. The new squares were supposed to prompt people to shape their environments. The transformation is to be understood as a spatial consequence of the new democratic system and as a possibility of direct intervention on a local level. He approached the task in an opportunistic manner and implemented what could be done fast and cheaply whilst addressing the needs of the locals and keeping in line with the PGM. This way, the government demonstrated that it was efficient and people-oriented.[100]

> For many years - especially the years of dictatorship - we have been claiming the necessity of participatory planning. By saying 'participatory' we wanted to say two things at once: an urbanism based on a democratic political structure that organizes its decisions based on popular will and also a conditioned urbanism, promoted and shaped by the action of the neighbors, of the entities organized territorially around the problem, i.e. organized by the direct and creative intervention of the social basis.
>
> Bohigas 1985[101]

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98   Capel. *El modelo de Barcelona: un examen crítico*, 7: "la mejora del espacio público es relevante para la resolución de los problemas económicos y sociales" (translation by Sorana Radulescu).

99   Bohigas, Oriol. *Reconstrucció de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1985) 18: "[…] el retorn a la idea del carrer, la plaça i el jardí urbans definits per l'arquitectura i pel pla horitzontal del sól […] és la preocupació de l'urbanisme més clarivident d'aquests darrers anys a tot Europe - reacció també contra la vulgarització especulativa de l'urbanisme racionalista mal interpretat […]" (translation by Sorana Radulescu).

100   See Calavita; Ferrer. "Behind Barcelona's Success Story."

101   Bohigas. *Reconstrucció de Barcelona*, 185-7: "Durant molts anys - sobretot els anys de la dictadura - hem estat afirmant la necessitat d'un urbanisme participat. En dir 'participat' volíem dir alhora dues coses: un urbanisme basat en una estructura política democràtica que jerarquitzés les decisions a partir de la voluntat popular i també un urbanisme condicionat, promogut i modelat per l'acció dels veïns, de les entitats organitzades territorialment al voltant del problema, és a dir, gestat amb la intervenció directa i creativa de les bases socials." (translation by Sorana Radulescu).
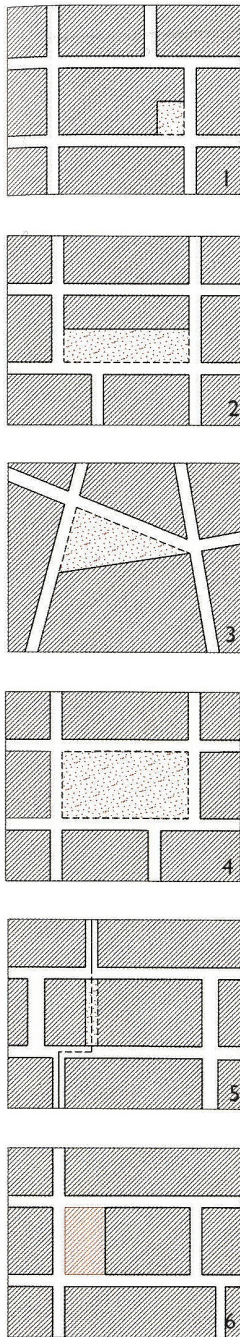
The strategy of public space refurbishment and formation included the selective demolition of single buildings, clusters, or entire street blocks (Fig. 19). Obsolete buildings were knocked down and replaced by small squares with hard surfaces and little greenery. These spaces, so called **plazas duras** (= hard squares), increased the permeability of the neighborhood. They allowed air and light to penetrate the dense fabric and enhanced the continuity of existing movement patterns. The new squares were inserted into the densely settled environment in a similar way to holes in a sponge. Hence, the scheme was also known as **Esponjamiento** (esponja = sponge).[102]

Plazas duras are framed by the existing adjacent buildings. The built volumes surround the stage of the new empty space in between. Everyone becomes an actor when crossing the open square. As intended by planners, they represent an even distribution of rights and responsibilities. Their design is closely linked to the dawn of democracy and the great need for a completely public space. Therefore, the locations for insertion were chosen carefully. They defined specific nodes in the street network or marked an area of important urban functions. They were not only expected to alter their immediate surroundings but also to trigger follow-up projects in the neighborhood and in other parts of the city. The planners called this effect **metastasis** and ascribed to the small injection the potential to improve the value of the urban fabric and create a greater benefit for the city.

> […] in order for the metastasis to occur effectively and positively we need to apply the initial infection in the neuralgic and significant points of the neighborhood, of the city […] strategic and reconstructive urban planning supported primarily by the formulation of public space.
>
> Bohigas, quoted in Cabrera 2007[103]

As Blanco and Brugue point out, this early stage of planning is characterized by a tight trilateral relationship between the Department of Planning, the neighborhood associations, and expert planners. Social movements had become a powerful force on the local level and were encouraged to participate in the restructuring process. The "deliberation between the different actors was intense and highly productive,"[104] but the urban transformation of Raval still has to be understood as a **top-down** process. The restructuring of the area signified a resolute modification of the local context by planning professionals and political leaders, as put forth in the PERI planning document.[105] It translated the **Leitmotiv** of the PGM into concrete project phases. While it resonates with the previous schemes of Cerdà and GATPAC, it also represents an entirely new urban concept based on contemporary political beliefs, social values, and planning methods. Joan Busquets, who succeeded Bohigas as the Head of Urban Planning in the critical phase of preparing Barcelona for the Olympics, oversaw the implementation of the PERI scheme and published extensively

Fig. 19   Scheme of *plazas duras* and other micro-interventions.

1 demolition of single buildings along street
2 demolition of an entire row of houses
3 selective asymmetric recess
4 demolition of entire blocks
5 openings in the block to continue pedestrian routes
6 introduction of local services and amenities

102 See Borja, Jordi et al. "Public space development in Barcelona - some examples" in: *Transforming Barcelona* edited by Tim Marshall (London/New York: Routledge, 2004) 161-172.

103 Bohigas. *Reconstrucció de Barcelona*, 40. quoted in Cabrera i Massanés, Pere. *Ciutat Vella de Barcelona* (Badalona: Ara Llibres, 2007) 37: "[…] para que la metástasis se produzca de una manera eficaz y positiva es necesario que la infección inicial se aplique en los puntos neurálgicos y significativos del barrio, de la ciudad […] urbanismo estratégico y reconstructivo apoyado prioritariamente en la formulación del espacio público." (translation by Sorana Radulescu).

104 Blanco, Ismael; Brugue, Quim. "Urban Governance Networks and Democracy: Which Networks? What Democracy? Why Bother?" paper for the Political Studies Association Conference (Edinburgh, 2010) Retrieved from: campus.usal.es/~acpa/sites/default/files/BlancoBrugue%20PSA2010_1.pdf (accessed March 30, 2014) 10.

105 Between 1981 and 1985 three PERIs for different neighborhoods in Barcelona were drawn up: El Raval, El Born, and Barceloneta. The PERI Raval was conceived by Xavier Sust and Carles Díaz, and approved by the city government in 1985.

Pla Especial
de Reforma Interior del Raval

Plaça dels Àngels

North
South

Rambla del Raval

Fig. 20   PERI Raval, 1985.
The main areas of transformation.

PERI planning objectives:

- decrease the built-up area and dedicate 10% of land to public facilities and open spaces

- demolish run-down buildings in favor of collective open space, new housing, or public facilities

- channel direct public support to private initiatives, new cultural facilities and new public spaces

- commence work in the North and along the perimeter before creating a large central square in the South.

This summary is listed by R. Gomà and N. Rossetti, quoted in Subirats, Joan; Rius, Joaquim. "From the Xino to the Raval" (2006) 12-13.

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on the city's regeneration afterwards.[106] Apart from public space improvement, regeneration included a strategy of cultural enhancement, exemplified by the installation of cultural institutions like the MACBA, the FAD, and the CCCB[107] as new points of attraction. This focus on large public buildings had been developed earlier within the scope of a separate urban study—***Del Liceu al Seminari***[108]—which analyzed the northern part of Raval. Its findings were integrated into the PERI documents and became the guideline for future development in the area. Overall, the PERI formulated a response to the lack of public space, insufficient public and social infrastructure, and derelict, small-sized and poorly equipped housing (Fig. 20).

Leading up to the Olympics, the image of a tidy, beautiful, and tourist-friendly city affected the restructuring of Raval North in particular, where the realization of the cultural cluster gained momentum. The renovation of existing historical buildings like the **Convent dels Àngels**, which now houses the FAD, and the construction of new prestigious public facilities like the MACBA by American architect Richard Meier was under way. The main square in the area, the **Plaça dels Àngels**, was reorganized to function as a link between the individual institutions (Fig. 21).

CCCB

MACBA

FAD

Fig. 21   Plaça dels Àngels and the new cultural cluster.

Within the context of the Games, public-private-partnerships were created. The public administration was well aware of the necessity to include private investment, considering the complexity of the tasks at hand. Likewise, the increasing size of Raval's regeneration required new forms of collaboration between public and private actors. While the small-scale interventions of the early 1980s had been realized quickly, the larger projects in compliance with the PERI were rather slow to be implemented, due to a lack of financial resources. Therefore, the company PROCIVESA was founded in 1988 to manage the project for a fixed term of 14 years. It consisted

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106 See Busquets. *Barcelona: The Urban Evolution of a Compact City* or Busquets. *La ciutat vella de Barcelona*.

107   MACBA – Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona; FAD - Foment de les Artes i el Diseny; CCCB – Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona.

108   The study was conducted in 1980 by Lluís Clotet, Oscar Tusquets, and Farncesc Bassó. It comprised the area from Plaça de Sant Agustí to Plaça de Castella.

of local and regional administrative bodies, and private capital.[109] Apart from coordinating the removal of the most run-down buildings and the relocation of their residents, PROCIVESA aimed to increase private investment and boost the culture and tourism industry. Though initially under the mantle of public services, the redevelopment of the city increasingly followed the market-oriented logic of the postindustrial service economy, bolstered by global economic trends and a neoliberal approach to governing.[110] The concept of introducing empty spaces and airing out the narrow labyrinthine structure of the quarter was employed strategically by local authorities in an attempt to 'normalize' the district and dissolve the monosocial milieu of poverty, drugs, prostitution, and crime. What started as the homogenization of the social sphere to ensure a greater benefit for the locals was thus converted to the creation of a marketable product: an attractive urban space.

The establishment of PROCIVESA was accompanied by the formation of other organizational bodies like the ARI Management Committee, which formally integrated resident demands by including representatives of neighborhood associations. However, the committee was more concerned with solving social conflicts generated by the projects such as expropriation and compensation than having an actual say in the further development. It was PROCIVESA, which steered the project and was primarily responsible for speeding up its realization. Blanco and Brugue emphasize that, with increasing size of the project, the former trilateral relationship dissolved into separate institutions where participatory structures, though formally included showed little impact on the decision-making. The authors define the organizational structure as network governance—a multi-level framework of institutions, partnerships, and other alliances which engage formally and informally. These networks thus approach regeneration in a comprehensive manner, resulting in imbalanced power structures that are tightly linked to resources and restrict community engagement.[111]

> The network is highly asymmetric, with a mixed capital company, PROCIVESA/FOCIVESA acting at an arms-length from the state and concentrating big powers such as the elaboration of urban plans, land expropriation and the direct negotiation with the residents affected by demolition operations.
>
> Blanco and Brugue 2010[112]

Following the Olympics Games, the large public buildings of the cultural cluster in Raval were completed (CCCB in 1994, MACBA in 1995, FAD in 1999) and the construction market was largely saturated. Reviewing previous planning schemes, the PERI Raval was amended repeatedly during these years, e.g. with regard to a new large central square in the southern area. The axis *La Rambla del Raval* drew references from the 1953 **Plan Comarcal**[113] in terms of its location, scale, and proportions (Fig. 22). Though it also revisits Cerdà's idea of constructing a major thoroughfare
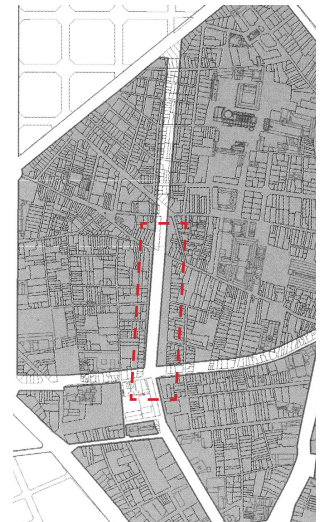

Fig. 22   Plan Comarcal, 1953, revisits Cerdà's idea of an axis cutting through the neighborhood.
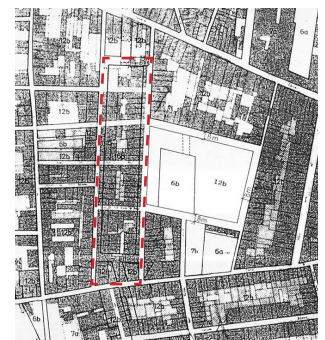

Fig. 23   PERI Raval, 1993. Rambla del Raval (red outline) and Plaça de Vázquez Montalbán (white space).

Fig. 24   Rambla del Raval under construction, 1999.

109   PROCIVESA – Promoció Ciutat Vella, SA consisted of public bodies (the Barcelona city council and the regional government of Catalonia, 60%) and private investors (such as banks, 40%). The company seized to exist in 2002 and was replaced by FOCIVESA – Foment de Ciutat Vella, SA. In 1994 and 1995, the project was also financially supported by the European Union Cohesion Fund.

110   Balibrea notes the strategic instrumentalization of culture with a capital 'C' in order to generate unanimous ideological consensus and support for the project. See Balibrea, Mari Paz. "Urbanism, culture and the post-industrial city: challenging the 'Barcelona Model'" in: *Transforming Barcelona*, edited by Tim Marshall (London/New York: Routledge, 2004) 205-224.

111   See Blanco; Brugue. "Urban Governance Networks and Democracy," 6.

112   Ibid., 9.

113   The Plan Comarcal (Regional Plan) was drawn up in 1953 by the Provincial Commission for Urban Arrangement.

and remodeling adjacent buildings, it shows more consideration for the existing street pattern and thus affects fewer properties. Instead of cutting through the entire length of the dense urban fabric, it ends in two roundabouts before dispersing into the existing surrounding street pattern. In addition to the central square, a new study area next to the Rambla, the *Plaça de Vázquez Montalbán*, is also included in the PERI framework[114] (Fig. 23).

The post-Olympic years were also the time of internal demographic re-adjustment as new ethnic and social groups started moving into the neighborhood. The many construction projects and the symbolic opening of Raval—spatially as well as socially—resulted in a greater appreciation of public life and gradual social and economic improvement. It thus attracted a large variety of new residents and businesses. Paralleling the general growth of the immigrant population, Raval also experienced an increase in incoming foreigners. However, the transformation of Raval's demographic structure was faster and more dramatic than in any other neighborhood in Barcelona.

In the southern part of Raval, the turn of the millennium was the time of implementing the new Rambla: entire housing blocks were pulled down and the residents had to be relocated in order to make space (Fig. 24, 25). The final design for the Rambla was completed in 2000. The urban planners conceived it as a linear, open space for pedestrians. The new park-like meeting point is framed by trees, one-way streets and bicycle lanes on both sides yet leaves a wide promenade in the middle. Pere Cabrera draws a comparison between the square's enormous dimensions of 317x58m—unprecedented in the historical center—and the generous layout of the square in front of the Cathedral, which measures 200x47m.[115] The crucial difference between these two megaspaces, however, is their respective location within the layout of the city. While the Cathedral Square borders on Via Laietana at the periphery of the Gothic Quarter, the new Rambla is positioned in the middle of Raval with comparable distance to both La Rambla in the East and Ronda de Sant Pau in the West. This new point of attraction thus affects the surrounding narrow

Fig. 25   Rambla del Raval—the implementation of a new square.

114   In 1993 and 1995, design variations (size, proportion) on the Rambla del Raval and the adjacent square were developed.
115   See Cabrera. *Ciutat Vella de Barcelona*.

streets through increased levels of movement. The contrast between the dense homogenous built fabric of Raval South and the vast empty space is striking. Not surprisingly, the implementation of the Rambla del Raval attracted a great deal of criticism from architects and urban planners during the time of construction due to its disproportional scale and lack of integration into the urban fabric.

> In a district known for its back streets, damp and insalubrity there can never be too much sun, but there does exist a sensation of space out of all proportion, of frontier or no-man's-land, rather than of a shared square, helping to bind the district together.
>
> Borja et al. 2004[116]

Despite criticism from a planner's perspective, today, the new Rambla seems to generate benefits on local level, which need to be assessed further. Cabrera defines Raval's new central square as a collector of internal activities. It enables the intersection of different uses and users that connect to each other and then disperse into other areas. He also notes that this new focal point contributes to the further refurbishment of local infrastructure.[117] Following the construction of the cultural cluster and Plaça dels Àngels in Raval North, the quarter has seen the implementation of a new major square and the subtle adjustment and rehabilitation of its old residential structure in the South. According to Borja et al., public authorities should aim at engaging the different urban actors in a sense of shared responsibility for Raval's public space in order to increase interaction and eliminate criminal forces. The authors promote a certain level of self-governance within the neighborhood.[118] However, this is challenged by the diversification of its demographics. After PROCIVESA completed its 14-year term in 2002, the successor FOCIVESA continued to manage the implementation process, but also introduced changes with regard to participatory planning. These alterations were made in response to the receding interest in the formalized patterns of participation. The dramatic social and cultural change of the neighborhood put the legitimacy of neighborhood representatives into question. They had ceased to join the meetings of the ARI Management Committee, so that FOCIVESA tried to address the interested locals directly through public hearings and consultations in order to include their views in public space design.

> All in all, it became clear the traditional residents associations [sic] were unable to represent the social and political diversity of the area. … In conclusion, during this period, the distribution of power became highly unequal, the social basis of the community organisations represented in the formal decisional arena sharply decreased and the quality of deliberation significantly worsened.
>
> Blanco and Brugue 2010[119]

Following the financial crisis of 2008, attention has now been diverted to the southern part of the neighborhood that had notoriously fallen behind. With new projects like the controversial *Barceló Raval* hotel and the *Filmoteca de Catalunya*—both immediately to the northeast of the new Rambla—being added to the culture- and tourism-oriented infrastructure of the area, the South seems to be following the programmatic direction of Raval North. In 2010, the *Pla de Barris del Raval Sud* was established by the city government and the Generalitat de Catalunya to

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116   Borja et al. "Public space development in Barcelona," 164.

117   See Cabrera. *Ciutat Vella de Barcelona*.

118   See Borja et al. "Public space development in Barcelona."

119   Blanco; Brugue. "Urban Governance Networks and Democracy," 11.

specifically address the problems and shortcomings of the southern area and negotiate between different actors. The plan includes a variety of small interventions like the new safety measures, small refurbishments, and the provision of social services like mediation amongst different groups in the neighborhood. The conceptualization and execution of the plan falls under the responsibility of FOCIVESA, which "continues to control all activities directly related to or arising from the process of transforming and revitalising the districts in the historic centre of Barcelona."[120]

Overall, the neighborhood currently sees less construction work in favor of more social and cultural projects. This is also exemplified by the drastic increase in neighborhood associations representing the diverse socio-cultural demographics. The umbrella organization of these associations, the *Fundació Tot Raval*, has functioned as a central point of reference in bringing the associations together since its foundation in 2003. It manages the internal communication and assists in negotiating with the local administration. Remarkably, the economic recession has caused the regeneration dynamics in Raval to return to their beginnings: improving and including the social basis of the neighborhood.

Fig. 26   Figure-ground diagrams. Raval before and after the physical transformation.

Fig. 27   New square at the corner of Carrer del Carme and Carrer de la Riera Alta (see circle above).

120   Retrieved from: http://www.fomentciutatvella.net/c_v_tranformacio_revitalitzacio.php (accessed July 23, 2014).

1.2.2 Budapest: Józsefváros

A. historical background

Budapest combines a strategic geographical location on the Danube River with a long history as an inhabited area, which can be traced back to the Roman Empire. However, it was not until the annexation of Hungary by the Habsburg Dynasty that the city gained great prestige. When the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 formalized the establishment of the double monarchy under Emperor Franz Joseph I, it rendered Budapest the second capital city of the empire, equally important to Vienna, and thus paved the way for its promotion to a metropolis. At the same time, Hungary experienced the main phase of its industrialization and urbanization, further encouraged by the decision to unite the separate agglomerations of Buda, Pest, and Óbuda in one administrative unit in 1873 (Fig. 28). Consequently, during this time, the first coherent planning document was enacted by the Council of Public Works. The document formulated guidelines for Budapest's urban growth and laid the foundation for the city's compact layout and turn-of-the-century architecture, which still affects the spatial and social environment today. Wide boulevards framed by three to five-story buildings with internal courtyards are the urban heritage of the Imperial Period. The city center was densely populated while industrial plants were positioned along the railroad and the Danube. Within the 40 years from the formation of Budapest until WWI, the population of the city quadrupled to about 1 million, public services and infrastructure were extended, and the number of houses doubled. The city developed into a modern industrial center and a transport hub.
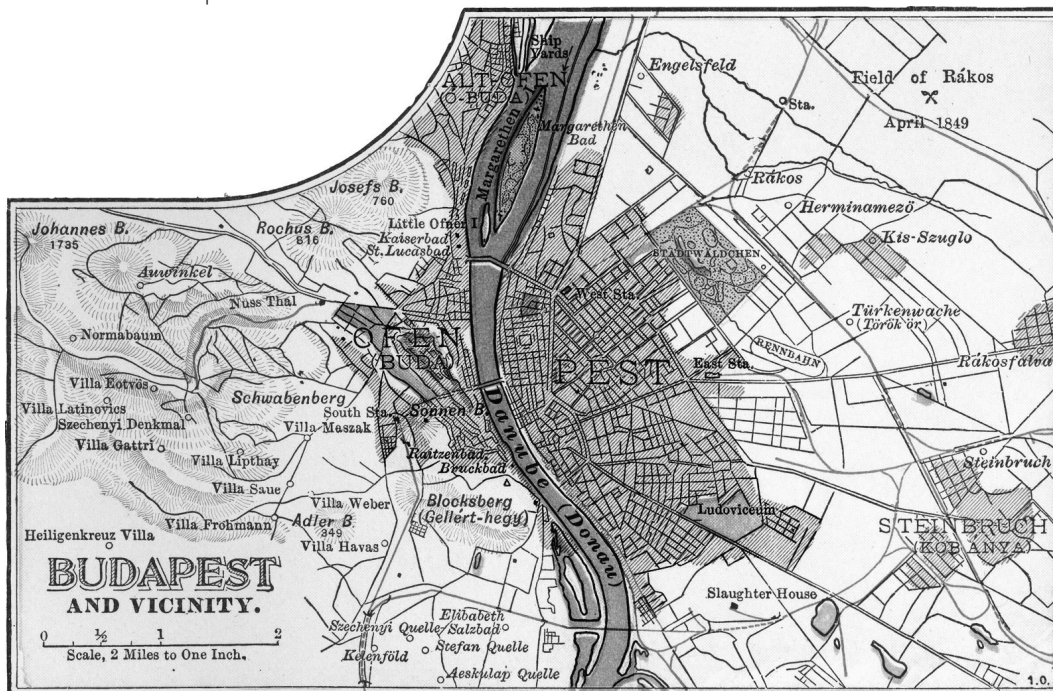

Fig. 28   City map of Budapest with the agglomerations of Buda, Pest, and Óbuda, 1900.

Under the Habsburg monarchy, the socio-spatial development of the city followed patterns of segregation, as the upper class and aristocracy, mainly German-speaking, resided on the steep slopes of Buda and the middle and working class occupied the low-lying narrow streets of Pest. However, in Pest, the architectural setting of multi-story tenement blocks (comparable to Berlin's *Mietskasernen*) encouraged some forms of social mix by offering different qualities of residential space. The middle class inhabited the lower front section of the buildings while the workers and servants retreated to the top and rear part facing the internal courtyard.

Following WWI and the abolition of the monarchy, the country experienced a dramatic loss in significance, infrastructure, and territory under the Treaty of Trianon[121] (Fig. 29). After that, Budapest was little more than an oversized capital of a small country stuck in economic recession until the late 1930s.[122] Overall, the interwar years were characterized by modest urban growth and the loss of international prestige.
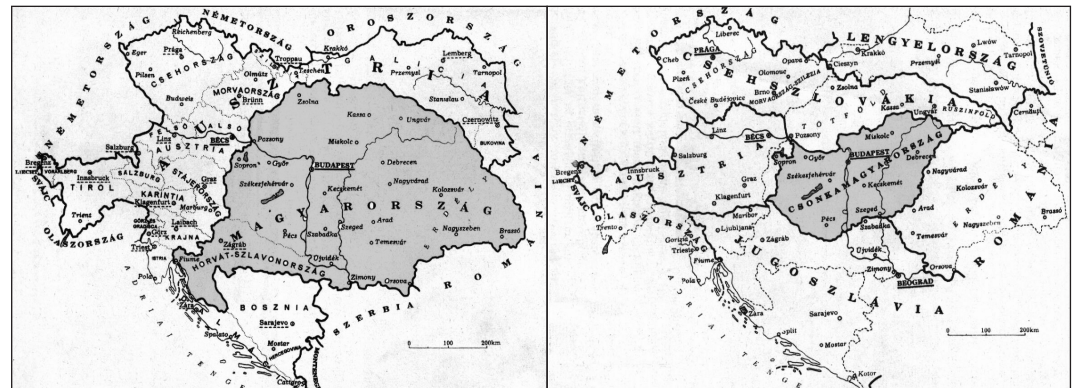

Fig. 29   The Kingdom of Hungary during the Austro-Hungarian Empire compared to Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon.

Though the loss of WWI marked the end of the monarchy, the decisive changes in the social structure were not undertaken before the expropriation of the upper and middle class by the new Socialist regime after WWII. The ideology of a **state of workers and farmers** implied the partial nationalization of the housing stock[123] and put the built environment under the control of the state. Likewise, industrial production and the service sector were transferred to state or cooperative ownership. This enabled—whether volitional or not—the modification of the social demographic on a large scale and determined Budapest's urban development for the next 40 years in spatial as much as social terms. The majority of the population became state-employed and only small elitist groups—political, economic, or intellectual—with privileges like priority access to inner-city dwellings remained. Even though the country did not generate great wealth, it provided a secure social system of employment, public and health services, as well as heavily subsidized housing. Despite the centralized administrative system and the concentration of power in Budapest, the city did not regain its prewar status but rather suffered from the loss of international acclaim.

Since the 1970s, Budapest has experienced phenomena of economic transformation, like deindustrialization, comparable to western European cities, though to a much lesser extent. At the time, economic reforms supported a slow liberalization of the housing market and on occasion tenants were given the opportunity to buy their flats. However, the private property segment remained small until the end of the Socialist era. The dense urban fabric of poorly equipped, multi-story tenement buildings—especially on the Pest side—degenerated due to a lack of maintenance. This was further aggravated when planning strategies were oriented toward the periphery in response to the chronic postwar housing shortage. Not unlike other Socialist countries at the time—and comparable to the construction of **polígonos** in the outskirts of Barcelona—the solitary focus on new clusters of pre-fabricated housing estates diverted the attention from the historical

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121   As determined by the treaty, Hungary lost two thirds of its territory.

122   See Enyedi, György. "Budapest – Gateway zum südöstlichen Europa" in: *Demokratiezentrum Wien*. Retrieved from: http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/fileadmin/media/pdf/enyedi_budapest.pdf (accessed August 6, 2014).

123   All buildings with six or more apartments were nationalized while detached houses on the periphery remained in private ownership.

center to greenfield developments and left the existing housing stock to decay. This organized neglect resulted in significant inner-urban migration, defined by Zoltán Kovács as the **social erosion** of the city center.[124] Those who could afford to leave, moved to the new estates and were replaced by a lower social strata, often of Roma descent. The flight of the middle class from the inner city happened simultaneously to an influx of Roma groups who took over the cheap, run-down flats. The narrowing of the social scale thus signified a ghettoization of the most derelict areas in the historical center. Most remarkably, as Kovács points out, the simultaneous physical and social degeneration, which has often been associated with market-led urbanization in western cities, proceeded in Budapest under the influence of the Socialist state, where the real estate market was practically non-existent. Therefore, the usual concept of socialist urbanization, which has been offered as a contrary model to capitalist urbanization, seems to lack evidence. Instead, György Enyedi's insightful explanations of socialist urbanization as merely a delayed version of capitalist urbanization seems more applicable.[125]

Within the one-sided strategy of urban extension through new construction, the devastating effects on the inner-urban physical and social structure became apparent. In order to counteract these disparities, the state launched first rehabilitation measures, which involved the demolition of tenement buildings and their replacement with more prefab structures. The strategy showed limited success as it proved too expensive and unpopular. Other than these piecemeal restructuring schemes, no coherent agenda on urban regeneration had been developed before 1989 and the improvement of the built environment was then further delayed by the changing political system.

B. urban development following the political transition

The end of Socialism in 1989 was the beginning of substantial political as well as socio-economic and spatial transformations in Hungary and other countries in Central Eastern Europe (CEE). In academic writings, the decisive factors in Budapest's uncontrolled post-socialist urban development have been identified as the growing influence of global capital, the decentralization of administrative power, the rapid privatization of the housing stock, and the increasing population loss of the inner city in favor of suburban areas.[126] Only in the late 1990s were comprehensive rehabilitation schemes put in place to counteract suburbanization, strengthen the attractiveness of the historical center, and regain control over the spatial and social environment. The following will trace the specific phases of the transition and their influences on the urban fabric.

1990-1996: capitalization, privatization, suburbanization
From an economic perspective, the restoration of democracy was accompanied by Hungary's transition to a market economy and further deindustrialization. It soon became obvious that the question was not whether Budapest would follow the path of western postindustrial cities,

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124   See Kovács, Zoltán. "Social and Economic Transformation of Historical Neighbourhoods in Budapest" in: *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 100:4 (2009) 399-416.

125   Enyedi notes that socialist urbanization shows distinctly western features such as the social erosion and depopulation of inner cities. See Enyedi, György. "Transformation in Central European Post-Socialist Cities" in: *Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe* edited by György Enyedi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998) 9-34.

126   Particularly informative are the writings by György Enyedi and Zoltán Kovács.

but rather how fast. The city experienced rapid capitalization facilitated by existing connections to Western Europe and large amounts of foreign investment that began flooding into the city. Budapest repositioned itself as a strategic nodal point in Central Europe whilst offering a cheap labor market, which encouraged an influx of transnational companies and the increase in producer services. Hungary saw the highest per capita foreign investment in CEE, with around half that money being directed to Budapest. In particular, the tertiary and housing sectors promised high profits vis-à-vis an ongoing process of deindustrialization. Employment figures in manufacturing, but also construction and agriculture decreased rapidly as in western labor markets[127] while the boom of the commercial sector materialized in new centrally-located corporate headquarters and tourist facilities. In *The New Urban Frontier*, Neil Smith describes Budapest's economic renewal as an idiosyncratic relationship to the influx of global capital, which led to a radical shift toward maximum investment. Apart from an abundance of new office space, capitalization also signified the drastic reorganization of retail facilities.[128]

On the administrative level, the political change was accompanied by a reform toward a decentralized system that diverted governmental rights from city level to the 23 individual districts. With the Local Government Act in 1990, a two-tier administrative system was introduced that empowered the districts vis-à-vis the municipality. The Act was followed by the transfer of state property—including housing—and planning responsibilities to these newly established local administrations.[129] Districts were empowered to define their own development strategies and housing policies, which led to decidedly different approaches, especially with regard to privatization. Though the first liberalization of the real estate market in the 1980s had already enabled the privatization of housing, it only gained momentum once it became a local government task[130] (Fig. 30). While some districts preferred to keep its stock as public property, others decided
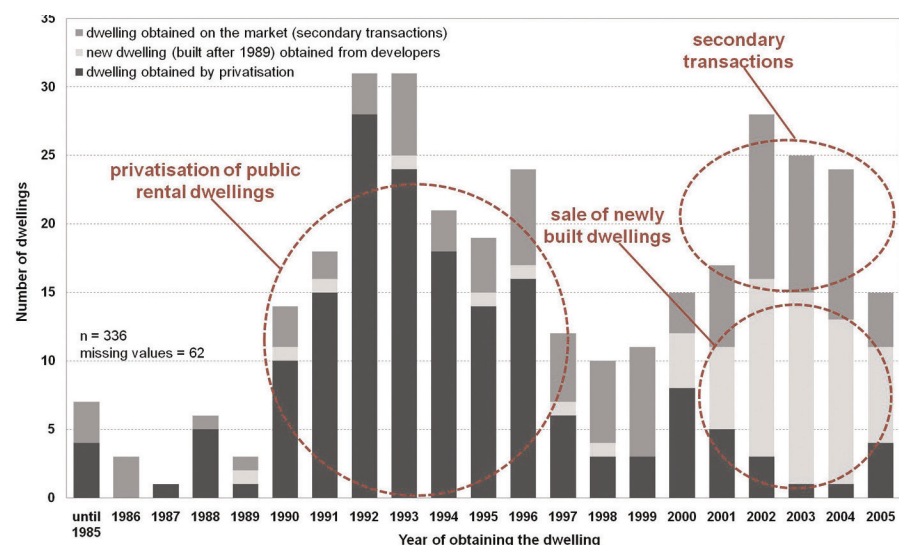

Fig. 30   The increase of housing transactions following the political transition.

127   See Enyedi, "Budapest – Gateway zum südöstlichen Europa," 6, Fig. 3.

128   Within the first 12 years after the end of the Socialist regime, about 1mio m² of retail space in form of hypermarkets in the periphery or shopping plazas in attractive inner-city locations were constructed in order to accommodate and spur altered shopping habits. See Erő, Zoltán. "Urbanistic Action or Spontaneous Development" in: *Urban renewal: essays on urban design* edited by Melinda Benkő and Árpád Szabó (Budapest: Terc, 2011) 130-143.

129   The Transfer of State Property Act in 1991 put local authorities in control of the housing stock, the Capital City Act the year after equipped them with the accordant planning sovereignty.

130   See review on Budapest's urban development in Kauko, Tom. *Urban Housing Patterns in a Tide of Change* in the series: *Sustainable Urban Areas* (Delft University Press, 2006) Appendix, 139-42.

to actively promote privatization and sell as many flats as possible in order to fill holes in their budgets. At the time, publicly-owned buildings in the inner city still accounted for over 90% of the total housing stock, and although districts had taken over the responsibility for regeneration, they lacked the financial resources to do so. Instead, sitting tenants were given the opportunity to buy their flats well below market value[131] and thereby take over the responsibility for making up for decades of neglect. However, this proved an almost unmanageable task considering their lack of capital and the difficult owner constellations the privatization wave had caused. Buildings were now divided into owner-occupied units and public rental apartments. This constellation had no legal precedence and thus slowed down refurbishment efforts considerably. Besides, the doors for speculation were now wide open as no restrictions on re-sale were in place.

Despite the heightened interest in acquiring private property, the most dilapidated buildings remained in the hands of public authorities. Mass privatization further aggravated the concentration of marginalized groups in these remaining derelict buildings. This development carries with it a progressive social degeneration of central areas. As a result, those who could afford to leave opted for the periphery. Thus suburbanization was another side effect of privatization and neither public nor private actors took control of the situation. New residential enclaves accompanied by retail infrastructure appeared on the outskirts of the city while inner-city neighborhoods experienced a population loss of about 100.000 people[132] (Fig. 32). The reduction of the demographic structure—both in numbers and variety—must be understood in close connection to the *residualization* of
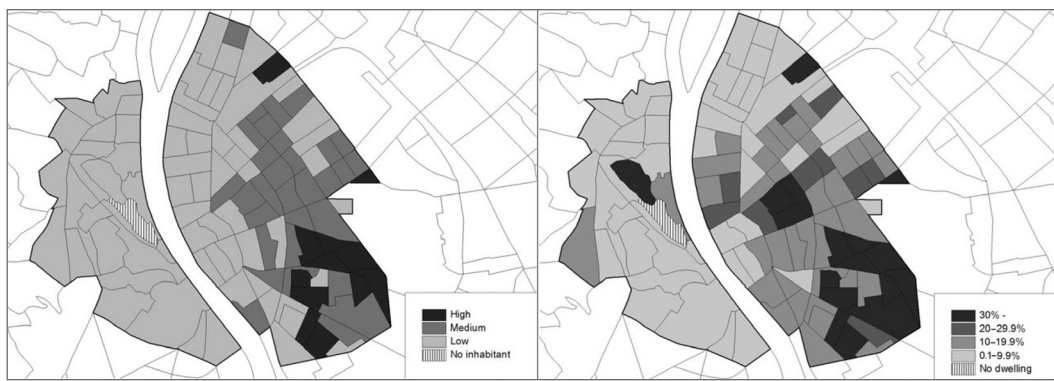

Fig. 31   The residualization of public housing on the Pest side: the level of public housing coincides with the level of poverty (black = high percentage).
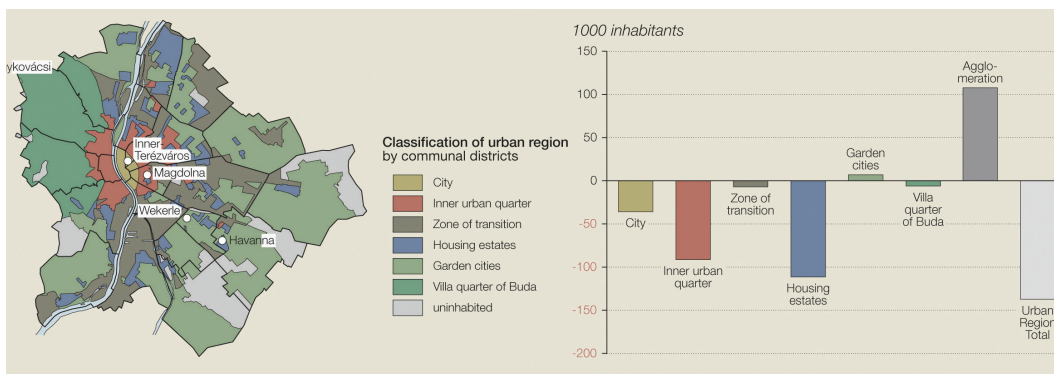

Fig. 32   Migration within the metropolitan area during the 1990s.

131   In the relevant literature, the exact figures on real estate selling prices vary: Enyedi mentions 10% of the market value while Kovács notes 15% with possible further reductions when paid in cash. See Enyedi. "Budapest – Gateway zum südöstlichen Europa" or Kovács. "Social and Economic Transformation of Historical Neighbourhoods in Budapest."

132   During the first ten years after 1990, the inner-city population decreased from 476.000 to 374.000 inhabitants. See Kovács. "Social and Economic Transformation of Historical Neighbourhoods in Budapest."

the public housing stock and the deterioration of public space. The cluster analysis presented by Kovács exemplifies the congruency between built environment and social demographics (Fig. 31).

After years of consistent neglect—both during the socialist era and the early years of post-socialist transformations—the regeneration of the city center was high on the agenda. Nevertheless, the shift from state/cooperative property to private property, and thus from state-led to market-led policies, rendered the process more complex. With the reduction of the publicly-owned housing stock, local governments had also limited their range of influence on future development. Besides, the districts showed little interest in cooperating in the matter. The two-tier system created managerial inconsistencies, in which local governments were empowered to enact their own planning policies, yet—given the social disparities amongst districts—legal frameworks and urban visions for regeneration required negotiation on a city level. As a result, urban regeneration was initially a piecemeal affair and lacked adequate strategies.

1996-2004: large-scale inner-city regeneration
By the mid-1990s, the enormous task at hand was to improve the state of the inner-city built environment, which to about 90% had been built before 1945 and which had not seen any renovation work for decades, if ever. Likewise, the public realm had degenerated to unpleasant, underused spaces. The affected population was made up of predominantly elderly and/or low-income residents. The social and political fragmentation of the city and the mixed occupant/tenant structures in the old apartment blocks impaired regeneration efforts. However, in view of increasing degeneration, legal frameworks were developed in order to pave the way to self-organized renovation as well as to implement large rehabilitation schemes of publicly-owned buildings. The crucial administrative measures were the *Act of Condominiums* in 1994, which consolidated the legal status of mixed-tenure households, and the ambitious *Urban Renewal Programme* in 1996, adopted by the Municipal Government of Budapest, which set out to "prompt[…] the communities of the condominiums, the local governments and the politicians to co-operate."[133] The document acknowledges the rigorous inter-urban competition, Budapest was facing as a consequence of its economic globalization and tertiarization. The strategies aimed at preventing uncontrolled suburbanization and securing the city's compact urban layout by re-emphasizing its functions and attractiveness. In this respect, the regeneration scheme was in line with simultaneous international trends towards more sensitive renewal. In particular, Berlin's strategy of *critical reconstruction* was referenced but rarely implemented. The planners responsible, such as Budapest's chief architect István Schneller, understood the regeneration scheme as "an alternative for green field development and the abundant suburban development in terms of the development of the city as a whole."[134] The scheme provided the legal setting and a renewal fund for granting regeneration subsidies[135] (Fig. 33).

133   Municipality of Budapest. *Urban Renewal Programme: summary* (Budapest, 2002) 2. This summary of the framework was published by the municipality, namely mayor Gábor Demszky, chief architect István Schneller, and the chairman of the Social Policy and Housing Committee, Péter Győri in 2002.

134   Ibid., 8.

135 The districts were required to put 50% of what they gained through privatization into the renovation of their derelict housing stock. Contributions by the municipality and owners were added. The money was first used for apartment houses with mixed tenant structures only. However, as district governments were reluctant to pay, the municipality had to make additional contributions. Therefore, the funds were then also used for publicly-owned housing stock and other regeneration issues like public areas, infrastructure, etc.

The turn of the millenium marks a turn in regeneration dynamics. The inner city housing stock became increasingly interesting for the private sector. While the 1990s had been dominated by a privatization boom and suburbanization, events in the early 2000s set a construction boom in inner urban areas in motion. Property investment, especially in downtown areas, became the most dynamic economic sector between 2000 and 2006 promising high financial returns.[136] Besides, with the 2004 eastern expansion of the European Union, Hungary became a new member state. The political association with the west and its excellent location as a transit hub to the east further attracted business activities, e.g., company headquarters and producer services, which required spatial restructuring. Joining the EU also rendered the country eligible for additional regeneration funds. The boom was accompanied by a renewed appreciation of living in the city center. The growing size of new middle classes with inner-city-orientated residential preferences and lifestyles can be understood as an outcome of social restructuring following the end of Socialism.[137]
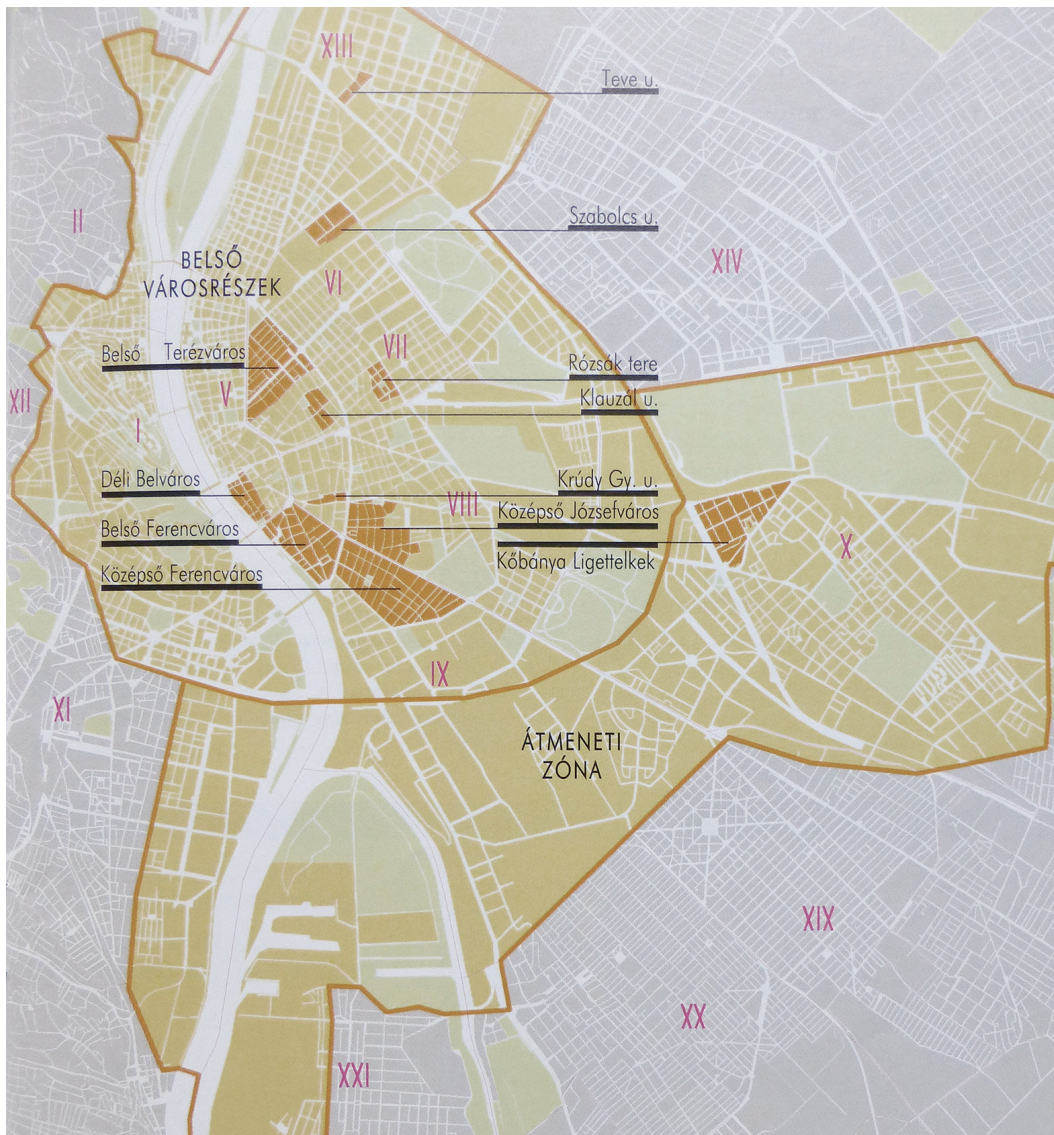

Fig. 33 Municipality of Budapest, Urban Renewal Programme, 1996. The Municipality defined target areas (light) while each district determined the designated action areas within its boundaries (dark).

136 See Alföldi, György. "Urban Quartet - Interaction between Social and Urban Fabric" in: *Urban renewal: essays on urban design*, edited by Melinda Benkő and Árpád Szabó (Budapest: Terc, 2011) 82-91.

137 See Kovács, Zoltán; Wiessner, Reinhard; Zischner, Romy. "Urban Renewal in the Inner City of Budapest: Gentrification from a Post-socialist Perspective" in: *Urban Studies* 50:1 (January 2013) 22-38.

since 2005: social rehabilitation and participatory planning

The effects of post-Socialist capitalization of urban land became apparent in spatial fragmentation and social segregation. The construction boom was followed by increasing criticism of one-sided regeneration schemes steered by investment interests. Consequently, efforts were made to improve the most desolate places through holistic schemes that were not merely based on renovating the built environment but also included measures like educational programs and the involvement of the local community in joint planning projects. In 2005, the Municipality of Budapest launched a social rehabilitation program that strove to define an **Integrated Urban Strategy** (IUS) in line with European guidelines, as an application for European funding was also envisaged. Target areas were selected based on their level of deprivation. As a result, the Magdolna Quarter Program was formulated as a pilot project under this scheme and remains an outstanding example of socially sensitive regeneration and participatory planning in Budapest until today.

Another turning point at the time was the eventual formulation and ratification of a land use plan for the agglomeration of Budapest on the grounds of the **Territory Development Law**, which had been prepared in 1996 but not enacted and thus had not had any effects yet. The new legislation aimed to counteract urban sprawl by restricting the uncontrolled designation of former agricultural land as potential built-up areas, which had been rampant in Budapest's peripheral areas throughout the 1990s. Small municipalities had tried to attract investment and fill their empty purses by offering agricultural land for construction projects. Changing the classification of land immediately increased its value. Consequently, there was a lot of opposition against the law and its actual enactment had been ten years in the making. As the capitalization of land started soon after the end of Socialism, by the time the law was finally approved, most of the damage was done and most of the profits were made.[138]
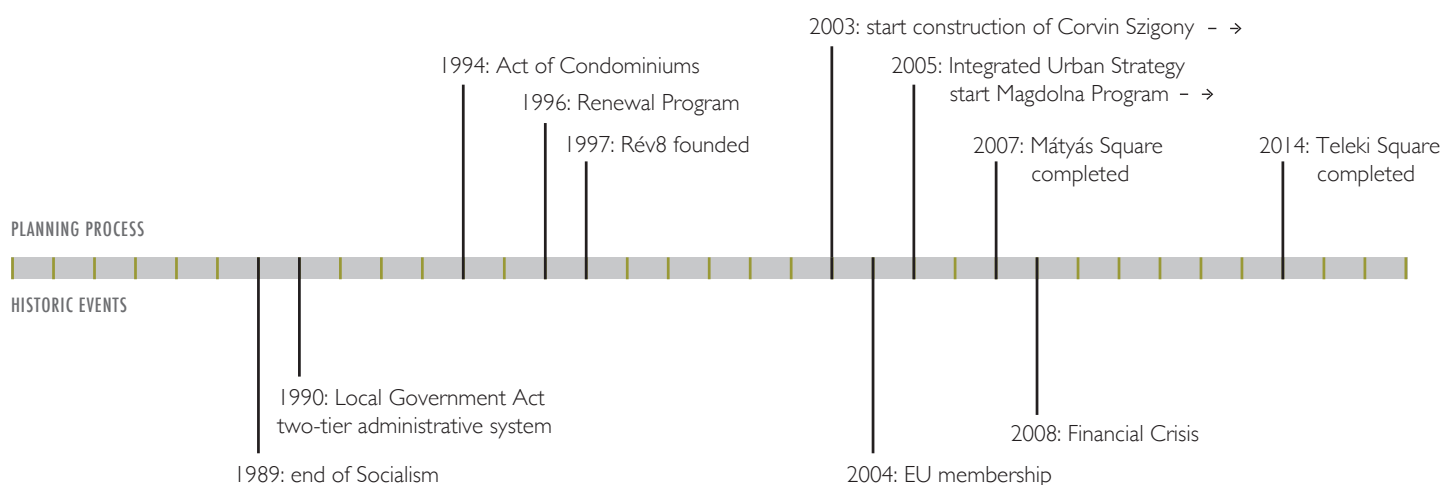
Fig. 34   The regeneration of Józsefváros, timeline of historic events and planning process.

2003: start construction of Corvin Szigony – →

1994: Act of Condominiums

2005: Integrated Urban Strategy
start Magdolna Program – →

1996: Renewal Program

1997: Rév8 founded

2007: Mátyás Square
completed

2014: Teleki Square
completed

PLANNING PROCESS

HISTORIC EVENTS

1990: Local Government Act
two-tier administrative system

1989: end of Socialism

2008: Financial Crisis

2004: EU membership

138   See Schneller, István. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (September 2, 2013) page 270, section 24.

C. contradicting attempts of restructuring Józsefváros

Józsefváros, also known as district VIII, is a large wedge-shaped area on the Pest side of the Danube linking the city center with the outer suburbs (Fig. 35). It comprises a variety of spatial characteristics and social strata. Despite Budapest's continuous growth in population until the late 1970s to its current figure of 2 million inhabitants, the population figures of Józsefváros had fallen steadily since 1910[139] and continued to do so throughout the 1990s. The social tissue of district VIII is traditionally rather inhomogeneous. The Palace Quarter, the area closest to the city center, is characterized by 19th century architecture, public institutions, and apartments for the upper and middle class. Likewise, the outer area of the district with its detached houses amidst pristine parkland is populated by civil servants and the middle class. In contrast, middle-Józsefváros, in particular the Magdolna Quarter, represents a typical working-class neighborhood in close proximity to industrial workplaces. Here, large tenement blocks line the major roads while the structures behind them tend to be of lower height and lesser quality. Prefab housing estates that were built during the first phase of urban rehabilitation during the 1970s, replacing the old existing tenement blocks, are also visible (Fig. 36). This goes to show that a certain level of segregation was historically 'built-in'.[140] The social disparities materialized in fragmented areas, with the separation of residents along class lines and in accordance with the built environment. This built-in separation still prevails and the capitalization of urban land has further aggravated the situation. By the mid-1990s, middle-Józsefváros seemed to be destined to degenerate to an urban slum with a socio-cultural demographic characterized by a low level of education and income, crime, prostitution, a large group of homeless people, and the largest Roma community in the city. The homogeneous category of the working class had become obsolete. Instead, it was split up into individual groups, some of which further marginalized and excluded from urban society. The challenge for political leaders was to tackle the grave social and environmental legacy of crime, poverty, and run-down buildings without adequate experience or financial resources. Consequently, urban regeneration assisted by external funding became a vital element in solving these problems.
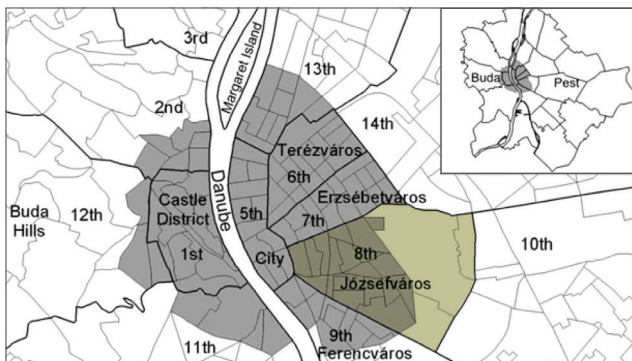

Fig. 35   The inner urban quarters of Budapest.

Fig. 36   Middle-Józsefváros.

According to Zoltán Kovács, rehabilitation in Budapest can be divided into two categories: insular market-led developments by private investors and comprehensive regeneration schemes by public-private-partnerships, implemented in the most affected neighborhoods.[141] The projects in districts VIII and IX—Józsefváros and Ferencváros—which comprised the most dilapidated areas,

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139   The district population decreased from 165,000 people in 1910 to about 80,000 people. See Alföldi, "Urban Quartet."

140   See Kovács; Wiessner; Zischner. "Urban Renewal in the Inner City of Budapest."

141   See Kovács. "Social and Economic Transformation of Historical Neighbourhoods in Budapest."

fall into the second category. The SEM IX project, launched in 1992 in Middle-Ferencváros, was one of the first projects of its kind in Budapest and to date it is considered one of the most successful.[142] A few years later, Józsefváros followed suit, first with the Corvin Szigony Project and after that with the Magdolna Quarter Program. The district government's intention of cleaning up Józsefváros, was formalized with the foundation of a publicly-owned development agency, Rév8 Plc.,[143] which manages the concept and tender phase of renewal schemes, is responsible for formulating plans for implementation, and acts as a trustee of public property, empowered to buy and sell buildings on behalf of the local government.[144] The area's large number of derelict buildings destined to be demolished, and additional vacant sites have attracted the interest of private investors.

In this light, the early 2000s mark a key turning point in the development of Józsefváros. The Futureal Group, a large Hungarian real estate developer, acquired the entire development area of Corvin Szigony and now oversees its planning and construction: "the largest inner-city urban regeneration project in CEE […] with the goal of turning a slum into one of the best places to live, work, shop, sport and dine in Budapest."[145] In order to better manage its realization, a long-term cooperation with the local municipality, namely Rév8, was established. While the publicly-owned company takes on responsibilities of rehousing local residents, renovating public spaces and infrastructure, the private investor is responsible for the development, construction, and marketing of the project, i.e., its net floor areas. According to István Schneller, the planners had also applied for public subsidies from the municipal renewal fund for the project but were denied any financial support due to the distinct real estate investment character of the project.[146]

The Corvin Quarter is 22 ha large, enclosed by József körút, Práter, Szigony, and Ülloi streets. Though not actually a complete neighborhood, the large scale of the area designated for regeneration caused it to be considered a separate entity—hence, the term 'quarter'[147]—for the purposes of the project. It offers good public transport connections on the district and city levels. Its street network is characterized by secondary radial axes and a perpendicular layout of side streets. The site was defined by a low-density fabric due to numerous vacant lots, derelict buildings and single-story houses. The largely low-income bracket in the area, had not encouraged the privatization of the building stock as much as in other districts: 75% of buildings in the area had remained in public hands. In particular, the inner-courtyard buildings, which were also the most degenerated,[148]

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142   SEM IX (*Sociétés d'économie mixte*), coordinated by a PPP consisting of the local government (51%) and a Hungarian-French consortium of investors, (49%), was made possible because the mayor of Ferencváros had held on to much of the housing stock instead of allowing privatization. The project comprised housing, commercial, infrastructure, and public space.

143   Rév8 was founded in 1997 as an organizational entity to manage the renewal of district VIII on behalf of public authorities. As such, it is owned by the local government of Józsefváros (60%) and the municipality of Budapest (40%). The company employs architects, urban planners, economists, lawyers, sociologists, social workers, and geographers aiming at 'urban and social engineering'. They are contractually bound to instructions of the local government and are also paid by it.

144   For more information on the responsibilities of Rév8, see: Alföldi, György; Sárkány, Csilla. *Corvin-Szigony Project. Tender* (Budapest 2002) Retrieved from: http://ujrev8.epiteszforum.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Corvin_Szigony_Project_tender_2002.pdf (accessed November 17, 2014) 28-29.

145   Futureal Group Website. Retrieved from: http://www.futureal.hu/en/projects/urban_projects.html (accessed on November 5, 2014).

146   See Schneller. Interview, pages 269-272.

147   The area is called Corvin-negyed, which translates to Corvin Quarter.

148   While apartment buildings along the main roads were largely up to today's standards in terms of size and infrastructure, about 80% of apartments in side streets were not equipped with bathrooms or toilets; 60% were smaller than 17 square meters. According to Rév8, the demolition of these buildings was justified. See: Alföldi; Sárkány. *Corvin-Szigony Project. Tender.*

had remained public property. In addition, the local government had secured preemptive rights to acquire land and structures necessary for coherent development.[149]

The regeneration plan, developed by Rév8, was approved by the local government in 2000 and construction began in 2003 after Futureal had emerged as a potent investor. Its most prominent architectural intervention is the clearance of a 70 to 80 m wide strip, which now accommodates new high-rise buildings along a central, landscaped open space. The project comprises the demolition of 1100-1400 homes,[150] the renovation of close to 1250 apartments, and the construction of an expected 2700 new ones. Apart from residential space, the new development also offers vast amounts of retail and office space[151] (Fig. 37). In addition to physical transformations, street cameras were installed to monitor and increase the safety of public areas and reduce street prostitution.[152]

With regard to future residents and users, Rév8 defines its primary target group as young urbanites "though the needs of the older age groups, which [sic] are generally overrepresented in the inner districts, should not be neglected."[153] The project is expected to create a 'city product'—a coherent development concept on a large site that manages to effectively restructure its economic and social context. The aim of enticing a specific group of people to work, shop, and settle in the area is tried to be achieved by "high-level architectural solutions with distinctive atmosphere" and "a unified appearance to the elements of public areas and to the walls bounding them"[154] as well as ample green space. Accordingly, the simple urban layout of a central open axis and block buildings on both sides is contrasted with rather elaborate architectural means, which partly result from international design competitions, e.g., with students from Budapest and Harvard universities. Public space plays an important role in re-formatting the physical environment as an appealing package.

> One crucial element of this "city product" is the area for public use to be built as Corvin-Szigony Promenade, along which a high-quality urban residential complex will be built, consisting predominantly of apartments, but also including retail units, services and catering facilities.
>
> Alföldi and Sárkány 2002[155]

The promenade starts behind the Corvin Cinema, runs through the shopping mall (**Corvin Plaza**) and then continues toward the east, framed by new eight to ten-story apartment buildings. It is established as an additional retail zone, "which can serve a special market with its distinct appearance and a product range which meets the demands of special categories."[156] This understanding of the promenade echoes the relevance attached to public space on a city level. According to the *Urban*

149 "The Local Government has a preemptive right registered for the area of the Program, which will assist the acquisition of the real estate currently in private ownership, and at the same time prevents new owners appearing in the area with speculative intentions from pursuing their interests." Alföldi; Sárkány. *Corvin-Szigony Project. Tender*, 20.

150 In the relevant literature by Rév8 or independent scholars, the figures on the matter of demolition vary.

151 Once completed, Corvin Szigony will offer the largest office location with 130,000 m² and the largest retail facility with 62,000 (indoor and outdoor shopping, entertainment, leisure, sports, restaurants) in downton Budapest. See Futureal Group Website. Retrieved from: http://www.futureal.hu/en/projects/urban_projects.html (accessed on November 5, 2014).

152 See Municipality of Budapest. *Urban Renewal Programme: summary.*

153 Alföldi, György; Sárkány, Csilla. *Corvin-Szigony Project. Tender,* 9.

154 Ibid., 12.

155 Ibid., 9.

156 Ibid., 10.

Renewal Programme, the municipality considers public space renovation as a trigger for owner-organized refurbishments of adjacent buildings and for urban development in general. The city government thus puts an emphasis on the 'harmonization' of streets and squares by replacing the old paving, and installing new light fittings and street furniture. Likewise, the restoration of parks and green areas is expected to show positive effects on the regeneration of buildings. Owners, are expected to become active due to an increased appreciation of and identification with their surroundings.[157] Besides, further benefits are anticipated from the construction of the new metro line 4, which will offer new public nodal points, four of which are located within Józsefváros.
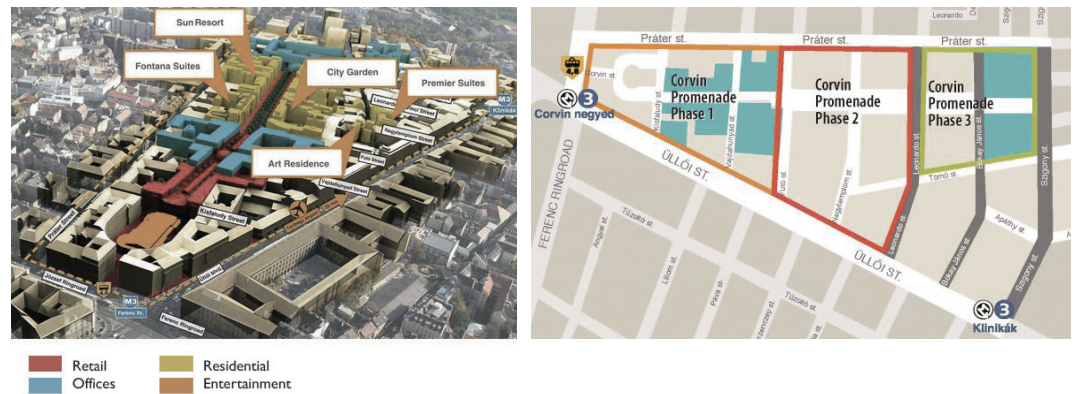
Fig. 37   Corvin Szigony project, programmatic mix.

Fig. 38   Corvin, schematic map.

Despite its programmatic mix and meticulously designed public areas, Corvin Szigony has been criticized as an example of eroding urban space—a make-believe urban structure with no local roots and lacking integration in its environment.[158] In contrast to the restructuring of El Raval in Barcelona, programs for social rehabilitation were not in place.[159] The target group of young urbanites set the direction for the project. Many inhabitants of lower social status had to move; the project has thus been deemed 'exclusionary'.[160] Even though social segregation had been previously present in the district, as noted above, social disparities and gentrification accelerated under the influence of new large-scale developments like SEM IX and Corvin Szigony. Kovács notes that while post-socialist gentrification occurred sporadically in the city center, it was much more prominent in areas like SEM IX where entire blocks had been replaced and the original tenement structure dissolved. In particular, the low-income strata were not given any chance to return to the neighborhood as most projects were privatized according to the owner-occupancy model after construction.[161] In a later study, Kovács et al. note the influx of new residents under the influence of SEM IX and Corvin and their predominantly young and higher income characteristics in comparison to long-term residents.[162] These findings reflect what had been defined as the primary target groups by the project leaders right from the beginning. Overall, the social restructuring as a result of physical regeneration followed the example of non-socialist cities.[163]

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157   See Municipality of Budapest. *Urban Renewal Programme: summary*, 45.

158   See Benkő, Melinda; Szabó, Árpád (eds.). *Urban renewal: essays on urban design* (Budapest: Terc, 2011) 31.

159   Any noticeable social effort referred to employment opportunities surrounding the project (small entrepeneurs, construction workers) or the adequate relocation of residents. See Alföldi; Sárkány. *Corvin-Szigony Project. Tender* 23-24.

160   See Locsmándi, Gábor. "Large-Scale Restructuring Processes in the Urban Space of Budapest" in: *Urban Models and Public-Private Partnership* edited by Remo Dalla Longa (London/New York: Springer, 2011) 131-212.

161   See Kovács. "Social and Economic Transformation of Historical Neighbourhoods in Budapest."

162   See Kovács; Wiessner; Zischner. "Urban Renewal in the Inner City of Budapest."

163   Kovács et al. note that the example of Budapest contradicts the socialist city concept instead paralleling the development of North American cities. See Ibid.

In diametrical opposition to Corvin Szigony, the renewal scheme for the Magdolna Quarter specifically addresses social hardship and cultural diversity in addition to renovating the physical environment. Magdolna is another deteriorated neighborhood in middle-Józsefváros. It takes up an area of approximately 34 ha and is heavily affected by social problems such as a low level of education and a resultant low level of income. With a Roma population of about 30%, mainly residing in public rental flats, the quarter shows one of the highest shares of ethnic groups in Budapest. Crime, prostitution, and homelessness add to the manifold problems that have to be tackled.[164] The local government through its agent Rév8 committed to a comprehensive 15-year program aimed at the improvement of social conditions, built environment, and most importantly the disadvantageous image of the neighborhood. So far, the program has been conceived, coordinated, and financed in three stages and managed to acquire national and European funds for its implementation.[165]

Though the project includes the refurbishing of buildings, like the transformation of the old glove factory into a community center, the focus lies on the renewal of public areas and a great variety of programs aimed at strengthening the community. In contrast to Corvin Szigony, the main target group of the Magdolna scheme is the local population. Accordingly, Rév8 as project leader attaches great importance to involving residents and local businesses in the concept development and implementation of the designated sub-programs, e.g., the formation of a new community house, educational and crime prevention programs, cultural events, etc.[166] Besides, a great number of research institutions, NGOs, civil organizations, local schools, or the district police department are also included. Participatory planning methods such as joint workshops have become a crucial element in restructuring the neighborhood, especially with regard to the renovation of public spaces. This is best exemplified by the refurbishing of Mátyás Square, which was conceived and carried out as a *GreenKeys* pilot project funded by the EU.[167]

The Magdolna experience has diversified the group of urban actors and changed planning methods and objectives in the district. Today, a great emphasis is placed on integrating local stakeholders in follow-up projects such as the renewal of Teleki Square. Like the joint refurbishing of Mátyás Square, it is expected to promote the feeling of ownership with regard to the resulting design and thus increase the longevity of the intervention. Becoming active and reshaping the immediate urban environment is expected to empower locals and further a sense of self-responsibility. In this respect, Rév8 acts as a mediator between public authorities, professional designers, and local residents.

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164   For a more detailed description of the demographic structure and social problems, see Locsmándi. "Large-Scale Restructuring Processes in the Urban Space of Budapest."

165   The Magdolna Quarter Program Phase I (2005-2009) was primarily funded by the Municipality of Budapest and the local government, but also by the EU (GreenKeys Project for the renewal of Mátyás Square). Phase II (2008-2011) was primarily funded by the EU (ERDF, ESF), but also by the national government and private sources. The latest stage of the project, Phase III (2013-2015) was primarily funded by the EU (ERDF).

166   See Locsmándi. "Large-Scale Restructuring Processes in the Urban Space of Budapest."

167   GreenKeys was a European initiative focused on refurbishing/creating green space with the aim to improve ecological, social, and economic sustainability of urban areas. It was organized as an international network of 12 partner cities, in which Mátyás Square represented the Hungarian pilot project. Rév8 received funds from the EU Regional Development Fund, program INTERREG III B CADSES for its realization.

Fig. 39   Map of Józsefváros with
areas of transformation.

1.2.3   Berlin: Mediaspree / Holzmarkt

A. historical background

The first documented mention of the habitable area on the Spree River that was to become Berlin dates back to 1237. The area was divided into Berlin on the north bank and Coelln on the south bank (Fig. 40). Initially consisting of agricultural land and small settlements, the urban development proceeded slowly and it was not until the rise of the Kingdom of Prussia in the early eighteenth century that the area gained in importance and the two parts of the city were united. Its physical extension to a metropolis, however, had to wait until the peak of industrialization and the glorious years of the German Empire, which commenced with the victory in the German-French War in 1871 and lasted until the loss of WW1 in 1918. During this relatively short time frame of half a century, the city experienced drastic transformations. The population increased to a total of 5 million people in the larger metropolitan area and the built form was enlarged based on comprehensive planning as well as rapid, uncontrolled sprawl. New settlements extended outwards along the railway connections pushing the urban fabric further into the rural surroundings. This period of industrialization, modernization, and urbanization has been captured by the sociological studies of Georg Simmel.[168]

The extension, at least in part, followed an urban development plan by James Hobrecht, approved in 1862—three years after Cerdà's plan for Barcelona. While other well-known urban projects of the mid-nineteenth century focus on inner-city areas,[169] both Cerdà and Hobrecht investigate a possible extension of the city. Yet their individual approaches could not differ more. While Cerdà, as explained earlier, advocated a rigid geometric pattern, Hobrecht took Berlin's existing layout as a starting point for defining a network of new streets and squares in a concentrically spreading
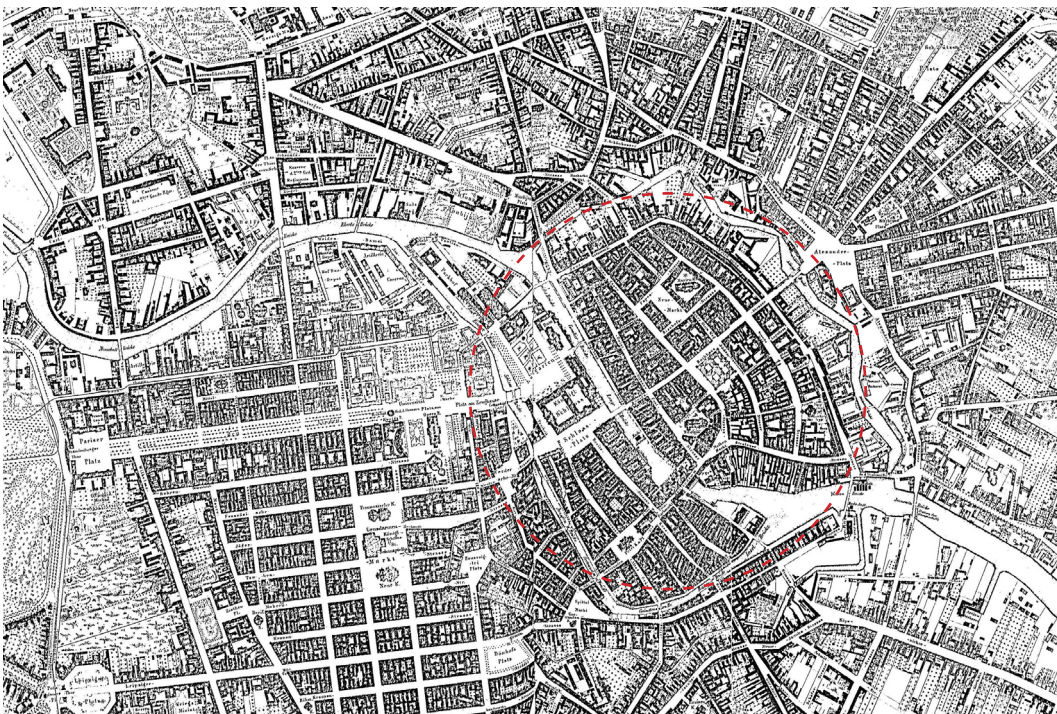

Fig. 40   Berlin, map of the inner city, 1867. The map shows the historical center of Berlin/Coelln and a variety of urban layouts.

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168   See Simmel. "The Metropolis and Mental Life."

169   The most significant urban transformations of this era are Haussmann's boulevards for Paris (1852) and the new ring road in Vienna (1858).
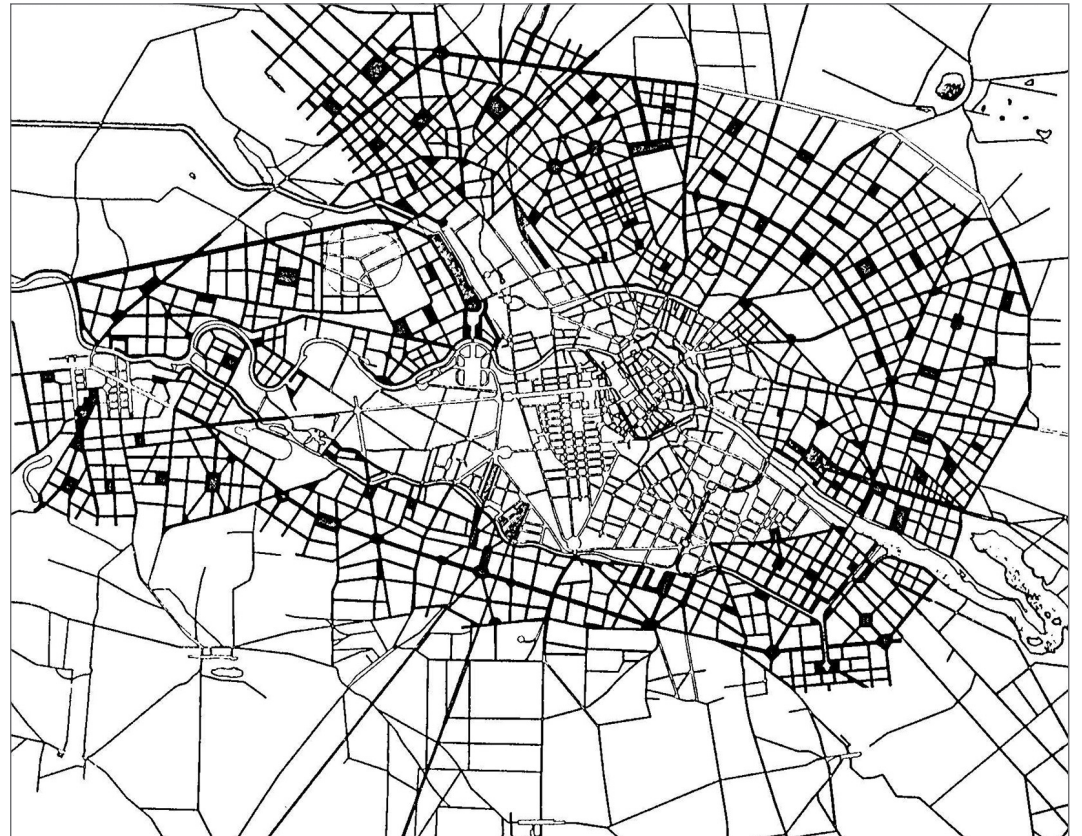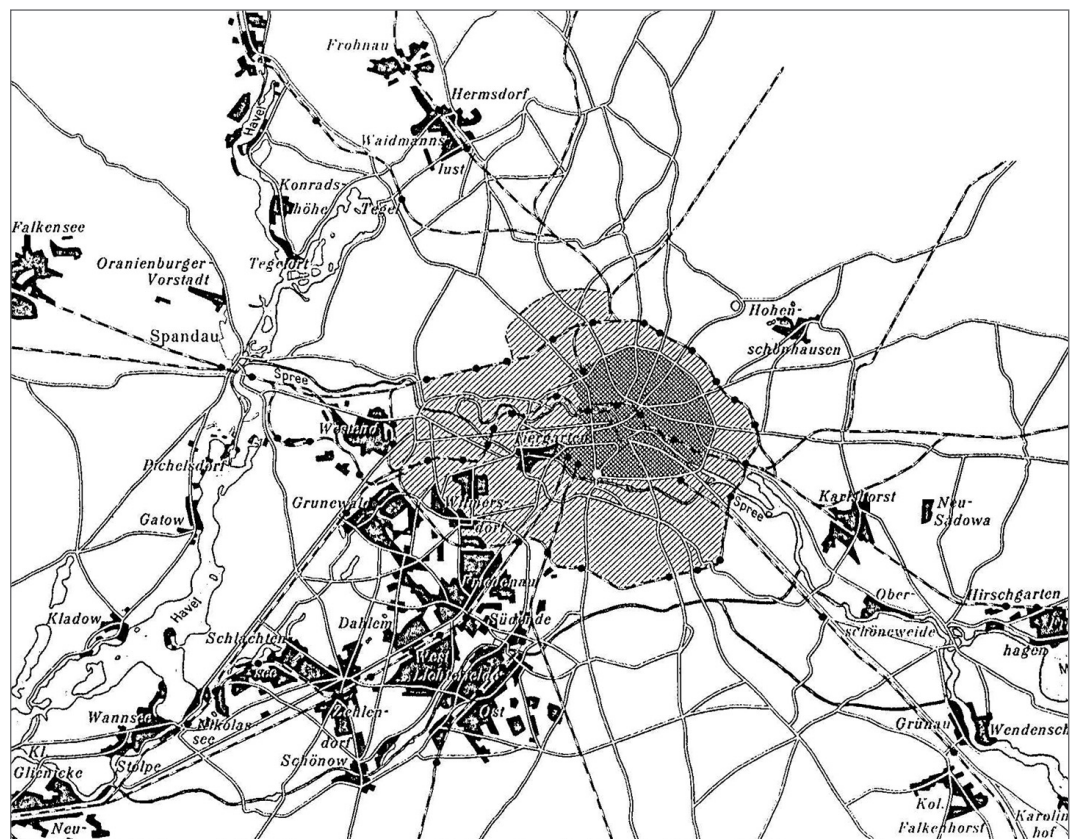
Fig. 41   The Hobrecht Plan, 1862.

Fig. 42   Map of *Groß-Berlin*.

urban layout. Like Cerdà, Hobrecht emphasized the need for improved housing conditions and hygienic standards. He opposed social segregation of neighborhoods and thus laid the foundation for the model of the *Mietskaserne*, which houses different social strata in the front and rear part of the building. His plan was widely criticized for enabling speculation and relentless densification. However, as Harald Bodenschatz notes, Hobrecht's concept was merely an urban strategy and cannot be called to account for the disproportionate building construction on individual plots.[170]

The defeat in WWI represented a political caesura, which did not restrict the extent of Berlin's urban development but affected its objectives and architectural language. Instead of the bourgeois residential quarters in Wilhelminian style constructed under the Prussian monarchy, the focus diverted to large modernist housing estates in accordance with the democratic values of the new Weimar Republic. In 1920, the city as an administrative unit was again extended by incorporating numerous smaller parishs and estates to form *Groß-Berlin* (Fig. 42).

Fig. 43   Speer's north-south axis.

Under Albert Speer, Hitler's chief architect, the Third Reich was to carry out extensive changes in the capital city both in terms of single buildings and of the urban layout. Speer had envisaged a gigantic north-south axis as a new focal point to the West of the historical city center (Fig. 43). Cutting through the dense fabric of tenement buildings, the axis defied the existing urban layout. It opposed the large volumes of perimeter blocks to the large volume of empty monumental space framed by representative buildings. However, most of these megalomaniac ideas remained on paper. Today, the city bears traces of Third Reich architecture, like the terminal building at Tempelhof airport, but little has remained of the Nazis' ambitious urban planning visions.[171]

WW2 and the subsequent division of the city caused severe damage to the physical and technical infrastructure as well as to the city's political status. The *World Capital Germania* became the world capital of the Cold War and the extensive urban growth of the pre-war years came to an abrupt end. The city was divided into four different sectors, thus losing its spatial continuity as a metropolitan area. Further suburbanization was restricted due to West Berlin's condition as an enclave and East Berlin's need to complete the traffic infrastructure necessary to surround the western part: the Berliner Ring. The motorway defined a specific geographic limit to any future extension of the city. Additionally, Berlin started losing its industrial infrastructure following the defeat as valuable production plants were dismantled for reparation purposes. The former metropolis of international standing degenerated into a fragmented city of little real significance and many economic problems. The incisive loss of economic, political, and cultural power resembled the crumbling Habsburg monarchy in Budapest following WW1. Berlin became a front-line post in the Cold War and thus remained an unstable location in the perception of economic actors. Industrial investment was diverted to other parts of the two countries.

> At large, the vital functions of the city had been drastically reduced: as a location of research and development, as an important industrial city, and as a center of economic leadership.
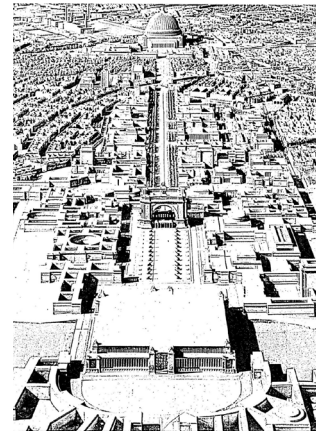> Werner 1997[172]

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170   See Bodenschatz, Harald. *Städtebau in Berlin: Schreckbild und Vorbild für Europa* (Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2010) 20.

171   An example for Speer's impact on urban planning: the widening of the *Straße des 17. Juni* to a representative boulevard.

172   Werner, Frank. "Berlin: die neue alte Hauptstadt" in: *Der Bürger im Staat: Großstädte* 47:2 (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 1997) 75: "Insgesamt waren die tragenden Funktionen der Stadt drastisch reduziert worden: als Standort von Forschung und Entwicklung, als bedeutende Industriestadt und als Zentrum der Wirtschaftsfuührung."
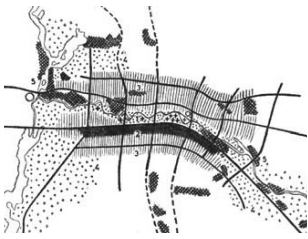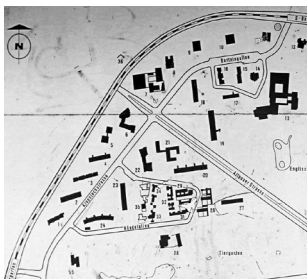
Fig. 44   Kollektivplan, 1946.

Fig. 45   Figure-ground diagram of
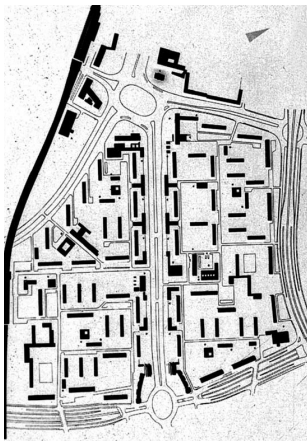Hansaviertel, 1957.

Fig. 46   Figure-ground diagram of
Stalinallee, 2nd phase, 1958.

On the other hand, both sides aimed to restore their identity by engaging in ambitious housing projects in compliance with the modernist paradigm of the 1920s and 30s. The first urban development plans after the war—such as Hans Scharoun's **Kollektivplan**—still analyzed Berlin as one entity and clearly followed Le Corbusier's paradigm of the functional city with delineated programmatic zones as outlined in the Athens Charta (Fig. 44). Though the planning strategies soon went their separate ways politically, the common point of reference remained. Thus, the postwar urban development shows striking parallels in the East and the West, which, until today, resonate in built examples on both sides: Karl-Marx-Allee (formerly Stalinallee) in the East and Hansaviertel in the West.[173] The traditional concept of the urban square framed by the surrounding buildings was reversed into its complete opposite advocating car-oriented urban layouts and solitary buildings scattered across a vast open space instead (Fig. 45, 46). These plans were in stark contrast to the heritage of Hobrecht's dense **Mietskasernenstadt**. Berlin used the hour of its destruction to follow a new urban paradigm and invert the relationship of built and unbuilt space.

> The overall radically modern urban approach taken with regard to Greater Berlin in the aftermath of WWI, was continued after WWII with tremendous public subsidies—assisted by substantial damages and spurred by the competition of the different political-societal systems.
>
> Bodenschatz 2010[174]

Apart from the prestigious inner-city projects, the attention to modernist urban planning in the 1950s to 70s resulted in radical large-scale social housing estates on the periphery like Märkisches Viertel or Gropiusstadt in the West and as of the late 1970s Marzahn-Hellersdorf in the East. However, the lack of public services and meaningful public space—not unlike Barcelona's **polígonos**—fuelled social discrepancies and opposition against this architectural-urban strategy. The mid-1970s marked the beginning of an ideological change. The satellite town as a "specific European form of suburbanization"[175] and its residential enclaves were seen as hostile living environments and raised a lot of criticism amongst users and planners alike.

Simultaneously, the central areas in both parts of the city were neglected; the city's appeal suffered and it saw decreasing population figures. Within this context, a striking proposal was developed by a group of architects headed by Oswald Mathias Ungers and Rem Koolhaas. Entitled **Die Stadt in der Stadt: Berlin, das grüne Stadtarchipel**, they published a manifesto on the shrinking reality of Berlin offering a concept to relocate urban functions to specific areas in contrast to spreading them over the entire city[176] (Fig. 47). The manifesto differentiates between programmatically densified islands (filled spaces) and green, vacant areas (empty spaces). These statements acknowledge and are

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173   Karl-Marx-Allee was conceived as a representative axis, framed by residential slab buildings of prefab construction methods. The prefab buildings were raised in such large numbers that their impact on the overall urban space must be considered. Likewise, the Hansaviertel is a dispersed residential cluster adjacent to Berlin's *Tiergarten*—the result of the 1957 Interbau exhibition, which drew renowned architects like Gropius and Niemeyer to contribute their designs.

174   Bodenschatz. *Städtebau in Berlin*, 55: "Der nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg eingeschlagene, in der Regel radikal moderne städtebauliche Kurs für Groß-Berlin wurde nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg mit gewaltigen öffentlichen Subventionen fortgeführt - erleichtert durch die erheblichen Kriegszerstörungen und angestachelt durch die Konkurrenz unterschiedlicher politisch-gesellschaftlicher Systeme." (translation by author)

175   Bodenschatz. *Städtebau in Berlin*, 68: "Mit den Groß-Siedlungen in Ost- und West-Berlin ist seit den Sechzigerjahren eine besondere europäische Form der kompakten Suburbanisierung entstanden, die Trabantenstadt im Zeichen der städtebaulichen Moderne." (translation by author)

176   A new commented edition of the manifesto was published by Florian Hertweck and Sébastien Marot entitled *The City in the City - Berlin: A Green Archipelago. A manifesto (1977) by Oswald Mathias Ungers and Rem Koolhaas with Peter Riemann, Hans Kollhoff, and Arthur Ovaska* (Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2013).

consistent with West Berlin's island-like development and thus demonstrate Ungers' contextualist approach to the city. Notably, the study disregards the methods and objectives of comprehensive planning. Individual settings and site-specific architectural prototypes take priority over large-scale interventions. The document marks the beginning of a complete turnaround in Berlin's planning strategy, toward the resurrection of context and centrality. Instead of adhering to the modernist paradigm of planning a new city, it tries to reconfigure the existing one. However, during the 1980s and 90s, this approach was converted into a postmodern interpretation of urban repair, or as Josef Paul Kleihues put it: **critical reconstruction**. It developed to its full extent within the scope of the International Building Exhibition (IBA) curated by Kleihues in 1987, in which he tried to present Berlin as an urban laboratory of postmodernity and which spurred the debate on traditional spatial typologies like street, square, and perimeter block. Construction activities concentrated on Kreuzberg, which offered a large unrefurbished housing stock. Likewise, the eastern part of the city saw the (re)construction of the Nikolaiviertel in a symbolic effort to reclaim the historical center.
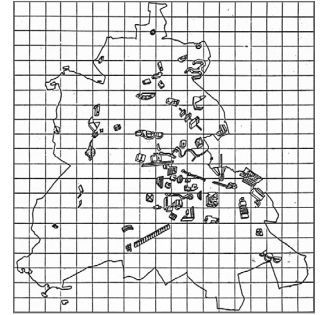

Fig. 47   The urban archipelago of West Berlin in *The City in the City*.

B. urban development following the political transition

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent reunification of Germany triggered far-ranging and to some extent devastating consequences the city was not prepared for. Considering the rapid implementation of the West German legal and institutional system, the reunification must rather be termed an annexation of the areas of the former GDR by the Federal Republic of Germany. This transformation process included the separation of powers and the de-centralization of public administration. Similar to the cases of Barcelona and Budapest, the formal political transition was accompanied by a governmental change on local level, which re-organized the power relations with regard to urban development.[177] While the individual city districts gained in influence in the matter, they simultaneously had to bear the consequences of the diminished local tax base due to economic struggles. In his review on Berlin's history of urban development, Harald Bodenschatz determines three distinct phases in the first decade after the political transition: euphoria, disillusionment, and stagnation.[178]

1990-1995: euphoria
The end of Socialism does not only symbolize a political change, it also implies accelerated deindustrialization and tertiarization, the search for new economic markets, substantial migration flows, and the formation of a new identity as the capital city. Part of the eastern city's industrial infrastructure was dismantled due to altered economic positions in the market or because western companies had bought out their competition.[179] Large sites in central locations became available and the city, which lacked the income from declining industry, was given the opportunity to sell and develop vacant areas. At the time, squatting became a common dynamic in the city, encouraged by the great number of vacant sites and buildings with unsettled ownership structures. Squatting ranged from informal events to contract-supported temporary uses.

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177   After reunification, the city consisted of 23 districts—in 2001 restructured into 12 districts—which provide a broad range of public services.

178   See Bodenschatz. *Städtebau in Berlin*, 89.

179   The number of employees in the manufacturing industry decreased from 360,000 to 160,000 in the early 1990s, with the largest loss in East-Berlin where only about 20% managed to keep their job.

Simultaneously, architects and urban planners jumped at the opportunity to formulate a new vision for the reunited city. Internationally renowned figures contributed to exhibitions and competitions like **Berlin morgen** (1991), **Potsdamer Platz** (1991), and **Alexanderplatz** (1993). Here, Kleihues' **critical reconstruction** of the 1980s continued to influence the planning ideology of the 1990s. This is exemplified by the work of Hans Kollhoff, which increasingly aligned with Kleihues' ideals and promoted a general height limit for the city with the exception of the two locations named above—Potsdamer Platz and Alexanderplatz. Werner Sewing noted at the time that "Berlin's development seems to be drifting away from the debate on a future-oriented western metropolis. According to the critics, not only is it becoming more provincial, but also more Prussian, conservative, and authoritarian."[180] Employing historical urban layouts and building typologies was further assisted by the team around Hans Stimmann, the Director of the Senate Department of Urban Development in Berlin at the time.[181] Stimmann promoted restrictive building regulations of height limits and street alignments and advocated a conservative architectural language, which was dubbed **Steinernes Berlin**.[182]

Subsidies in housing had been reduced and investing in commercial use seemed to be an economically viable alternative. In fact, the political change fast-tracked the tertiarization of the economy. National and international investors increased the pressure on the local real estate market and on political actors. Nevertheless, it soon became apparent that the over-optimistic expectations of Berlin to become an important hub of the tertiary sector did not materialize. Though some prestigious companies located their headquarters in the city, the big financial institutions were well-established in other European metropolises and had no immediate reason to move. Despite the significant increase in the media industry, there was still a lack of producer services. The euphoria of the early hours was met by the sobering realization that Berlin was not able to match Paris or London in that category.

> Moreover, Berlin enters the competition between Europe's leading cities with practically no political support. The reconfirmation as the capital city of one of the most economically active and productive countries on the planet and the financier of the European Union comes at a time which is coined the 'demissionizing of the nation state' – in favor of the EU, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, etc. The locations of the EU offices, however, have already been assigned.
>
> Werner 1997[183]

180   Sewing, Werner. "Berlinische Architektur" in *ARCH+* 122 (Juni 1994) 60-69. Retrieved from: http://www.archplus.net/home/archiv/artikel/46,845,1,0.html (accessed July 23, 2014): "Berlins Entwicklung scheint von der zukunftsoffenen westlichen Metropolendiskussion wegzudriften: Es wird, so die Kritik, nicht nur provinzieller, sondern preußischer, konservativer, autoritärer." (translation by author).

181   Hans Stimmann headed the Senate Department of Urban Development from 1991 to 1996, and again from 1999 to 2006.

182   The term *Steinernes Berlin* (Stony Berlin) derives from a publication by Werner Hegemann (Das steinerne Berlin, 1930), which traces and criticizes the development of Berlin as a *Mietskasernenstadt*. Under Stimmann, the term denotes his aesthetic preferences for historicizing punctuated façades in stone-cladding.

183   Werner. "Berlin: die neue alte Hauptstadt," 78: "Darüber hinaus tritt Berlin in die Konkurrenz unter den führenden Städten Europas praktisch ohne jede politische Rückendeckung ein. Die erneute Bestätigung als Hauptstadt eines der wirtschaftsstärksten und leistungsfähigsten Staaten der Erde und des Finanziers der Europäischen Union erfolgt in einer Zeit, die als eine der „Demissionierung des Nationalstaates" – zugunsten der EU, des Internationalen Währungsfonds (IMF), der Weltbank usw. – aphostrophiert wird. Die Standorte der Euro-Bürokratie sind allerdings vergeben." (translation by author).

1995-1999: disillusionment

In the mid-1990s, it started to show that the positive expectations of the first few years would not materialize and that the international recognition was not as great as anticipated. Berlin had applied to host the 2000 Summer Olympic Games but had been dismissed in favor of Sydney. Therefore, the large sporting event as a trigger for urban development—following the example of Barcelona—was no longer an option. On the contrary, the one-sided focus on commercial projects in central locations started to reveal its dramatic consequences: the over-accumulation of empty office space vis-à-vis the lack of attractive and affordable residential space. As a result, the city experienced a sharp increase in greenfield developments. The suburbanization of housing projects and large commercial infrastructure like shopping centers and industrial parks was a direct spatial consequence of the political transition. At the same time, the great majority of inner-urban sites and buildings in the eastern part of the city had been neglected for decades and awaited refurbishment. When the push towards the periphery peaked in the late 1990s, it was obvious that measures had to be taken to pave the way for reurbanization.

Stimmann commissioned a team of planners to develop a strategic urban concept for the center of Berlin. Entitled **Planwerk Innenstadt**, it was the first to include both parts of the city. In accordance with Stimmann's specifications, the planners focused on restoring traditional urban typologies like perimeter block, street, and square. The resulting plan continued the paradigm of reconstruction but exaggerated it to dogmatic absurdity and lost the critical aspect Kleihues had imagined. It disregarded the built heritage of postwar modernism—in particular the Eastmodern heritage—and it sought to reduce vehicular traffic space and provide middle-class residential quarters for the new urbanites. Paradoxically, as Bodenschatz points out, the pre-modern urban layout was declared the ideal for the postindustrial city and defined as European in opposition to the American grid with high-rise buildings.[184]

1999-late 2000s: stagnation

The backward-oriented planning ideology caused a great deal of controversy but eventually prevailed in 1999 when the Berlin Senate approved the Planwerk as the guideline for future developments in the inner city. However, the concept remained on a more theoretical level. Project implementation on the grounds of the document was slow, not least because construction dynamics in general had slowed down. The boom of the first years and the realization of prestigious projects like Potsdamer Platz and the new chancellery were followed by stagnation due to a lack of investment. At the turn of the millennium, planning strategies were altered toward small-scale, integrated office spaces in response to the decreasing demand, and urban planners identified promising locations for high-end, free-financed residential space. The discrepancy between the great spatial potential for large-scale projects and their low demand became apparent. In this light, the debate on what would be an appropriate urban strategy for Berlin lost its explosiveness.

184 See Bodenschatz. *Städtebau in Berlin*, 90.

since 2008: revival of the inner-city

The financial crisis of 2008 did not impair the construction industry in Berlin to the same extent as it did in Barcelona and Budapest. Over recent years, the population figures have been on the rise, accompanied by a renewed interest in inner-city living. There is a high demand for centrally located housing while the effects of spreading gentrification have become a real concern in long-established neighborhoods like Kreuzberg and Neukölln. Providing adequate housing depends on political as much as economic solutions. As political leaders failed to require the timely construction of affordable housing, the city is now experiencing a remarkable increase in construction activity through self-organized initiatives. As the rising demand cannot be met and prices are on the rise, people start looking for alternative ways to acquire residential space in the city. A rapidly spreading trend in response to the limited provision of residential space is the rising number of joint building ventures and building cooperatives. The city is experiencing the emergence of a variety of initiatives backed by creativity and public support, which contrast markedly to professional planning. The majority decision in public referendums against large planning schemes like the *Mediaspree* project (2008) or the *Tempelhofer Feld* development (2014) bear witness to this.

In 2010, the *Planwerk Innenstadt* was superseded by the *Planwerk Innere Stadt*, which attempts a less dogmatic and more context-specific approach. It extends the area of analysis and appoints distinct focus areas that are to be developed into concise quarters while promoting their individual identity (Fig. 49). Based on identifying and accentuating their differences, they are expected to form a mosaic that is supposed to represent the diversity of Berlin.
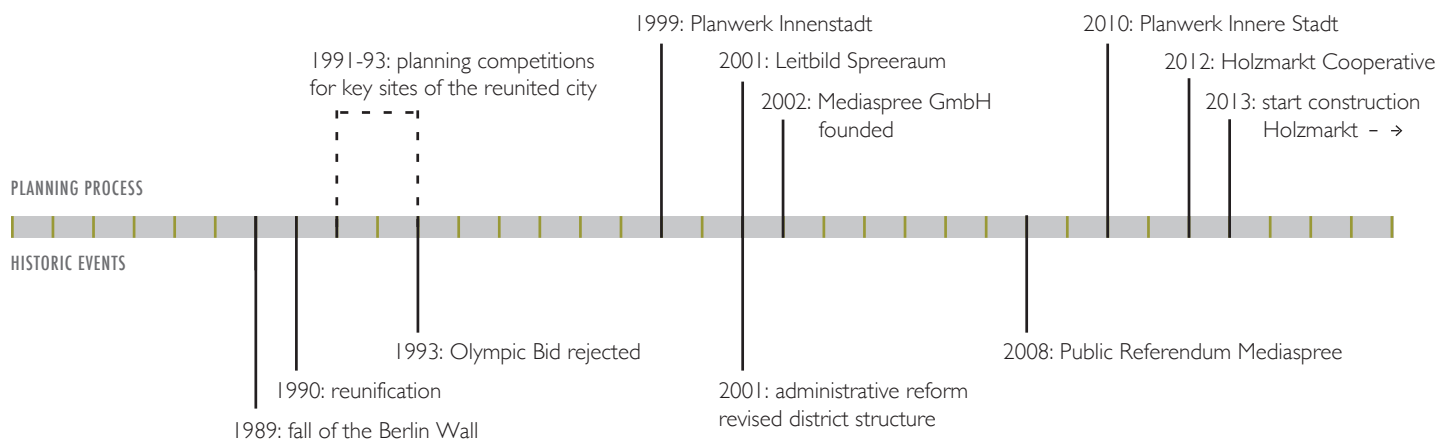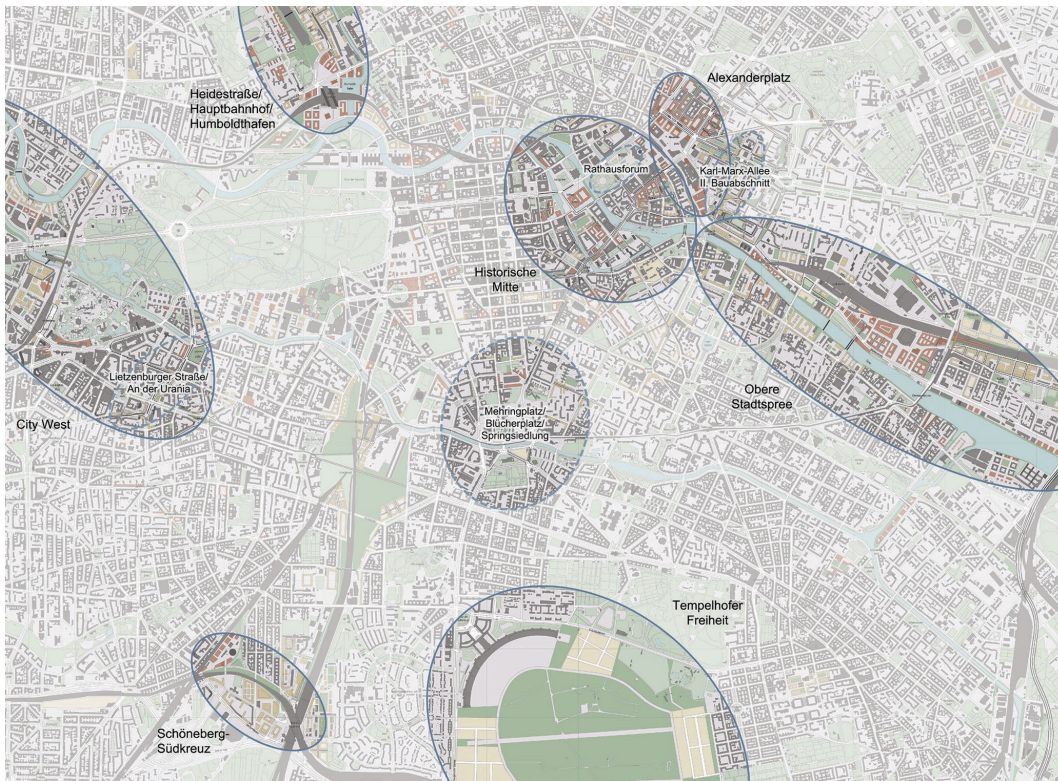

PLANNING PROCESS

1991-93: planning competitions for key sites of the reunited city

1999: Planwerk Innenstadt
2001: Leitbild Spreeraum
2002: Mediaspree GmbH founded

2010: Planwerk Innere Stadt
2012: Holzmarkt Cooperative
2013: start construction Holzmarkt – →

HISTORIC EVENTS

1989: fall of the Berlin Wall
1990: reunification
1993: Olympic Bid rejected
2001: administrative reform revised district structure
2008: Public Referendum Mediaspree

Fig. 48   The regeneration of the Spree area, timeline of historic events and planning process.

Legend:

- approved planning
- proposed planning
- proposed sites
- public green space - planning
- public green space - existing

Map labels (top map):
Heidestraße/ Hauptbahnhof/ Humboldthafen
Alexanderplatz
Rathausforum
Karl-Marx-Allee II. Bauabschnitt
Historische Mitte
Lietzenburger Straße/ An der Urania
City West
Mehringplatz/ Blücherplatz/ Springsiedlung
Obere Stadtspree
Tempelhofer Freiheit
Schöneberg-Südkreuz

Holzmarkt

Obere Stadtspree
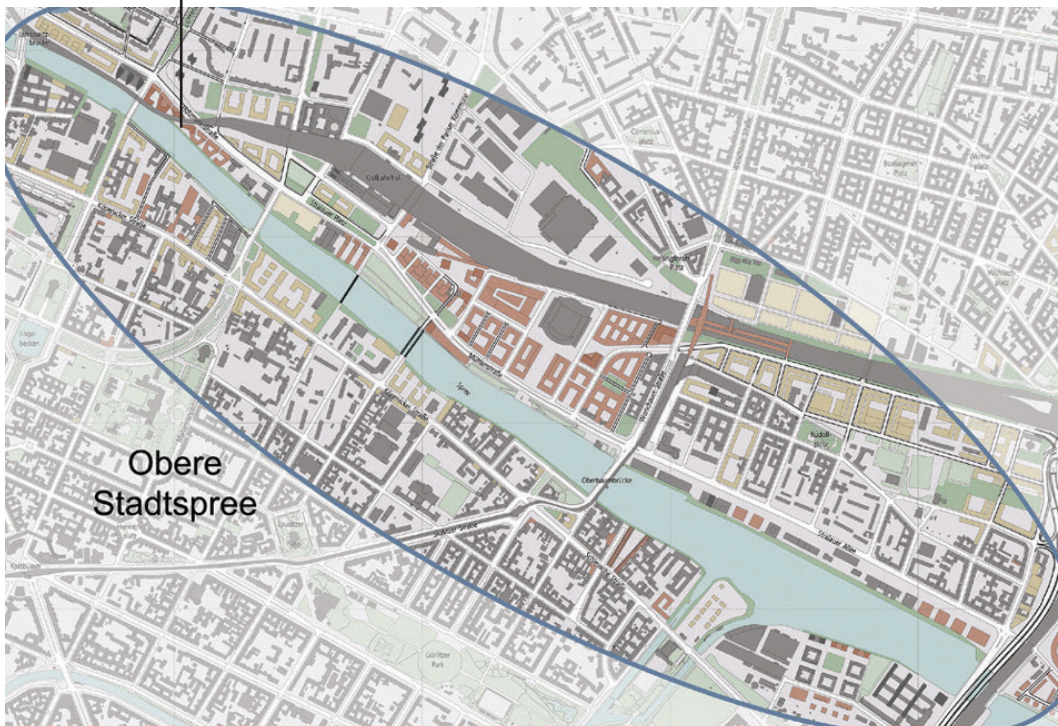
Fig. 49   Planwerk Innere Stadt. The plan indicates focus areas of urban development, one of which is the inner urban Spree area as defined in *Leitbild Spreeraum* in 2001.

Fig. 50   The Berlin Wall border zone and the Spree river divided East and West Berlin at the location that is today known as Mediaspree.
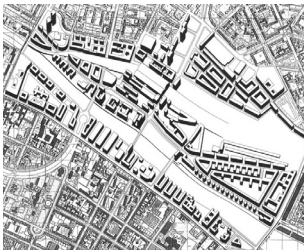

Fig. 51   Urban development framework *Ostbahnhof/Spreeufer* by Hemprich + Tophof, 1993.

C. forming the creative cluster of Mediaspree

One of the most disputed proposals within the new planning scheme is the development of the eastern Spree area—a large site of 180 ha, which stretches along the banks of the river as a network of individual plots between Elsenbrücke and Jannowitzbrücke. The better part of the focus area lies in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and thus combines two formerly divided parts of the city. The plots had been used by different industries, the railway company, or in part as the heavily guarded border zone between East and West Berlin (Fig. 50). After the reunification, the character of the site changed radically: from fringe location to sought-after central area. Different temporary users occupied the derelict industrial buildings and vacant sites. They installed clubs and beach bars along the river, and engaged in various artistic projects. Consequently, the huge spatial resource and its central location quickly attracted a great deal of interest from both the city government and private investors. In 1993, the architects Hemprich + Tophof managed to win the urban planning competion for the Ostbahnhof area including the Spree riverbank of both Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg. Hemprich + Tophof were commissioned to draw up an urban development framework based on their design (Fig. 51). The framework combined the formerly divided parts of the city in one planning document. It proposed a compact layout of urban quarters of largely equal heights and a publicly accessible path on the northern side of the river. However, the framework only indicated potentials for future planning and showed little impact on the actual development of the area. A coherent strategy that would consider programmatic variety and urban planning on a large scale did not exist. Instead, the site saw the approval and realization of individual, disconnected projects with little regard for public or green space.

As the common denominator of these projects, the city government envisaged the programmatic focus on the tertiary sector—media and entertainment industries as well as the young creative scene—which had been growing steadily since the early 1990s. This thematic orientation, accompanied by high-end residential and commercial space, was formally noted in the urban concept entitled *Leitbild Spreeraum*, put forward by the Senate Department of Urban Development in 2001.[185] It demonstrates that the reconstruction of the city was connected to non-physical objectives like profiling the local economy. The Planwerk Innenstadt had not specifically investigated the Spree area but rising numbers of vacant sites due to the declining manufacturing industry and the somewhat disorganized planning and realization of the early years required the city government to provide a strategic agenda. The *Leitbild* emphasizes the qualities of the site's location like the 3.7 km of waterfront, its role as an entry point to the city center and thus its potential to provide additional city functions. It criticizes the provisional usage by car rentals and storage buildings as well as the many temporary users. Instead, the area is expected to flourish on the grounds of clear structuring: the formation of distinct quarters whilst ensuring connectivity and vistas toward the river. In particular, the danger of the large site degenerating into a sea of insular developments is to be averted.

The straightforward title *Mediaspree*, created by an interest group of landowners, developers, and investors who joined forces in promoting the project, emerged as a marketing tool with reference to the locational and functional aspects of the site. Despite the title and the urban

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185   See Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung. "Spreeraum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg: Leitbilder und Konzepte" (2001) Retrieved from: http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/stadtplanerische_konzepte/leitbild_spreeraum/index.shtml (accessed January 15, 2014) 21, 25.

concept, which give the impression of inclusion and comprehensiveness, *Mediaspree* has always been a conglomeration of unrelated proposals (Fig. 52). The urban vision evolved parallel to the realization of individual projects and as such was manipulable by potent investors such as the Anschutz Entertainment Group.[186] The *Leitbild* was conceived as a basis of future professional assessment in urban planning and development. Yet, as Aljoscha Hofmann points out, it contained little more than a collection of already approved or currently debated building permits and could hardly be considered a strategic document, let alone master plan.[187] It must also be noted that the Berlin Senate diverted the responsibilities for the realization of the concept to the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. A decision that seems little understandable given the size of the project and the declared interest in its development

Fig. 52   Mediaspree, aerial view.

In addition to accommodating the creative industries, Mediaspree was to provide hotel and office space, retail and recreational areas. Planning permissions were submitted and approved relatively unchallenged during the first years of implementation. While the first office tower projects like the *Treptowers* or the *Trias* building could be constructed quickly, the more recent realizations like the *Living Levels* apartment building are much more controversial. It was not until 2007, that the Mediaspree project caused substantial public outcry, mainly directed against the developer-centric planning strategy and the over-densification of the site. It mobilized a wide range of local interest groups that expressed criticism in numerous protests. In 2008, a public referendum called *Spreeufer für Alle* (Spree River Banks for Everyone) confirmed that 87 % of the voters were in favor of substantial planning alterations, like a wider public promenade along the river. However, the result had the legal effect of a recommendation and, therefore, only slight changes were achieved. What was striking though was the increased meaning of *community* and *political engagement* (Fig. 53).

Fig. 53   Mediaspree protest, 2008.

The protests signify that a third party had entered the debate on urban regeneration. While the city government and local administration left many responsibilities to economic actors such as private investors, the civil society in the form of local movements, temporary users, and other interest groups began laying claim to the city. Mediaspree was conceived on the grounds of overly positive expectations of the tertiary sector. As these expectations did not seem to materialize, political leaders and urban planners were required to rethink their concept. Yet, at the same time, the local government was forced to keep promises it had made to private investors in order to avoid damage claims. Amidst this uncertainty with regard to the project's future development, a group of motivated people, who had been running the renowned party location *Bar25* on the *Holzmarkt* site at Mediaspree's western end (Fig. 54), managed to establish a more long-term engagement with the area.[188] In 2012, following years of short-term contracts and relocations, the group founded the cooperative *Holzmarkt Plus eG* and eventually won the protracted

Fig. 54   The temporary structures of Bar25 on the Holzmarkt site.

186   Strangely, the *Leitbild* states the planning possibility of a large multipurpose event center—today known as O$_2$ World and constructed by Anschutz—at a time when the very realistic investment interests of the multi-billion dollar investor were already known. Though economically understandable, it seems rather critical from a democratic point of view if public accountability gets bypassed and urban concepts are misused by the public administration to legitimize specific projects. See Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung. "Spreeraum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg," 32.

187   See Hofmann, Aljoscha. "'Mediaspree versenken' - Vom Protest zu einer neuen Stadtentwicklungspolitik" in: *ARCH+* 204. (October 2011) 146-149.

188   Bar25 was a fantasy world of entertainment with shows, music, restaurant, and bar. It was established by Christoph Klenzendorf und Juval Diezinger in 2004 but ceased to exist in 2010 due to renewal plans of the then site owner BSR (Berliner Stadtreinigung). The club moved to an abandoned building across the river where the initiators ran the new *Kater Holzig* between 2011 and 2013. A successful tender allowed the team to move back to the original site and start an ambitious construction project.

bidding process for the site. The cooperative's bid was supported by professional planners and legal advisors, who set about formulating a coherent development concept,[189] and the Swiss pension fund **Abendrot Stiftung**, which provided the necessary financial resources. At the time, the cooperative itself included entrepreneurs, temporary users, and artists yet the skills necessary for developing and realizing the successful bid needed to be obtained elsewhere. An important figure in this respect is Mario Husten, who joined the group and started organizing the financial arm of the cooperative by founding the **Genossenschaft für urbane Kreativität eG** (GuK).[190] It currently comprises about 100 members with cooperative shares[191]—the only financial resource during construction. Notably, the Holzmarkt project represents an approach to urban development which was entirely new in the Mediaspree context: to construct and manage the project without owning the site.

The site is located between the Spree river and Holzmarkt street; it is crossed diagonally by elevated train tracks (Fig. 55). Consequently, the planning concept consists of two programmatically and spatially different approaches: on the one hand, the generous 12,000 m^2 **Holzmarkt** site with artist studios, club, restaurant, hotel, and public access to the river, and on the other, the tight, triangular 6,000 m^2 **Eckwerk** site with stacked mixed-use facilities like startup offices and student housing. The ambitious Eckwerk project alone comprises a total of 35,000 m^2 gross floor area and makes full use of the approved height limits in the master development plan. This is necessary as the Eckwerk is supposed to generate enough income to finance various cultural activities. It forms the economic backbone of the new development. The Holzmarkt team does not have the means for the timely completion of the project, so it is opting for a long-term, step-by-step approach. The coordinators are specifically aiming for the programs and participants to remain in flux and thus are open to changes along the way. The project is envisaged as a continuous development with an approximate construction period of ten years, depending on the number of members and cooperative shares. A specific completion date, however, has not been defined.
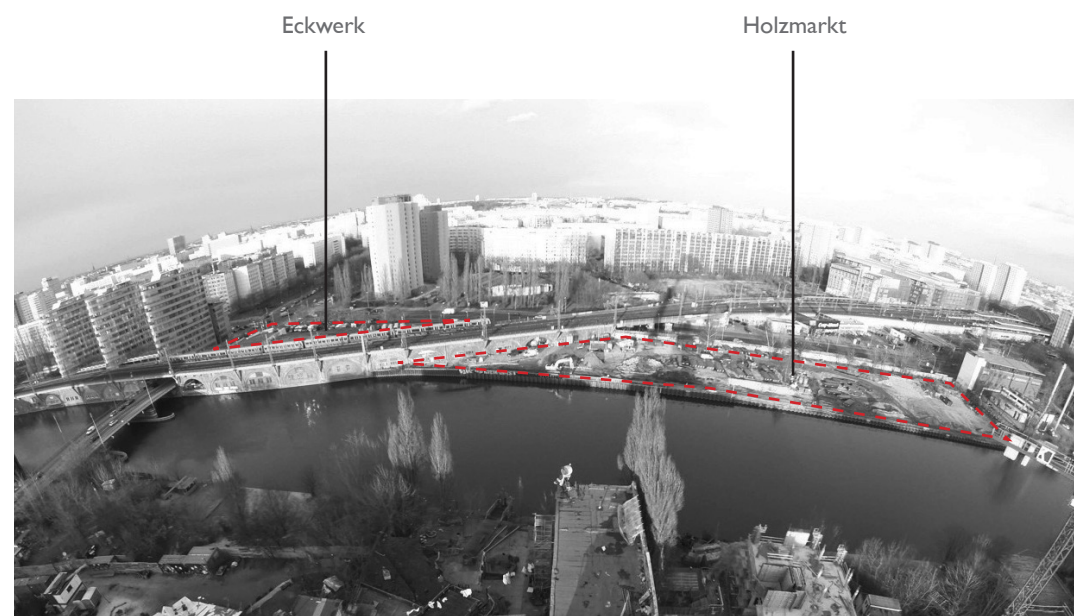

Fig. 55   Holzmarkt and Eckwerk, aerial view.

189   The architectural practice carpaneto.schöningh has been influential in assisting the cooperative during the tender process. The team insisted on developing a concept for both sites, which gave the project a strategic advantage.

190   Genossenschaft für urbane Kreativität = Cooperative for Urban Creativity.

191   At this stage, the minimum share is € 25,000.

The urban planning approach of the Holzmarkt site concentrates on low density, mixed-use facilities and a network of open areas running through the whole site. Given the expected and welcomed changes throughout the implementation of the project, small-scale structures are supposed to allow for future adaptations (Fig. 56). The design of the Holzmarkt was largely defined by the project initiators, assisted by the architectural practice *carpaneto.schöningh*, while the concept for the more straightforward and more densely built-up Eckwerk originated in the joint venture of architectural practices *Kleihues + Kleihues* and *graft Architekten*. Their preliminary design drawings show a podium building, which elevates the urban space so that it can visually overcome the barrier of the train tracks. A composition of five high-rise buildings is positioned on top of the podium in order to frame the new public square. A so called 'mountain path' is added as a publicly accessible walkway, which connects the five high-rises on various levels and as such connects their different programs (Fig. 57).

The initiators themselves describe their approach as sustainable urban development. They strive to create a place for everyone that not only compensates for missing functions like public space along the river but, according to Mario Husten, they also "expect the relationships between people to change."[192] Whether they will succeed remains to be seen. The project is certainly a striking example of "thinking the city differently in aesthetic, political, and social terms."[193]

Fig. 56   Holzmarkt, collage.

Fig. 57   Eckwerk, rendering.

192   Mario Husten, head of Holzmarkt eG, cited in Diez, Georg. "Wowis Legoland" in: *Der Spiegel* 12 (March 18, 2013) 133: "Wir gehen schon davon aus, dass sich in den Beziehungen der Menschen etwas ändert." (translation by author).

193   Diez. "Wowis Legoland," 133: "Stadt ästhetisch, politisch und sozial anders zu denken" (translation by author).

> Basically, what they are daring to do at the Holzmarkt is a classic civil claim to the city. They have got the self-esteem. They are carrying this city. They are changing Berlin with their example. They are establishing the rules. They want to institutionalize the beaten path.
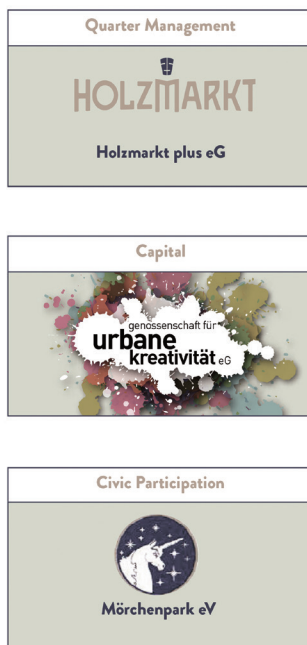>
> Diez 2013[194]

Quarter Management

HOLZMARKT

Holzmarkt plus eG

Capital

genossenschaft für
**urbane
kreativität** eG

Civic Participation

Mörchenpark eV

Fig. 58   Organizational framework. The main entities of the Holzmarkt Cooperative.

With the aim of rethinking urban planning and urban life, the cooperative is based on an elaborate organizational structure that provides people with access to the planning and construction process on various levels. Three interlocked entities allow the project to be developed collectively (Fig. 58). Quarter Management, the Holzmarkt plus eG as the cooperative's governing body, focuses on defining the overall character of the site. Members of the two subordinate entities Capital and Civic Participation may partake in the quarter management upon acceptance by the general assembly. Capital, i.e. GuK as financial coordinator, is concerned with the business side of things. Here, people can join through buying cooperative shares. Finally, Civic Participation, the non-profit association *Mörchenpark eV*,[195] is a neighborhood association that is open to everyone for a minimal annual fee and allows its members to participate in designing all public areas. This goes to show that the cooperative offers various opportunities to directly impact on the outcome of the project, ranging from hands on gardening and construction work to being involved in its economic viability. In this light, *Mörchenpark* is the crucial element between the initiators, the surrounding neighbors and everyone interested in doing some gardening. It takes on the role of an institutionalized mediator and is symbolic of the altered objectives of the group. Ten years after the heyday of Bar25, the party people have turned into parents concerned with cultural and environmental issues. The techno wonderland has turned into a sophisticated attempt of self-organized planning and alternative urban living based on organic food, environmental awareness, and 24h-childcare. The cooperative expects the project to serve as an attractor for Berliners and tourists alike and subsequently to improve the mono-functional strip along the train tracks consisting of, for example, a car wash and a supermarket.[196]

The initiators of Bar25 have grown up. The self-proclaimed business-hippies are no longer a squatter movement that throws a party whenever they feel like it. The project rather turned into a sophisticated attempt at self-organized planning with a complex managerial construct of cooperatives, subordinate companies, and volunteers. They are now striving toward offering a large range of much-needed urban functions combined with a quirky aesthetic and thus are receiving a lot of approval and support from both public authorities and private companies. Consequently, projects like Holzmarkt are no longer a niche event in Berlin and the rising number of differently sized projects has been noted on the administrative level.[197]

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194   Diez. "Wowis Legoland," 133: "Was sie am Holzmarkt wagen, ist im Grunde klassische bürgerliche Stadteroberung. Sie haben das Selbstbewusstsein. Sie tragen diese Stadt. Sie verändern Berlin nach ihrem Beispiel. Sie stellen die Regeln auf. Sie wollen die Institutionalisierung des Trampelpfads." (translation by author).

195   The term is a combination of *Möhrchen* (small carrot) and *Märchen* (fairy tale).

196   See Husten, Mario and others (eds.). "Holzmarkt: Concept & Architecture" (September 2013) Retrieved from: http://www.holzmarkt.com/downloads/HOLZMARKT_Concept&Architecture.pdf (accessed August 18, 2014).

197   The present Director of the Senate Department of Urban Development, Regula Lüscher, raved about the increase in joint building ventures, local associations, and cooperatives. Under the slogan *The City Builds The City*, this fact was to become a subject of the International Building Exhibition, which was planned for 2020 but has now been cancelled due to financial constraints. The concept was based on the assumption that only a variety of urban actors can provide for a variety of urban spaces.

1.3   The Apparatus of Urban Regeneration

1.3.1   The Effects of Urban Regeneration

> Architecture, together with the architects responsible, has increasingly become a form of corporate advertising, and despite a few remaining radicals, has retreated from what it saw as its earlier social purpose.
>
> Hall 1996[198]

Urban regeneration in its striving for uniqueness, and the planners involved, attach great importance to the iconographic value of flagship projects. Ever since the success of Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum, this approach has ultimately secured its dominance of urban planning objectives. The economic success of the museum,[199] referred to as 'the Bilbao effect', was understood in close relation to its expressive form designed by the renowned architect Frank Gehry and that encouraged the implementation of iconic architecture as a strategic element of urban design. Creating a desirable product and attracting media attention seem indispensable for success. Attention, in this respect, is equal to financial benefit, as 'trickle-down' effects are expected. This exemplifies the museum's importance in the overall concept of restructuring the former industrial waterfront of Bilbao. Conceived as the outstanding element of a larger restructuring project including new transport facilities, various construction projects, and public spaces, the museum was the 'icing on the cake' driving and legitimizing the project. Right from the beginning, the museum strove to exceed its mere cultural-educational purpose.[200] It managed to unite contradicting political forces and various actors in a joint effort—a risky and expensive investment of public money that eventually paid off.

Like Bilbao, the three case studies in this thesis demonstrate the strategic implementation of flagship projects, e.g., the MACBA building in El Raval, the Corvin Plaza in Józsefváros, and Mediaspree's O2 event center. They all exceed their immediate programmatic *raison d'être* and are meant to trigger more substantial reconfigurations in their vicinity. Therefore, they were constructed early on in the regeneration process and completed well before other buildings. Although not all of these projects can claim architectural merit, they certainly succeed in claiming attention and in accelerating economic activities. They tend to exceed their immediate surroundings in scale and they demonstrate a focus on promoting the tertiary sector by meeting the needs of the retail and entertainment industries. Although the concept of attaching economic value to increasingly larger projects of urban regeneration, assisted by iconic architectural objects, existed well before the Bilbao experience, it has been deployed more often and more strategically since. Today, this one-sided and all too often shortsighted form of planning is prominent in urban design, as exemplified by the case studies.

Understanding urban regeneration as an explicit form of constructing and marketing the city offers two levels of interpretation. On the one hand, it suggests economic success based on the advertised image while, on the other, it claims superiority over its context and manifests the power

198 Hall. *Urban Geography*, 93.

199 Exceeding preliminary visitor expectations not only raised the direct profit of the museum, it also showed positive results for the surrounding economy, e.g., through an increase in overnight stays. It allowed the public sector to recover its investment within 7 years after completion. See Plaza, Beatriz. "The Bilbao effect" in: *Museum News* (September/October 2007) 13-15 and 68. Retrieved from: http://www.scholars-on-bilbao.info/fichas/MUSEUM_NEWS_The_Bilbao_Effect.pdf (accessed November 27, 2012).

200 Beatriz Plaza notes that the Guggenheim Museum "has adopted market-oriented budgeting with parallel commercial activities such as image copyright usage management, cafes, a high-end restaurant and a large museum store all aimed at making the museum staff more efficient and sensitive to customers' tastes." Ibid., 15.

of the actors involved. This renders urban regeneration a preferred tool of self-representation of political leaders. Construction efforts are a physical point of reference for the current leader's level of power. The act of building has traditionally been surrounded by a distinct aura of progressiveness and was employed strategically by those in power. Considering today's large and highly mediatized flagship projects reveals that little has changed. If anything, the overwhelming dissemination of technologies and ways to spread information has only increased exposure to this permanent metaphor of power exponentially.

The combination of iconographic and economic characteristics with a focus on the representation of power seems to best define the objectives and measures of contemporary renewal. Similar to traditional advertising, urban regeneration and flagship developments cater to brand-obsessed consumers by commissioning the 'big names' for large-scale construction projects with eye-catching architecture. Re-branding strategies of this kind can be found in many urban areas irrespective of the city's scale, geographical location, or cultural specificities. They tend to be characterized by a limited variety of programs and to cater to a limited group of users and have one or two significant architectural icons thrown into the mix.

Regeneration projects are intertwined with economic transformations for two reasons: first, deindustrialization lays bare a large number of vacant sites awaiting to be put to new use, and second, cities feel the need to reconfirm their relevance as focal points and redefine their purpose. Regeneration is the postindustrial city's answer to the pressure of the globalizing market and the unsteadiness of capital flows. As Ellin pointed out: *form follows finance*—urban restructuring aims to activate its economic as well as its symbolic capabilities to assure financial profits. The immediate goal of restructuring is to act as a catalyst and kick-start economic activity by attracting investors and consumers alike, while in the long run its iconic features, like new developments and a rebranded identity, are expected to attract people and follow-up investment.[201]

The urban structure follows the rationale of what selected consumers, businesses, and the commercially active individual require. Regeneration projects aim at rendering a new image of what is supposed to be a distinctly urban lifestyle—a prosperous economy, safe and healthy environments, and an abundance of leisure activities. **Urbanity** is presented as a purified idea of space and culture devoid of its intellectual and political heritage. It implies diversity in social, cultural, programmatic and physical terms, and a balanced relationship of public and private space. "Urbanity has become a category of behavior and emotional well-being. It is realized at its best in consumption."[202] The term's broad, non-political vagueness is unlikely to raise disagreement, and is therefore the ideal image of regeneration projects. Planners employ urbanity as a highly attractive metaphor while purposely failing to specify what it entails. Paradoxically, the lifestyle envisaged by marketing is least likely to emerge as a result of construction projects.

Note:

Urbanity relates to the characteristics of everyday life as it is influenced by the urban environment—a distinctly urban lifestyle. *Urbanism* signifies both the physical structure of the city and its economic, social, cultural, and political dynamics, as well as the study of their correlations.

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201 See Ellin. *Postmodern Urbanism*.

202 Häußermann; Siebel, *Neue Urbanität*, 215: „Urbanität ist eine Kategorie des Verhaltens und der emotionalen Befindlichkeit geworden. Sie realisiert sich am reinsten im Konsum." (translation by author).

> Above all, hardly anything is less suitable as a planning objective than urbanity. It essentially consists of a behavioral pattern of individuals […] a cultural and socio-psychological mentality […]. Architecture and urban planning can deliver the decorum at best, the frame. The mentality can be neither planned nor generated.
>
> Zohlen 1995[203]

Though urban restructuring might struggle to consolidate an urban lifestyle, it certainly manages to construct places which distract people from everyday life and offer ephemeral points of identification through appealing concepts of relaxation and fun.[204] Short-term enjoyment can be addressed easily through a variety of entertainment programs—places of spectacular consumption. Yet, does urban regeneration live up to its ambitions and expectations with regard to space, economy and employment, leisure and lifestyle?

A differentiated analysis needs to take into account that revitalizing inner-urban sites indeed has a positive effect on the physical form of the city. While suburbanization, sprawl, and greenfield developments compromise traditional centralized urban layouts, re-focusing on central areas can potentially reverse or at least slow down this process. On the one hand, turning arable land in the periphery into built-up areas is supposed to satisfy the demand for affordable housing and the wish to ease local government budget deficits. On the other hand, using vacant plots in the city for new developments makes use of an existing spatial resource instead of creating a new one on the urban fringe. It also reduces follow-up costs, since building services, traffic infrastructure, and public transport can typically be catered for in a more cost and time efficient manner in centrally located, already serviced areas.

From an economic point of view, urban regeneration aims to attract both residents and business in order to generate tax income. However, the kick-start to the local economy expected from large-scale regeneration projects rarely materializes: new retail centers sell global products instead of locally produced goods, new employment opportunities are limited and often geared to professionals, or they belong to the wider range of low-paid service personnel: unskilled labor, non-unionized, part-time, temporary. These positions offer little chance for social improvement. In fact, the social implications of regeneration have raised repeated concern. Large corporations enter the local market and drive small entrepreneurs out of business. Likewise, gentrification has become a common and intruding effect on the demographic structure.[205] Catering for specific social groups assists the expulsion of the lower social strata and furthers real estate speculation. Economic exclusion translates into social exclusion and manifests itself spatially in the form of sharply defined, segregated quarters. Thus, urban regeneration seems to offer little benefit in terms of social sustainability. On the contrary, the uneven distribution of related costs tends to even further accentuate the widening gap between rich and poor. Media attention and project funding are directed to particular projects only, usually where a quick investment return is to be

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203   Zohlen, Gerwin. "Metropole als Metapher" in: *Mythos Metropole*, edited by Gotthard Fuchs, Bernhard Moltmann, Walter Prigge. (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1995) 32: "Darüber hinaus eignet sich kaum etwas weniger zum Planungsziel als Urbanität. Sie besteht im wesentlichen aus Verhaltensweisen, der Bereitschaft einzelner […] aus einer kulturellen und sozialpsychologischen Mentalität […]. Architektur und Städtebau liefern dazu allenfalls das decorum, den Rahmen. Die Mentalität können sie weder planen noch erzeugen." (translation by author).

204   See Ellin. *Postmodern Urbanism*.

205   Gentrification typically describes the socio-economic transition provoked by a new social group, whereby a dominance of the respective higher social class is ultimately established within a district after low-income residents have been subjected to real-estate speculation and expulsion.

expected while the needs of marginalized groups are neglected and devalued. This goes to show that "the aestheticization of the city exaggerates these processes of exclusion."[206] It manifests exclusionary patterns and segregation in fragmented urban layouts and "microspaces that are physically proximate but institutionally estranged."[207] Ultimately, the purified urban realm as the advertised image of urban regeneration results in a sanitized urban form of little social and cultural variety.

The key stakeholders in the process of urban regeneration vary depending on the scale and objectives of the project. Regeneration is managed by means of new urban policies: a broad institutional framework that supersedes former governmental structures and aims primarily at project implementation. Typical organizational formats include publicly-owned development agencies, public-private-partnerships, and private developers.[208] Though these managerial frameworks differ with regard to the extent of private investment, they all compromise democratic procedures in order to ease the planning process. Local governments enter interdependencies with co-financing entities. That means higher public authorities lose part of their sovereignty while subordinate agencies and corporate actors grow more powerful in the process and manage to bypass political negotiation. In fact, considering this diversion of power, Swyngedouw et al. declare the absence of the state a myth as the "national state itself is often instrumental in shaping and organizing such exclusive growth coalitions and in providing the extraordinary regulatory environment, in which they can operate outside a system of public accountability."[209] Employing a separate managerial agency or public-private-partnership to oversee projects, detaches the respective area from local authorities' control and establishes a barrier to public involvement.

One of the most far-ranging effects is that urban regeneration makes unpleasant political and social issues disappear from everyday life. The image production and reproduction of a cleansed urban context is manifest in and supported by new building projects. "The aestheticization of the city, does not abandon misery, but pushes it aside,"[210] thereby reducing its political relevance. Once the problems of the socially disadvantaged are no longer visible, they can be forgotten. This suburbanization of poverty, crime, and prostitution increases fragmentation and diminishes one of the city's key aspects: unpredictability. Instead, urban life becomes rearranged, decentralized, and socially segregated. It is turned into "a patchwork of discrete spaces with increasingly sharp boundaries."[211]

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206   Häußermann; Siebel, *Neue Urbanität*, 209: „die Ästhetisierung der Stadt überhöht diese Ausgrenzungsprozesse." (translation by author).

207   MacLeod. "From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a 'Revanchist City'?," 606.

208   Examples for organizational structures: the publicly owned HafenCity Hamburg GmbH manages the restructuring of the former port area of the Hanseatic City, while private developer MAB Corporation oversees the regeneration of a large part of Melbourne's Docklands. The most common scheme, however, is the mixed structure of public-private partnerships.

209   Swyngedouw; Moulaert; Rodriguez. "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe," 566.

210   Häußermann; Siebel. *Neue Urbanität*, 209: „Die Ästhetisierung der Stadt schafft das Elend nicht ab, sondern nur beiseite." (translation by author).

211   Swyngedouw; Moulaert; Rodriguez. "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe," 571.

> The most silent, yet most effective way of securing control consists of excluding unpleasant issues from public consciousness. This is exactly the latent political function of aestheticizing the city.
>
> Häußermann and Siebel 1987[212]

It can be argued that regeneration enacts political power by trying to subvert political processes in general. Ignoring societal inconsistencies and moving them out of sight aggravates inequalities. The issue has sparked a number of studies in the social sciences "to decode the leaner and meaner urban geographies that have emerged throughout the older industrialized world."[213] Urban geographies, "in which cities engage aggressively in mutually destructive place-marketing policies, in which transnational capital is permitted to opt out from supporting local social reproduction, and in which the power of urban citizens to influence the basic conditions of their everyday lives is increasingly undermined."[214]

On the other hand, the socially disadvantaged or otherwise excluded who see their requirements underrepresented try to find alternative means of gaining visibility in response. These range from grassroots movements to spontaneous insurgencies and political unrest. Exclusion raises questions of utmost timeliness and political explosiveness as to who is accepted as a valuable urban citizen and who is not. Today, zero-tolerance and exclusion seem to enter the urban environment in two ways: directly through enforced surveillance and legislation and indirectly through the aestheticization of the city that addresses only clearly defined groups and ignores the marginalized. Thus, public authorities and project developers form a peculiar alliance in steering toward restriction.

Finally, urban entrepreneurialism and its attention to place is not only the result of a perceived increase of inter-urban competition, but also itself stimulates competition amongst cities. While restructuring and marketing strategies are employed in numerous locations around the world, the number of potential investors is limited. As the stereotypical repertoire of entrepreneurialism is likely to evoke repetitive patterns of development activities, it eventually eradicates any competitive advantage. The serial reproduction of a limited architectural range like shopping malls, urban villages, and waterfront developments seems to be the inevitable consequence of inter-urban competition. Instead of offering points of distinction, these uninspiring and increasingly similar projects render cities more and more alike. In its striving for uniqueness, urban renewal is thus more likely to achieve uniformity.

> Many of the innovations and investments designed to make particular cities more attractive as cultural and consumer centres have quickly been imitated elsewhere, thus rendering any competitive advantage within a system of cities ephemeral.
>
> Harvey 1989[215]

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212   Häußermann; Siebel. *Neue Urbanität*, 210: „Die stillste und zugleich effektivste Weise, Herrschaft zu sichern, besteht darin, unliebsame Themen aus dem Bewußtsein der Öffentlichkeit auszuschließen. Eben das ist die latente politische Funktion der Ästhetisierung der Stadt." (translation by author).

213   Brenner, Neil; Theodore, Nik. "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism'" in: *Antipode* 34:3 (July 2002) 376.

214   Ibid., 376.

215   Harvey. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism," 12.

Restructuring urban environments according to the postindustrial/postmodern paradigm can be described as a facelift beyond recognition. In its effort to portray a sleek, simplified collage of urban parameters, it causes severe damage to the urban context itself. As the physical expression of an imagined ideal of the city, it constructs a sanitized representation of the particular context. Regeneration abuses—and consequently destroys—its very point of reference: the existing urban form and demographic structure. Despite the lifestyle metaphor playing a central role in legitimizing this process, completed projects are all too often disappointing, as new neighborhoods might have style, but life seems to happen elsewhere.

> While growth-promoting entrepreneurial strategies have facilitated the revitalisation of the built environment of many inner cities, and contributed to the creation of new images and economic recovery […] they have not been able to redress such very real problems as a shrinking number of quality employment opportunities, housing the poor and excluded, neighbourhood decay and fiscal squeeze. Indeed in some cases they have exacerbated them
>
> Leitner and Sheppard 1998[216]

Cities are more than accumulations of programs and people; they are collaborative structures based on the rationale of proximity and diversity. The urban built form is accompanied by an understanding of mutual dependency. Any change to its physical condition, in particular through economically steered urban design, has far-ranging consequences. As the previous discussion has shown, aspiring macro-economic effects seem to cause micro-social problems. Despite the negative effects of urban regeneration and its impaired reputation, these types of projects continue to dominate the contemporary planning ideology. If no regeneration is undertaken, the centrally located land and housing stock will remain in its run-down state, areas will remain underserviced and new developments will continue to expand the borders of the metropolitan fringe. If regeneration is undertaken, there might be improvement for some, while increasing rents and limited programmatic variety certainly means social hardship and expulsion for others. It's a 'catch 22'![217]

1.3.2 The Components of the Apparatus

As stated above, urban regeneration encourages uneven geographies in physical as well as political terms. In fact, these projects tend to deliberately engender unevenness as their very meaning in view of inter-urban competition is for one area to gain advantage over another. The art of building, in that sense, is not an art without purpose. The innocence of Vitruv's primitive hut seems lost. Today, architecture and urban planning are determined by a variety of goals and need to address a vast range of objectives: defining a distinct place, organizing different programs, representing our beliefs, inspiring our senses, regulating our energy consumption, and so on. The urban structure has to provide an array of functions and sufficient space for a constantly growing population while its infrastructure hastily tries to follow suit. Cities have to be economically aggressive, energetically sustainable, politically stable, and rich in cultural and environmental diversity. Urban regeneration is the attempt to achieve (some of) these goals through strategic modification of the urban

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216 Leitner; Sheppard. "Economic Uncertainty, Inter-urban Competition and the Efficacy of Entrepreneurialism," 302.

217 Neil Smith used the example of Harlem, NY for his explanation of the 'catch 22' of whether or not to regenerate a neighborhood. See Smith. *The New Urban Frontier*.

environment, steered by a privileged interest group of political leaders, land owners, private investors, and developers. Understanding regeneration as an explicit form of constructing and marketing the city—as a form of manipulation by powerful individuals—brings to mind Foucault's term of the *dispositif* (engl. apparatus). The *dispositif* can be understood as a state of power. It comprises the sum of practices and strategies that modify a given context. It links and concentrates different means and relations of power in order to establish its superiority. Foucault defines the *dispositif* as follows:

> What I'm trying to single out with this term is, first and foremost, a thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions---in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the network that can be established between these elements […]
>
> […] I said that the nature of an apparatus is essentially strategic, which means that we are speaking about a certain manipulation of relations of forces, of a rational and concrete intervention in the relations of forces, either so as to develop them in a particular direction, or to block them, to stabilize them, and to utilize them. The apparatus is thus always inscribed into a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain limits of knowledge that arise from it and, to an equal degree, condition it. The apparatus is precisely this: a set of strategies of the relations of forces supporting, and supported by, certain types of knowledge.
>
> Foucault 1977[218]

The concept of *dispositif* was reviewed and defined more closely by Agamben in his essay "What is an apparatus?" Following Foucault, he describes the apparatus as a heterogeneous system of interlocked components, which pursues a strategic goal and is influenced by its respective constellations of power and knowledge. However, in contrast to Foucault, Agamben tries to employ a wider definition of apparatus—anything from pen to prison—which manages, to a certain extent, to exert influence on what he calls 'living beings'. While Foucault understood the *dispositif* as a universal authority embodied, for example, in governmental or educational institutions, Agamben's broader perspective allows one to grasp the apparatus as comprehensive and widespread elements of everyday life.

> Further expanding the already large class of Foucauldian apparatuses, I shall call an apparatus literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviours, opinions, or discourses of living beings.
>
> Agamben 2009[219]

According to Agamben, the contemporary network of apparatuses, in which the individual is placed in, is more extensive than what had been summarized in Foucault's term of the *dispositif*. Nevertheless, it is not autonomous. Agamben indicates the presence of a superior operator, an entity that controls the apparatus and its effects on living beings.[220] Thus, if the objectives,

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218   Michel Foucault's definition of *dispositif* dates back to a 1977 interview, which was later published in Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, edited by C. Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) 194-96. It was also cited in Agamben's investigation on the matter. See Agamben, Giorgio. *What is an Apparatus? And Other Essays*, translated by David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009) 2.

219   Agamben. *What is an Apparatus?*, 14.

220   This aspect clearly distinguishes Agamben's apparatus from previous determinist theories such as Arnold Gehlen's notion of *Sollsuggestion*. Gehlen notes that the built form as an object imposes a specific behavior upon its user. However, he avoids the question of responsibility; the presence of a superior operator is not discussed. See Gehlen, Arnold. *Urmensch und Spätkultur. Philosophische Ergebnisse und Aussagen*, edited by Karl-Siegbert Rehberg (Frankfurt/Main: Klostermann, 2004).

processes, and outcomes of urban regeneration can be considered a manipulative device that substantially alters the city's physical and social context, who is responsible for its operation? Who is in charge and what are the elements that underpin its effectiveness and power? In this light, the planning paradigm of urban regeneration reveals a remarkably holistic approach to urban development. It combines four key components that do not have to be present in each project but if so complement each other:

- a managerial framework that links administrative bodies, public authorities, and private capital, often in the form of public-private-partnerships
- specific economic objectives like attracting business investments or more affluent residents to generate tax income
- highly refined marketing techniques usually focusing on issues like culture, environment, safety, and prosperity
- traditional modes of planning, which conceive of the city in a projected future.

The first three components were discussed at length in the previous section with the help of the case studies. Here, they are complemented by a fourth highly influential aspect: the traditional modes of planning as the legal and professional format of how urban regeneration is carried out. Under the influence of heightened industrialization and urbanization in the nineteenth century, the discipline of urban planning has gained in importance as a regulatory element and it has seen a detailed definition of its rigorous structure of methods and tools ever since. It comprises a complex system of regulations, laws, and planning guidelines that are expected to facilitate a smooth and well-organized planning process. Thus, zoning regulations, planning concepts (*Leitbild*), development plans, master plans, planning competitions and urban models, constitute the typical elements that determine aspects of a new project at a given moment in time. Even though they apply to different scales and steps of the process, they all aim to conceive the city as a homogeneous entity in a projected future and construct it accordingly. As mentioned above, these principles of urban planning date back to the era of industrialization and, despite the occasional attempt at creating collaborative and adaptable planning schemes, are still valid. The traditional regulatory frameworks and modes of how projects are conceived, presented, and implemented show strong similarities across the globe. Master plans, for example, are still the quintessential tool in the planning process even though, once approved, their static and elitist nature as well as the legal consequences they imply renders them almost immune to alterations.

In this context, Bernard Khoury stands as one of the most prominent and most outspoken critics of the traditional formats of urban planning. With regard to the reconstruction of the city center of Beirut following the end of the Civil War in 1990, Khoury criticizes that the project developer who was the sole owner of the entire reconstruction site and could well have turned the project into a contemporary laboratory of urban planning, simply reverted to the well-known tools and morphological studies in the form of master planning and physical models. In his view, these approaches are completely outdated. "Our perception of the city through its morphological aspects, as much as we want to think that we are progressive, is still extremely archaic. We can see it in the way cities escape from our tools."[221]

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221 See Khoury, Bernard. "The Doom of the Present" Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (November 2012).

According to Khoury, the inflexibility of parcel-oriented, predetermined urban planning is responsible for the shortcomings of urban projects. The mere focus on the physical-structural aspects of the built environment fails to meet the requirements of today's urban realities, characterized by altered economic paradigms and diversifying demographic structures. These shortcomings become apparent in the various problems cities are facing within the scope of urban regeneration as discussed in the previous sections. The increasing length and complexity of the process of planning and implementation vis-à-vis the heightened volatility of economic markets cause projects to be outdated even before reaching completion. The economic and social context quickly outruns its physical representation. Nevertheless, the discipline of urban planning still largely relies on this regulatory and methodological corset in both practice and education.

1.3.3   (De-)Subjectification by the Apparatus

After defining the key components of reconfiguring inner-city areas—the actors, objectives, and methods that make up the apparatus of urban regeneration and try to control the context of their implementation—the following will shed light on the side effects of the apparatus. Following Agamben's assumption that living beings are determined, modeled, controlled—thus manipulated—by the apparatus, the question of subjectivity is raised with regard to the decisions and interactions of the individual. To what extent does the apparatus encourage or preclude the generation of subjects?

On the grounds of the vast range of apparatuses that society appears to be surrounded by, Agamben investigates the relationship between the apparatus and the subject that is constituted within the sphere of its control. Only by exercising its power is the apparatus capable of creating the subject. Thus, the subject emerges when being subjected to the apparatus. Consequently, Agamben notes, "I call a subject that which results from the relation and, so to speak, from the relentless fight between living beings and apparatuses."[222] Here, Agamben hints at the intimate relationship between apparatus and subject, drawing on Foucaults thoughts on power. In fact, Foucault provides the basis for understanding Agamben's elaborations on apparatus and subject. While Foucault has often been read as concerned with the investigation of power and power relations,[223] he stated at the end of his career that his general theme was not so much power itself but rather the subject within its realm.[224] His work is not an analysis of the methods of order and control. Instead, the focus should be placed on the production of subjectivity in reference to these methods. This misreading of Foucault's theory exemplifies the inextricable connection between power—in Agamben's essay exercised by the apparatus—and subjectivity. As power is used to gain superiority over subjects and their actions, the issue of the subject brings the analysis of power to the fore.

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222 Agamben. *What is an Apparatus?*, 14.

223 Foucault opposes a static notion of power as a singular entity and emphasizes its nature as a set of interrelated aspects like knowledge, institutions and practice.

224 See Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power" in: *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983) 208-226.

For Foucault, individuals are either exercising power themselves or they are subjected to power, e.g., by means of disciplinary measures like surveillance techniques as described in his work *Discipline and Punish*.[225] Here, Foucault exposes a range of architectural structures as manifestations and institutions of disciplinary mechanisms. As an example, he discusses Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*, the vision of a building where individuals are separated from each other and kept under the watch of a superior authority (Fig. 59). The Panopticon is the ideal physical manifestation of power. It investigates the suggestive capacities of architecture and asserts that an open and easy to supervise spatial layout will force individuals to monitor their own behavior.[226] The Panopticon is a metaphor for the numerous observational measures on institutional level that every individual is exposed to at least once in his or her life, e.g., schools, factories, hospitals, and prisons. Overall, these institutions follow the same trajectory of constituting subjects (pupils, workers, patients, prisoners) and making the subject recognize and fulfill its subjectivity by adjusting its behavior.
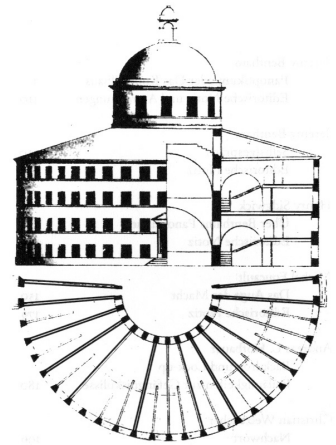
In this context, Foucault coined the term *subjectification*. It denotes the process of individuals being turned into subjects by outside influences. These can range from architectural structures like Bentham's Panopticon to legislation, ideological beliefs, or institutions, as for example included in Louis Althusser's thoughts on ideology and interpellation.[227] Althusser's approach to subjectification is all-encompassing. In his view, people are always shaped within a superior ideology—there is no outside. In contrast to Althusser, Agamben offers a more differentiated approach. He examines the interplay between subjectification and desubjectification under the influence of the apparatus. If living beings are captured and manipulated by apparatuses, they are turned into subjects to the extent of being subjected to the apparatus. Only by producing subjects can the apparatus exercise its governing power on the individual. If the apparatus did not manage to speak to the subject as such and making it recognize its subjectivity (Althusser uses the term *to interpellate* the subject), it would be exerting its influence against the individual's will and thus performing an act of force or violence. "Apparatus, then, is first of all a machine that produces subjectification, and only as such is it also a machine of governance."[228]

Yet, it can be argued that by being subjected to the governing power of the apparatus the individual also loses part of its sovereignty. The manipulative nature of the apparatus impairs the self-awareness and identity of living beings, which Agamben summarizes as desubjectification. It follows that subjectification and desubjectification appear to be two simultaneous processes. In Agamben's view, contemporary capitalist societies experience substantial impacts of desubjectification as "today there is not even a single instant in which the life of individuals is not modeled, contaminated, or controlled by some apparatus."[229] He holds this omnipresence of apparatuses responsible for desubjectifying living beings.

Fig. 59   Panopticon, sketch 1791.

225   See Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (Pantheon Books, 1977).

226   The supervising body is omnipresently located in a central tower but also distant. The individual cannot tell whether someone is watching or not, he or she simply knows of the possibility of being watched. This psychological effect is more important than the surveillance itself. See Bentham, Jeremy. *Panoptikum oder Das Kontrollhaus* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2013).

227   Althusser depicts society as influenced by an eternal superior ideology with accompanying apparatuses (*Ideological State Apparatuses - ISA*), which create subjects by addressing them as such. See Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in: *La Pensée*. (Paris, 1970) Retrieved from: http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm (accessed May 15, 2012). The absolute dominance of his concept of ideology was criticized as too limiting and failing to grasp oppositional tendencies (see for example the writings of Jacques Rancière and Frederic Jameson).

228   Agamben. *What is an Apparatus?*, 20.

229   Ibid., 15.

> What defines the apparatuses that we have to deal with in the current phase of capitalism is that they no longer act as much through the production of a subject, as through the processes of what can be called desubjectification.
>
> Agamben 2009[230]

Slavoj Žižek summarizes the ambivalence in this matter. He draws comparisons between Foucault's *dispositif*, Althusser's concept of ideological interpellation, and Lacan's 'big Other'. Similar to Agamben, he acknowledges the correlations between subjectification and desubjectification. Žižek reconfirms that it is precisely the subordination of the subject to the apparatus—thus its desubjectification—that results in a subjectification within its realm of power.

> Foucault, Althusser, and Lacan each insist on the crucial ambiguity of the term 'subject' (signifying both a free agent and subjection to power) - the subject qua free agent emerges through its subjection to the dispositif/ISA/'big Other.' As Agamben points out, 'desubjectivation' ('alienation') and subjectivation are thus two sides of the same coin: it is the very desubjectivation of a living being, its subordination to a dispositif, which subjectivizes it.
>
> Žižek 2011[231]

This brief overview on the complex interdependencies of subjectificaton and desubjectification reveals the inherent paradox of the apparatus. It aims to create bodies that perceive themselves as free subjects in the very process of their desubjectification, and by desubjectifying them renders them the subject of specific constellations of power. That means, the status of the contemporary subject cannot be easily delineated. While Descartes' subject sovereignly stated *cogito ergo sum*, the post-structuralist subject is a fleeting image of itself. It is volatile, fragile, constantly in process, and forms temporary alliances in order to establish its subjectivity.

Returning to the apparatus of urban regeneration, it follows that planning objectives and a marketing rhetoric that only address specific groups of potential users (middle-class residents, business owners, etc.), create clearly-defined subjects while, in fact, bringing about their desubjectification and alienation from the urban context. They are not addressed as complex social, cultural, and political bodies but reduced to their consumerist potential. The individual is presented with predefined urban environments and programs. He or she is targeted as a consumer of these environments and programs and consequently, that individual no longer articulates a claim to the city. He or she no longer assumes the role of a political subject insofar as the individual does not demand a position, from which it can be perceived as a legitimate agent in urban matters. This indicates that the level of involvement in urban regeneration, i.e., to what extent individuals are targeted as potential residents or users, can be regarded as disproportional to the level of local political engagement.

As noted by Agamben, desubjectification by the apparatus evokes the decline of politics proper in favor of rational governing, which first and foremost aims to reproduce itself.[232] This tendency of politics losing out to social ordering has been noted by radical thinkers like Jacques Rancière, Chantal Mouffe, and Slavoj Žižek under the notion of the *post-political*. Their views on the post-

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230   Ibid., 20.

231   Žižek, Slavoj. "Afterward to the Paperback Edition: Welcome to Interesting Times" in: *Living in End Times* (London/New York: Verso, 2011) 417.

232   See Agamben. *What is an Apparatus?*.

political condition and its relations to urban space are examined further in the political excursus of this thesis. At this stage, in order to continue the line of thought, it is relevant to examine whether the apparatus of urban regeneration really constitutes an all-encompassing entity or whether other factors emerge in its vicinity that manage to oppose and alleviate its aspects of desubjectification. Traditionally, a much debated and politically charged issue in urban theory and planning is the category of public space. Its physical articulation and potential relevance in terms of counteracting the apparatus is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE DIMENSIONS OF ZERO

Following the discussion of urban regeneration, the emphasis shall now be placed on public space as an important category in urban theory and planning and a potential means of opposing desubjectification. This chapter formulates the hypothesis that indeterminate public space—defined as **urban zero points**—provides for a variety of appropriations by different users. The three case studies of this thesis offer different conceptualizations and articulations of public space. The projects are discussed with regard to their architectural and spatial properties. In order to enable a more objective comparison, a set of criteria—functional, visual, atmospheric, and symbolic—functions as a guideline for the analysis. These criteria assist in evaluating to what extent the public spaces in the studies entail a level of indeterminacy. Finally, selected references on the concept of indeterminacy in urban theory and design provide first indications as to why an indeterminate public space might be considered beneficial in the urban dimension.

2.1   Urban Zero Points

2.1.1   The Criteria of Public Space

With regard to public space, a significant spatial difference between European and North American cities must be noted. While the former can be understood as a network of open spaces with varied qualities and purposes, the latter are largely defined by urban blocks within a regular grid that renders public space a rather repetitive leftover. In both contexts, though with different means, Postmodernism aimed at reviving the idea of the piazza as a centralized, physically framed square. While the European city can rely on a typological history of these squares and has seen new versions being implemented within the scope of urban repair, North American cities show a tendency toward privatized and interiorized simulations of public piazzas, e.g., in shopping malls or corporate atriums. Yet, in both environments, Postmodernism's physical restructuring of urban space in response to changing consumption dynamics does not imply increased amounts or a better utilization of public space. Instead, the excessive marketing of both iconic architecture and urban developments has overloaded the (semi)public realm with imagery. In this light, the ***bread-and-circuses*** dictum acts as a means of both capital accumulation and social control.[1] It is rendered in pleasantly designed, controlled spaces that are expected to attract investment and impact on the social structure.[2] Although the semi-public space of malls has also become a recurring sight in European cities, there is still the attempt to keep the traditional idea of publicness alive through public space regeneration. Accordingly, the analysis will focus on the revived meaning of public space in the European context.

But what does the category of public space imply? Carmona et al. provide an explanation for what could be defined as public space. In their view, the simplicity of understanding the white part of figure-ground diagrams as unbuilt and thus generally open is misleading. Assigning denominations of 'private' to architectural objects and 'public' to the space in between would be an unjustifiably narrow representation of reality. Instead, the definition is inextricably linked to how a space is utilized. Its character is defined by the activities it harbors. Yet, whether an urban space is actually open to all kinds of uses—and thus public—depends on a more complex set of properties. Consequently, a differentiated consideration of the parameters that define a space as public and enhance its appropriation is required. Here, Carmona et al. propose to include aspects of access, use, and ownership in the evaluation.[3] However, with reference to other scholars, in particular Camillo Sitte, Hans Paul Bahrdt, and Michael Trieb, the following will add and explain more parameters that seem relevant in this light. These parameters can be allocated to four main criteria of public space: *functional*, *visual*, *atmospheric*, and *symbolic*.

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1   "Bread and circuses was the famous Roman formula that now stands to be reinvented and revived, while the ideology of locality, place and community becomes central to the political rhetoric of urban governance which concentrates on the idea of togetherness in defense against a hostile and threatening world of international trade and heightened competition." Harvey. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism," 11.

2   "The dernier cri are the arcades, lockable and with postmodern decoration. The city governments even offer public streets to be enclosed, furnished, and heated. The privately organized security service, which cleans the sanitized space of unwanted individuals, is the logical consequence […]" Häußermann; Siebel. *Neue Urbanität*, 215: „Der dernier cri sind die Passagen, postmodern dekoriert und abschließbar. Die Stadtverwaltungen bieten sogar öffentliche Straßen zur Überdachung, Möblierung und Beheizung an. Die privatwirtschaftlich organisierte Polizei, die diese cleanen Räume von unerwünschtem Volk reinigt, ist die logische Konsequenz […]" (translation by author).

3   See Carmona, Matthew et al. *Public Places - Urban Spaces*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Architectural Press/Elsevier, 2010).

Accessibility and Connectivity

Easy accessibility requires a variety of means of transport and is fundamental for a plurality of use as well as users. A lack of connectivity in this regard can result in limited appropriation in terms of both functions and groups. Besides sufficient traffic infrastructure, public areas should be well integrated into the spatial network of streets and squares. They need to connect important points in the urban fabric, or constitute such points themselves. They have to allow for easy crossing but at the same time encourage breaks in the movement patterns for recreational stays. However, whether a space invites users to stop, rest, or interact depends on a wide range of parameters, e.g., program, design, and social structure.

Program

Traditionally, public spaces have been the mediator between different urban functions as is best exemplified by the typology of the street—a linear open space lined with houses, shops, public buildings, workplaces, and so on. On occasion, these programs, in particular on ground floor level, extend into the space in front, e.g., a café with an outside terrace. Apart from linking different functions and accommodating the spill-over programs determined by the surrounding built structure, public areas also have to satisfy needs of what can be described as public behavior: *exposure*, *observation*, and *encounters*. These activities echo Simmel's understanding of the city as an environment that attracts individuals who want to emphasize their uniqueness.[4] In this light, public behavior becomes the platform of self-display. The public realm offers the only space where these intertwined activities of *seeing*, *being seen*, and *meeting up* can be acted out in a spontaneous and unpredictable atmosphere. Similar to Simmel, Hans Paul Bahrdt draws comparisons between the public realm and a stage setting. The stage allows people to get recognized, simultaneously the rules of public conduct enable them to blend in and keep their distance in the mass.[5] A programmatically dense space in terms of public behavior is an indicator for a high level of publicness, a presence of various actors, and thus a lively neighborhood.[6]

Infrastructure and Furnishings

A design-related aspect that determines the functionality and comfort of a certain area is the provision of infrastructural elements like street furniture and rubbish bins. They offer basic services and evoke a sense of order. Generally, furnishings positively affect appropriation as benches invite people to sit and prolong the duration of their stay. Yet, too many elements of specific use might also result in a feeling of overregulation, even more so, if their design seems to cater to distinct individuals or groups. This goes to show that a high level of detail and extraordinary design, as discussed in the case of the *Superkilen* project in chapter one, construct an image of a sophisticated place geared to a specific clientele and are thus less likely to attract a variety of social and cultural actors. Employing a diversity of elements, materials, and symbols resembles an open-air art gallery rather than a public meeting place and sports ground. The space is regulated and privatized by its design. Instead, public space design should try to find the balance between providing elements of comfort and safety while avoiding explicit articulations and predeterminations of potential activities in these spaces.

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4 See Simmel. "The Metropolis and Mental Life."

5 See Bahrdt, Hans Paul. *Die moderne Großstadt - Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau.* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1961)

6 Accordingly, this capacity of public space provides a clue for a closer definition of the vague notion of urbanity: spaces that allow for a high level of passive and active forms of engagement are perceived as urban.

VISUAL   In addition to the functional parameters of public space listed above, its visual quality is another important criteria and was thoroughly discussed in Camillo Sitte's major work ***City Planning According to Artistic Principles***.[7] Sitte noted that enclosure—the density and articulation of the built frame—affects how a place is perceived and eventually appropriated. He indicates that there is a close link between the built surroundings and the space itself. Even though Sitte's research and planning guidelines only focused on the inherited idea of public space in the European city, his critique that public space was degenerating to a mere backdrop for buildings displays a remarkable timeliness. These concerns at the beginning of modernity are not too different from the current debate: How do we design urban spaces that are a setting for interaction (and thus public), instead of merely accentuating architectural objects? Which architectural and spatial characteristics might enhance the appropriation of urban space by different users? The following describes the visual aspects that define public space in this sense.

Proportion and Scale

Firstly, Sitte underlines the attention that should be paid to appropriate proportion and scale. The shape of the open space needs to relate to the shape of the surrounding buildings in order to, for example, allow for enough daylight to enter the space. Furthermore, comfort and use can be enhanced if users can grasp the extent of the space. The center should not be cluttered with objects but rather left free of any built structures in order to retain important visual and physical connections. The perimeter of the space should be clearly defined yet not completely enclosed. A thoroughly contained space does not encourage urban density and diversity but rather evokes a sense of imprisonment and lack of safety. It is thus crucial to establish a balance between enclosure and permeability.

Built Frame

The facade holds an ambivalent position in this respect. "[A]s well as separating private and public spheres and protecting them from each other, the boundary also acts as a site of interface and communication between the two."[8] Any transition between private and public should respect and protect both. According to Bahrdt's analysis of public space, the very basis of publicness is the attention paid to the transition between public and private in urban planning.[9] While he advocated the need for clear delineations between public and private, contemporary planning is rather concerned with well-designed transitional elements like ground floor areas and facades that define the character of both realms. The interface has to ensure that private activities are not disturbed by the proximity of the public. At the same time, it has to enhance the feeling of safety by allowing communication between both zones. In this respect, active frontages, created by different programs and architectural means are vital. While facade openings, awnings, or setbacks assist activation and the formation of a more transitional private-public-interface, blank walls can result in an underutilized and unsafe character of public space. The facade contains a double meaning: direct activation through its functions and visual enrichment through its physical properties.

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7   See Sitte, Camillo. *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (1889) translated by George R. Collins and Christiane Craselmann Collins (Random House, 1965).

8   Carmona et al. *Public Places - Urban Spaces*, 215

9   Bahrdt states, "the more evident the polarity and interrelations between public and private sphere become, the 'more urban,' sociologically speaking, is the life of an agglomeration." Bahrdt. *Die moderne Großstadt*, 38-39. "Je stärker Polarität und Wechselbeziehung zwischen öffentlicher und privater Sphäre sich ausprägen, desto 'städtischer' ist, soziologisch gesehen, das Leben einer Ansiedlung." (translation by author).

Materiality

Another design-related aspect is the issue of materiality, with regard to built surfaces as much as greenery. The visual and haptic qualities of a construction material or a natural surface impact on who is using a space, for how long, and for what purpose. Large continuous surfaces (e.g. walls) of hard materiality like concrete without openings, patterns, or joints might evoke a sense of scalelessness and discomfort. They are typically less effective in attracting people, whereas vegetation or nature-based construction materials like timber provide a softer texture, might add other sensuous experiences like sound, and generally improve the micro-climate.

Ownership

Ownership is a factor which is largely influenced by non-physical aspects. Even if a space that is rhetorically defined as belonging to the public, is not fenced-off, closed at night, or shows some other form of access regulation, the critical question of who is allowed to appropriate it and who is excluded from it, is often decided on a different level. Direct means of control, such as the use of sophisticated surveillance mechanisms, are employed and prevalent in connection with zero-tolerance policing. Their primary purpose is to homogenize the urban dimension, i.e., to facilitate the exclusion of those who do not comply with what is considered normal behavior.[10] The control over space through means of surveillance excludes particular social, cultural, or political groups and alienates people from "unmediated social interaction"[11] by establishing a predefined social environment.

Exclusion—and thus restricted ownership—can also be enforced more subtly, yet effectively through profound alterations of the social demographics. Gentrification as the replacement of the existing social tissue by a higher social stratum accompanied by rental price increases physically manifests the marginalization of disadvantaged groups by pushing them out into the suburbs or into run-down, thus cheaper, neighborhoods. Through the process of exclusion, the new social stratum develops a new sense of ownership and claims the exclusive right to public space. Overall, exclusion as a "manifestation of power through the control of space and access to that space"[12] manages to profoundly alter the notion of ownership.

Environmental Aspects

Understanding public space in its traditional sense as open and uncovered, obviously implies that its use is impeded by its condition of being exposed to the elements. Therefore, some environmental aspects might encourage or impair public space appropriation. The denser the urban fabric, the more critical two environmental aspects become: light and noise. The provision of sufficient daylight is of high importance. Not only does it improve the spatial quality if occasionally

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10 As Mitchell points out, socially legitimate activities like sleeping, drinking, or sexual intercourse, which are associated with the private realm, become illegitimate in public. Being confronted with these activities, for example through homeless people who involuntarily become public, visualizes an uncomfortable discrepancy in society. Homogenizing the public sphere and excluding marginalized groups means rendering the illegitimate invisible and further aggravating their distress. See Mitchell, Don. "The end of public space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy" in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85:1 (1995) 108-133.

11 Mitchell. "The end of public space?," 120.

12 Carmona et al. *Public Places - Urban Spaces*, 154.

sunshine can enter the urban fabric, but it also raises the perceived level of safety in that area. At the same time, the overheating of these spaces through the glaring summer sun and the heat absorption and storage in sealed surfaces should be avoided. Thus, protective shading in summer through natural or artificial means is also vital. At night, an adequate amount of street lights is needed to increase visual orientation and thus safety. The noise pollution of public areas by surrounding functions or traffic should be limited. Likewise, public space activities should not impair the private realm.

User Groups

Public spaces in deprived areas marked by social conflicts differ from those in better-off neighborhoods in terms of their user groups, ways of appropriation, and times of use. For example, it can be stated that lingering as a way of appropriating the public realm but also as a sign of social engagement is more common in areas where unemployment is high, whereas areas with high-income residents and distinctly larger average residential spaces per capita are marked by a retreat to the private realm. Similar to social demographics, the cultural background can also account for differences in relation to the appropriation of public space. This indicates that in areas where new immigrant groups appear in the neighborhood, the established patterns of space appropriation might be questioned. Overall, the people who use a particular urban space define its character as much as the buildings that surround it. Consequently, the predominant user group established in a certain space defines who feels addressed and who does not. In order to avoid the space being demarcated as belonging to one group only, attracting a plurality of social and cultural groups should therefore be on the agenda of public space design.

SYMBOLIC   While the functional, visual, and atmospheric aspects discussed above determine who is using a space, they also depend on the highly subjective aspect of perception and symbolic meaning. In *Stadtgestaltung*, Michael Trieb formulates a comprehensive theory of urban design and the perception of the built environment. He draws on previous works on the matter, namely Kevyn Lynch's **The Image of the City**, which, especially in the North American context, became a benchmark in urban design after it was published in 1960.[13]

Perception and Identity

Trieb understands the city as a construct of three interdependent aspects: the existing physical form, the elements of this form as they are perceived by the user, and the image that is created by the user based on his/her perception.[14] Trieb provides a detailed repertoire of design characteristics such as facade treatments, which define and differentiate space and thus influence its perception. He concludes that these aspects inform the identity of urban space and affect the activities that might occur in these spaces. He thereby adds a psychological layer to the topic of public space design. His studies indicate that analyzing the articulation and appropriation of public space has to

13   See Lynch, Kevyn. *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960).

14   Trieb defines the three elements as *Stadtgestalt*, *Stadterscheinung*, and *Stadtbild*. See Trieb, Michael. *Stadtgestaltung: Theorie und Praxis*, 2nd ed. (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1977) 70-73.

take aspects of perception and identity into account.[15] The built environment, in particular the placement and design of architectural objects, is responsible for whether a public space is recognized as low-key or sophisticated, as belonging to the neighborhood, the city, or the region. Consequently, on the grounds of the image that is generated by the space and its surroundings— or how it is decoded by the user—the people who might appropriate it are pre-selected.

Significance

In contrast to the issue of identity, a more straightforward example of symbolic representation is the infrastructural layer of monuments or sculptures in public space. Depending on their background and appearance, they may carry historical or political significance. Appealing to the collective memory of society, these elements help ground a public space in its local context. In fact, they may attract uses that specifically refer to the historical or political overlay with approval or disagreement, e.g. public protests. On the other hand, they may also prevent kinds of appropriation that seem to compromise their significance. Likewise, potential users who cannot relate to their symbolism might refrain from appropriating the space.

Iconography

Finally, the list of symbolic criteria is completed by iconographic elements. These may include architectural landmarks as much as the well-defined landscaping of public areas, which renders them a point of interest or a touristic sight. As discussed in the previous chapter, the implementation of strong visual elements in combination with a clear marketing rhetoric is a typical strategy of urban regeneration in an effort to claim uniqueness and gain a competitive edge. However, due to their specific design, iconographic elements are very distinct in the selection of their target group. Similar to the issue of historical and political significance, the appropriation of public space by users who do not feel addressed by its iconography is less likely.

On the grounds of the properties of public space already discussed, the list of functional, visual, atmospheric, and symbolic aspects relevant for the case study analysis can be summarized as *hard* and *soft* criteria.
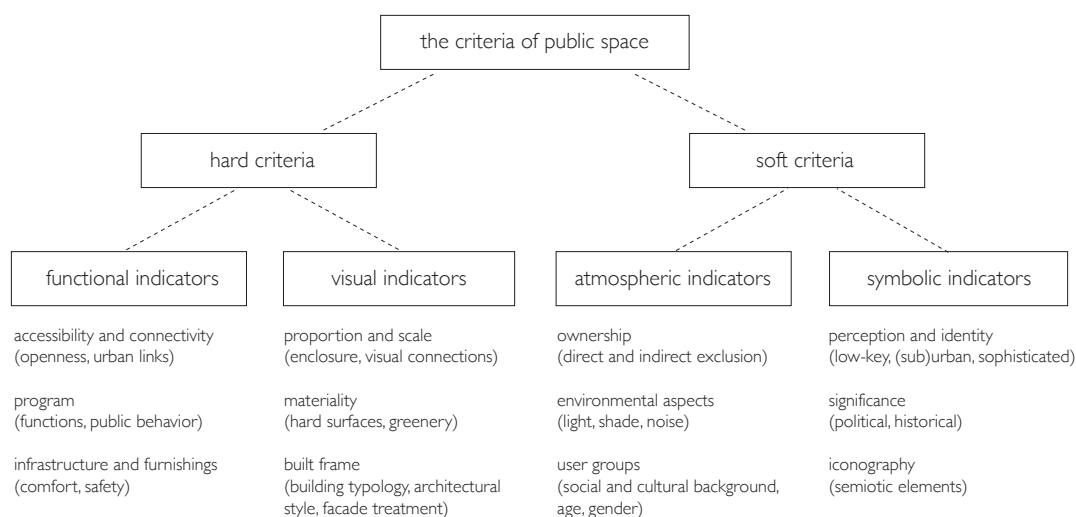

Fig. 60   The analysis criteria of public space.

15   For example, addressing a limited number and range of people might provide for a local character whereas many different users result in a more urban identity.

2.1.2   Urban Zero Points

> The contemporary built environment offers a dwindling supply of meaningful public space and that which exists is increasingly controlled by various forms of surveillance and increasingly invested with private meanings.
>
> Ellin 1996[16]

In this statement, Nan Ellin expresses postmodernism's radical alteration of public space. Traditional public typologies like squares are fenced off, closed at night, and monitored by CCTV or security services. Their key characteristic of being a space for politics has been compromised. Meaningful public areas—places of spontaneous encounter, varied uses and behaviors—have been diminished and the remaining spaces are increasingly compartmentalized and privatized "[i]n the name of comfort, safety, and profit."[17] Privatization—through regulation, commodification, and a decreasing interest in the public sphere—has had drastic effects on the social and political relevance of public space. Today, social encounters as well as political activities, seem to be easily diverted to cyberspace, and thus the private home. Likewise, shopping, education, and entertainment are functions with a distinct public connotation, which no longer rely on spatial publicness. The boundaries between private and public are blurred and the meaning of public space stands contested. Publicness seems to be reduced to a controllable unit where clear lines of inclusion and exclusion can be drawn. Therefore, the Ghent Urban Studies Team notes that due to extensive mediatization and technologization "[t]he material urban spaces of streets, squares, shops, cafes, salons, and clubs are no longer the primary loci of public debate."[18] In their view, the sanitized areas of surveillance and advertising no longer offer themselves for debate and conflict.

Don Mitchell, on the other hand, reaffirms the value of material public space based on the experiences of political disruptions such as the regime change in Eastern Europe. He states that even today, under the growing influence of information and communication technology, a revolution can only be noted if it eventually manifests itself physically, e.g., through the occupation of and control over material space. Mitchell offers another example to prove his argument that public space continues to be politically relevant. He notes that public space—and the public sphere in general—is a highly contested ideological construction. It evokes an idea of inclusiveness that rarely materializes in urban reality and for that very reason becomes the point of dispute. Here, Mitchell employs the figure of the homeless but his statement can also be related to otherwise marginalized groups. He asserts that the right to publicness is linked to economic capital in the form of private property. The homeless are forced to be public due to a lack of private realm, and are simultaneously excluded from the public for the very same reason. "Although homeless people are nearly always in public, they are rarely counted as part of *the* public"[19] and it is only in public space that they can "represent themselves as a legitimate part of 'the public.'"[20] If this physical platform of the excluded no longer functions as such, the very basis of political interaction becomes obsolete.

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16   Ellin. *Postmodern Urbanism*, 149.

17   Mitchell. "The end of public space?," 119.

18   The Ghent Urban Studies Team. *The Urban Condition*, 89.

19   Mitchell. "The end of public space?," 121.

20   Ibid., 115.

The contradictory positions outlined above indicate that the notion of public space is rather vague and its interpretations are multifaceted. Employing the same terminology seems critical. A more precise definition is needed if the social and political relevance of public space is to be assessed. The definition should frame the public sphere as a *space of appearance*,[21] a space that allows political subjects to emerge. In other words, public space is to be understood as a specific place of *re-subjectification* that counteracts the mechanisms of urban regeneration. The objectives and methods of the apparatus, which have been identified in the previous chapter as manipulating their surroundings—in particular the individuals or groups that they try to address—shall be questioned by this new definition. It must describe a location in the city where diversity and plurality are fostered and where the ideal of a universal consensus—demanded and constructed by the apparatus—does not apply.

Any effort to assess the potential of re-subjectification and political meaning in relation to public space has to address the issue of appropriation. In other words, it must take its features as *lived space* in a Lefebvrian sense into account.[22] In the discipline of urban planning, Lefebvre's triad of *perceived*, *conceived*, and *lived* indicates that even though almost every space originates as an abstract representation in the work of professional planners (conceived) and can be experienced with regard to its physical properties (perceived), it is rather its subsequent appropriation by different users (lived) that determines whether a space is private, public, urban, exclusive, and so on.[23] Provided that patterns of use define whether a space can be referred to as public or not, the assumption can be made that the level of publicness depends on the frequency and type of use. A space which offers the largest possible variety in terms of how it is interpreted and appropriated and thus accommodates the largest possible variety of urban actors, can be described as public.

In this light, the notion of indeterminacy suggests a wide range of (if not all) possible ways of appropriation. Thus, indeterminacy—defined as *urban zero points*—is to replace the imprecise category of public space. Zero points are vacant, functionally not predefined places in the city. They might occur by accident, through unplanned dynamics in the city, or they might be implemented deliberately. The potential of these vacancies lies in the presentation of a lack of definition that not only enables but demands initiative. To elucidate in more detail, the following will delineate the term zero point from the terms *open space* and *public space*. Open space as a designation for non-sheltered or outdoor space does not carry any socio-political meaning in or of itself. It may refer to recreational needs in the form of parkland, bike paths, or playgrounds. By defining a distance between buildings, it may also improve the environmental aspects of urban space such as air quality and sufficient daylight. Obviously, these characteristics also positively affect property values. However, neither the terminology nor the aspects associated with it imply any socio-political significance. Meanwhile, public space unites both aspects, the architectural-spatial and the socio-political. It describes an accessible and diversely used space. Yet, the term has been

21   See Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

22   Lefebvre's three categories of bodily experiences—the perceived (as it is sensuously experienced), the conceived (as it is imagined), and the lived (as it is appropriated by its users)—translate to three understandings of space—representational space, representations of space, and spatial practice. See Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 33-40.

23   However, as Nuria Benach points out with reference to Barcelona, investigations of both the perceived and the conceived are common aspects of urban studies yet descriptions of space with regard to its lived characteristics usually fall behind. See Benach, Nuria. "Public spaces in Barcelona 1980-2000" in: *Transforming Barcelona*, edited by Tim Marshall (London/New York: Routledge, 2004) 151-160.

used all too frequently in debates about the city. Public space has been declared lost, dead, and reborn. Many scholars of various disciplines—ranging from sociology to political theory, from geography to urban planning—investigate what appears to be responsible for the disappearance of meaningful public space. The promotion of alternative typologies (pseudo-public, semi-public, interiorized public) has caused the term to be overly generic and irrelevant. Its applicability and significance must be questioned.

Instead, the notion of **zero points** extends beyond the aforementioned definitions. It provides for a more precise explanation of the space in question. It is a decontextualized site of spatialization. A point that is both neutral and offering something new. As the unbuilt in a built environment, it possesses a physical presence. It offers a sense of openness that evolves into publicness once appropriated by the actors involved. Its undefined character facilitates shifts in the urban structure, thus making the system flexible, adaptable, and porous in a positive sense. Following the trajectory of adaptability, zero points need to provide an accessible and permeable space that encourages the emergence of political subjects—empowered individuals who engage in community-building and start reshaping their environment both physically and non-physically. Thus, once appropriated by the many individuals and groups that occupy a particular part of the city, the programmatic indeterminacy contained in physical emptiness turns into a multilayered space—the vacancy turns into valency.

Moreover, the term **zero points** indicates that rather than dealing with an abstract space, the analysis concerns itself with concrete situations and conditions—thus places—in the city. The physical reality and concreteness of zero points is manifest in their materiality. This perceptible reality discloses new ways of appropriation and interaction thereby generating an enriched *lived space*. In summary, the notion of zero points unites architectural-spatial and socio-political parameters in specific, confined settings. The perceptible presence of indeterminacy—whether implemented in the urban fabric or emerging as a consequence of other modifications in the city—is understood as a prerequisite for the formation of new social practices and the emergence of political subjects.

Yet, if these points are concrete places, how are they generated? Where do they originate? Based on Eva Reblin's study on gaps in the urban environment,[24] a first typological differentiation of zero points shall be attempted. Reblin notes that the recognition of a gap—the concretization of an absence—depends on the simultaneous presence of a frame of reference. Or in other words, the system of relationships must be decoded before the missing link can be detected. This frame of reference is, of course, the city itself as both artifact and imagined construct. Reblin identifies four categories of urban voids that in one way or another disrupt the established order of the city: architectural-spatial voids, programmatic voids, historical voids, and irrelevant spaces.[25] However, her analysis only focuses on the characteristics of the first three typologies as she aims to delineate what might cause these spaces to be perceived as concrete places, whose interpretation informs innovative ways to re-appropriate and re-organize them. Reblin suggests that the particular

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24   See Reblin, Eva. "Lücken im Konkreten – die Leerstellen der Stadt" (Concrete Gaps? Voids in the City) in: *Wolkenkuckucksheim* 14:1 Das Konkrete und die Architektur (October 2009) Retrieved from: http://www.cloud-cuckoo.net/journal1996-2013/inhalt/de/heft/ausgaben/109/Reblin/reblin.php (accessed November 29, 2014).

25   Reblin differentiates between: architectural-spatial voids (result of the demolition of buildings or war destruction), programmatic voids (result of reorganized urban functions), historical voids (a place that contained an important building or function in the past), and spaces that are no longer important or cause aversion.

identity of each void—lacking a physical structure, function, or formerly present object of great importance—represents a fissure in the continuity of the urban system and questions established patterns of perception. These fissures can be either considered dysfunctional or understood as spaces of possibility, depending on the assessment of the frame of reference.

Reblin argues that urban voids carry a semiotic element; they are transparent signs. In an abstract manner, they refer to the past, the future, or to a cause-and-effect relationship. At the same time, they form tangible environments if one considers their material properties. Thus, gaps are rather ambivalently located between abstraction and concretization. They are both material spaces and immaterial imaginations. "Oscillating between […] presence and absence, materiality and immateriality, concrete and abstract urban voids may break up fixed patterns of perception and provoke a different view of the city."[26]

Though Reblin's typological differentiation of urban voids substantiates the theory of zero points, the review of her findings also raises two concerns. First, reprogramming and rebuilding are typical procedures in the city—urban voids constitute no exception. The opportunistic use of vacant space, assigning new functions, and inserting new physical objects, is the very basis of urban planning. However, in this long tradition, reconfiguring places of outstanding meaning is typically quite difficult and rarely occurs without opposition. Therefore, it can be argued that the appropriation of places of historical or political significance is less likely, yet Reblin does not differentiate the typologies in this respect. A more precise definition of zero points assisted by reference projects will have to further evaluate this aspect. Second, Reblin's article is based on the identification of gaps in a specific streetscape in Berlin. It examines urban voids only in an *as found* context, i.e., they have emerged and are discussed as the result of changes in the urban dimension (economic, physical, etc.). In addition to these unplanned gaps, it seems relevant to assess whether urban zero points can also be deliberately implemented in the city with a quality in the way they are perceived and interpreted that is similar to that of the *as found* voids described by Reblin. Consequently, Reblin's study raises the question whether indeterminacy can be designed and constructed.

Investigating the spatial qualities and political potential of indeterminacy is not to be understood as a mere theoretical endeavor. It also aims to provide insight for future efforts in urban planning, in particular when it becomes obvious that the lack of public space use and the lack of attention paid to public space planning (also in terms of funding) are in fact two interwoven issues.

> […] if people use public space less, then there is less incentive to provide new spaces and to maintain existing spaces. With a decline in their maintenance and quality, public spaces are likely to be used less, thereby exacerbating the spiral of decline.
>
> Carmona et al. 2010[27]

Thus, the problem of deteriorating public space and public life is self-made and demonstrates how little importance seems to be attached to the notion of public nowadays. Don Mitchell asks whether we could be content in a world of completely privatized units (interactions, communications, politics) "that reserve[s] public spaces, solely for commodified recreation and

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26 Reblin. "Lücken im Konkreten," abstract.

27 Carmona et al. *Public Places - Urban Spaces*, 141.

spectacle.''[28] Besides understanding public space as a representation of space associated to some form of authority, Mitchell's writings reveal the powerful expression of politics that is necessary in order to disrupt this authority. He reaffirms the demand for and significance of public space.

> The creation and maintenance of public space thus entails risks to democracy itself, which makes public space an inherently dangerous thing. […] Fearful of disorder and violence in public space, some developers, planners, and city officials advocate taming space by circumscribing it.
>
> Mitchell 1995[29]

The case study analysis, assisted by the criteria of public space that have been laid out above, will thus search for the untamed in public space design and use: *What are the architectural-spatial parameters of indeterminate public space in the case studies of urban regeneration?*

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28   Mitchell. "The end of public space?," 121.
29   Ibid., 124.

2.2   Case Studies: the Architectural-spatial Parameters of Public Space

This section provides an analysis of the architectural and spatial parameters of the case studies' key public spaces, employing the criteria compiled above. The European nature of the three case studies relates to the debate on the European city and the issue of urban regeneration in its historical city center. However, it also signifies the return to the birthplace of public space. While the Ancient Greek agora is the historical precedent, it is modern industrialization, which was responsible for staging the space in-between buildings as significant for communal life in the form of joint socio-cultural activities, signs of collective memory, or political rallies of workers' unions. Public space as a space where society represents itself in all its facets is a modern European invention. As such, the case studies highlight public space as a resource as much as a reference to the very roots of collective urban life. The analysis examines to what extent the spaces discussed in context with urban regeneration correspond to the hypothesis of **zero points** as indeterminate emptiness in the city.

2.2.1   Barcelona: Plaça dels Àngels and Rambla del Raval

Following the overview of the different phases of planning and implementation in chapter one, the specific architectural and spatial properties of Raval's public space shall now be described. The two major open space interventions within the scope of the PERI scheme for Raval—Plaça dels Àngels and Rambla del Raval—as well as the many smaller **plazas duras** are characterized by a similar design concept: simple hard surfaces of a variety of stone or concrete building materials and few furnishings. Oriol Bohigas, head of Urban Planning during the initial phase of restructuring in the early 1980s, identified two objectives with regard to public space design: identity (the consistency with the form, function, and image of the surroundings) and legibility (reuse of the semantics and syntax that citizens are used to). His aim was to enhance acceptance and use by providing spaces that would be easy to read and to succeed in addressing their users.[30] Despite the reduced articulation, the public areas of the neighborhood differ in terms of their atmosphere and the ways they are appropriated by the users. The focus on the two largest squares will exemplify the similarities and differences in design and identity. These two examples are representative for the two ways planning was approached in Raval during the restructuring of the neighborhood. Depending on the condition of the built structure and the envisaged function, the existing buildings were either refurbished or demolished.

> These two areas are very different in nature, and take the form of two distinct ways of taking action in Ciutat Vella: the first is based on the renovation and recovery of existing buildings in order to provide the sector with amenities, and the second takes the form of demolition to achieve sanitary conditions by creating large spaces.
>
> Busquets 2003[31]

As stated above, the new rambla measures about 317x58m. After the removal of 62 buildings, it thus forms a regular elongated rectangle with two roundabouts at either end connecting to the narrow side streets of Carrer de l'Hospital and Carrer de Sant Pau. In contrast, the irregular shape of Plaça dels Àngels takes up the space between FAD and MACBA, and stretches from Carrer de

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30   Bohigas has frequently been criticized for representing a conservative position in this respect. However, he emphasizes that his approach is not to be understood as a mere reproduction of traditional forms of public space but rather as an attempt to identify and re-evaluate the very characteristics of street and square as they form part of the immanent language of the city, from which there is no escape. See Bohigas, Oriol. "Ten Points for an urban methodology" in: *Transforming Barcelona* edited by Tim Marshall (London/New York: Routledge, 2004) 91-96.

31   Busquets. *La ciutat vella de Barcelona: un passat amb future*, 134.

Montalegre to Carrer de Ferlandina. The difference in proportion and scale is best exemplified by the different names: rambla designates a wide street while plaça translates to square.[32]

The two spaces are comparable in terms of their openness and linkages to the urban network. They are both centrally located within the quarter, one in the northern part and one stretching into the south. They connect to well-frequented surrounding streets and, in return, become important points of traversing. The main route of pedestrian movement on Rambla del Raval is in longitudinal direction whereas diagonal crossing from Carrer dels Àngels to Carrer de Joaquín Costa dominates the movement in front of the MACBA. Due to Raval's location in the city center, the two squares are in close proximity to various points of interest and within walking distance of different means of public transport, e.g., several metro stations, which increases their degree of utilization. One-way streets border both squares, limiting the amount of vehicular traffic in their vicinity and positively affecting their recreational appeal. They serve as meeting places and spaces of interaction. They are not divided up or fenced off and thus accessible day and night for all manner of uses. The only exemption is the area behind MACBA, which can be closed off with a large white steel gate that is installed in continuation of the museum's façade. While the rambla forms one continuous open space, the irregular outline and slight level change of Plaça dels Àngels result in a multiplicity of differently sized spaces and niches of varying publicness, partially including some level of privacy.

The two examples show profound differences with regard to their visual and atmospheric aspects. Their built frame, materiality, and user groups influence the perception and identity of the space. The rambla shows a rather homogenous physical frame of late nineteenth to early twentieth century architecture with apartments on the top levels and retail or hospitality use on the ground floor. The facades and the square refer to each other through an ample amount of window openings of large sizes and within a continuous rhythm of open and closed surfaces. The plastered finish of the facades shows soft color variations of beige to brown and forms a homogeneous backdrop for the central open space (Fig. 69). However, a disruption in this regular pattern is the *Barceló Raval* hotel and its adjacent square (Fig. 72). The building sits on a large plot, which forms a subordinate square immediately to the east of the rambla. The 11-storey high structure with an elliptic floor plan marks one corner of the square. It surpasses its surroundings by about 20 meters and its large glazing panes are hidden behind a stainless steel mesh, which covers the entire building. The building expresses indifference toward its context through geometry, height, and materiality. Despite these contradictions, its slender proportion and its position behind the green buffer of trees and shrubs limit the impact it has on the rambla itself. In fact, the vegetation visually accentuates the axis instead. Also, the hotel's prestigious 4-star rating and the clientele it is supposed to attract have not resulted in the feared gentrification effects. The hotel was followed by another large insertion in the area: the *Filmoteca de Catalunya*. However, as the massive volume of fair-faced concrete is set back from the rambla by one block at Plaça de Salvador Seguí, it does not impact the central axis either.

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32 The word *rambla* originates from the Arabic word *raml* (= sand) and describes a dry river bed leading toward the sea. It is flooded occasionally and otherwise used as a street. In urban agglomerations, ramblas signify wide boulevards with sealed surfaces for predominantly pedestrian traffic. In fact, ramblas constitute a typology of public space common to Barcelona; they can be found in different parts of the city.

At Plaça dels Àngels, on the other hand, the MACBA building is a significant statement against its context. It reveals Richard Meier's preferences for distinctly modern compositions. The building is more prominent in size and material than the Barceló Raval. Its large volume dominates its historical neighboring buildings as much as it dominates the square itself. MACBA's white cladding and the large glazing with its supporting steel structure contrast with the irregular natural stone surface of the FAD directly opposite (Fig. 64, 65). The MACBA imposes its presence upon its surroundings—a dichotomy Meier aimed for by placing his immaculately modern insertion into the historical context. Its materials and colors are prone to reflection in the glaring sunlight, further accentuated by its southern orientation and the dark granite paving in front (Fig. 62, 67). In fact, it is the pavement and gentle slope of the square, which seem to lift the museum on a pedestal and further underline its uniqueness. The project embraces Barcelona's rich cultural heritage and its attention to contemporary design. It stages art and architecture and thus creates an artificial place beyond the ordinary—an urban spectacle. It "is the closest thing in Barcelona to the Guggenheim phenomenon in Bilbao"[33] and has proven remarkably successful as a point of attraction despite, or rather because of, its out-of-placeness, strong visual impact, and the choice of a renowned architect. The recapitalization of derelict urban land through the narrative of culture is expressed by both the museum and the square targeting young, educated people and international visitors.

The smooth granite paving of Plaça dels Àngels underlines the sophisticated function of the cultural cluster whereas the rough asphalt surface of the rambla evokes a low-key, relaxed atmosphere. While the design for Plaça dels Àngels does not contain any greenery, the rambla is equipped with sturdy shrubs and 230 deciduous trees and palm trees resistant enough to survive the hot summers. Despite the rather lush planting, it does not evoke the association of a park. The rambla is still distinctly urban in character. Its rough concrete paving, generous width, and café-lined sidewalks resemble tree-lined boulevards more than recreational parkland (Fig. 73). The ample shading provided by the greenery makes for a comfortable outdoor environment even on hot summer days whereas the relentless exposure and dark floor surface of Plaça dels Àngels can render the space unbearable. Similar to their materiality, the squares are also understated in terms of street furniture like seating, lighting, rubbish bins, etc. On the rambla, simple chairs, fixed to the ground, invite passers-by to sit down and rest. Though Plaça dels Àngels does not provide specific street furniture, the ramp in front of the building is used in the same way. Many people stop here to spend some time and observe the life on the square, or engage with others.

Both spaces are void of any public memorabilia like monuments or other elements of historical or political significance. The only symbolic element on the rambla is **el gato** located at its southern end, a giant statue of a cat that has become a new point of reference in Raval. However, the squares' potential to trigger associations with the neighborhood or local citizens does not rely on any symbolic elements and signs of nostalgia. It rather emerges on the grounds of spatial practice itself. The identity of each space is affected by its use even though the activities differ between the two squares. The shaded seating areas on the rambla invite people to sit down and chat before going about their daily business. Numerous groups of varied cultural background and age that reside in the immediate proximity of the square appropriate the space for gatherings. On a working day, predominantly older, non-European men but also a few teenagers and punks occupy the space. These gatherings occur on a daily basis, which gives the rambla a distinctly local

33   Balibrea. "Urbanism, culture and the post-industrial city: challenging the 'Barcelona Model'," 217.

character. Nevertheless, the square also attracts a large number of outsiders due to its weekly arts and crafts market and regular cultural festivals. In contrast, Plaça dels Àngels' location in the middle of the cultural cluster and amidst an already socially diversified neighborhood confer sophistication and significance to the square that extend well beyond the local context. It attracts cultural tourists, educated locals and foreigners, but also a large group of young skateboarders. The smooth paving, sharp edges, and gentle slopes provide the ideal setting for them to practice their tricks. They occupy the square in large numbers and come from different ethnic backgrounds. Other age groups from Raval's large immigrant population, however, can rarely be seen.

In both cases, commercialized space is organized along the periphery of the public realm, which leaves the center free for all kinds of activities. In front of MACBA, the nearest cafés are located toward Carrer de Joaquín Costa whereas on Rambla del Raval, the restaurant terraces spill onto the circumference of the square. The vegetation provides an effective barrier between the café zone facing the street and the large central space freed of any activity that prompts specific uses. Rambla del Raval has been the location of informal meetings, neighborhood-organized festivals, and the weekend market. In recent years, the terraces on the Rambla became the issue of heated discussions. Today, around 20 cafés, restaurants, and bars claim part of the square for their outdoor seating areas. Following resident protests against the noise at night, the opening times of the terraces has been limited to 2am. Moreover, an agreement between restaurant owners and city authority has been negotiated, which regulates the zone of commercial use, limited to the sidewalk and the area between the street and the row of trees, in exchange for maintenance efforts by the users. It ensures the central space will be kept free for activities and events.

Overall, the reduced articulation in terms of materiality and furniture makes both squares easy and inexpensive to maintain. They relate to the concept of zero points in their simple aesthetic as much as their generous, unimpeded spatial proportions. They are a vital resource for light and air in the neighborhood. Nonetheless, Plaça dels Àngels suggests a one-sided use: It seems to indirectly exclude the elderly local residents and large parts of the immigrant population. Its somewhat more sophisticated atmosphere—a sense of high culture—determines its user groups and as such is only of limited value when it comes to sentiments of belonging and being recognized. Here, the dominant visual statement of the cultural institution hinders particular groups from claiming visibility in public space. They either retreat to the niches and back areas of the square (like the one between MACBA and CCCB) or they retreat to other areas of Raval altogether, which provide for a more protected or a more local setting. The rambla, on the other hand, functions as a collector space, where many streets intersect and many social and cultural groups meet or rather coexist. It shows an organization of its functions along the periphery of the boulevard. In this respect, administrative measures such as the land use plan have been employed to ensure that the central axis remains an unimpeded multipurpose space in the city and thus a valuable resource in a neighborhood which historically had been characterized by extreme density.

Plaça dels Àngels

Rambla del Raval

public space - open access
public space - restricted access
private courtyard

0   50   100   200   N

Fig. 61   Map of Raval differentiating
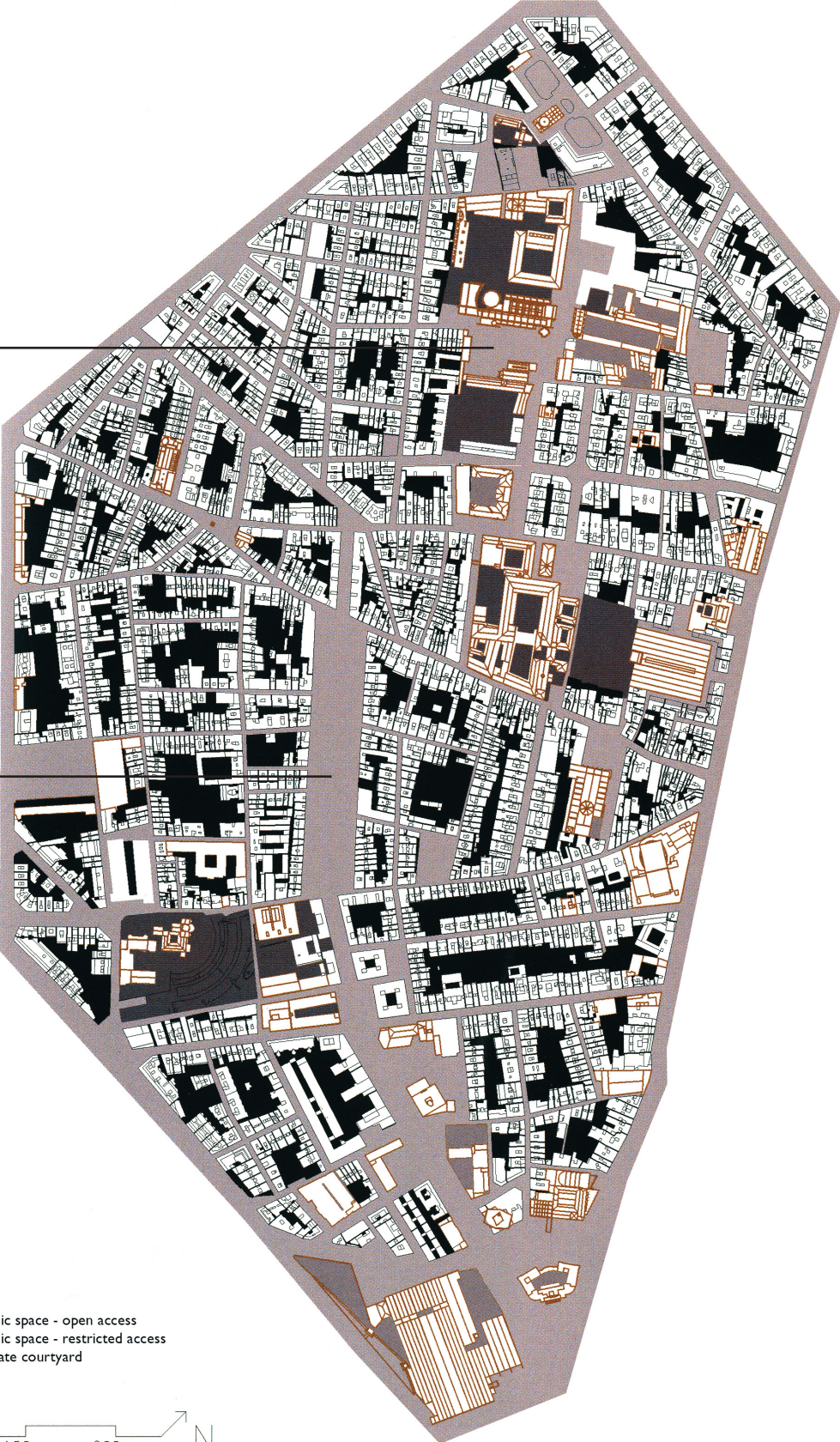between public and private areas.

Fig. 62   Aerial view of Raval with
MACBA and Plaça dels Àngels.

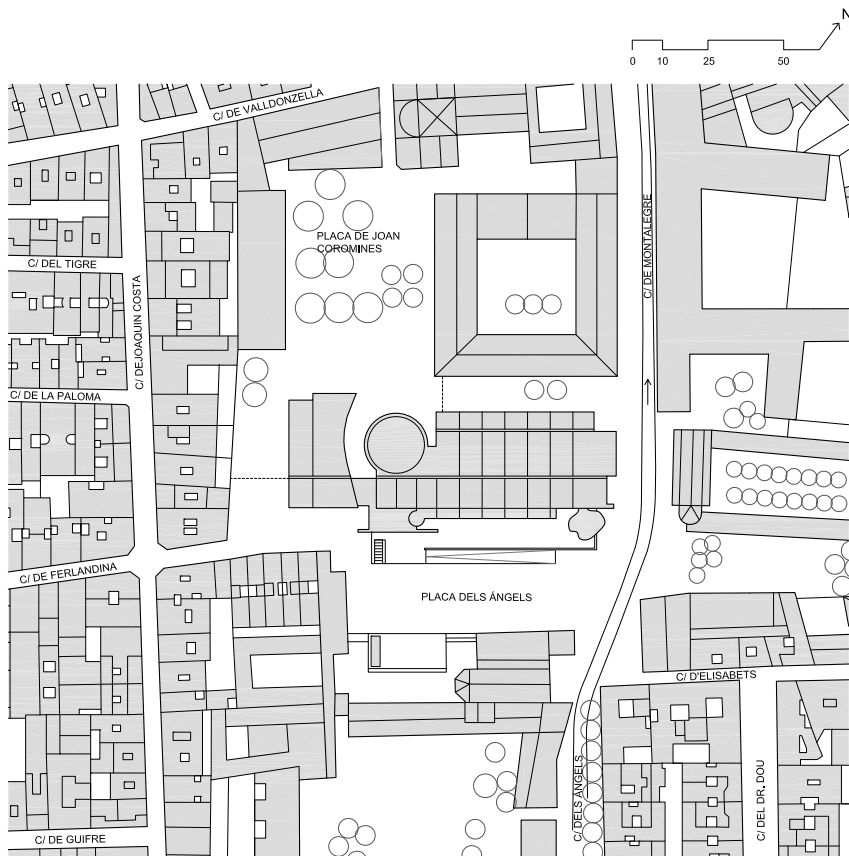Fig. 63   Aerial view of Raval with Rambla del Raval.

Fig. 64   FAD.

Fig. 65   Plaça dels Àngels.

Fig. 66   Plaça dels Àngels, site plan.

Fig. 67   MACBA.

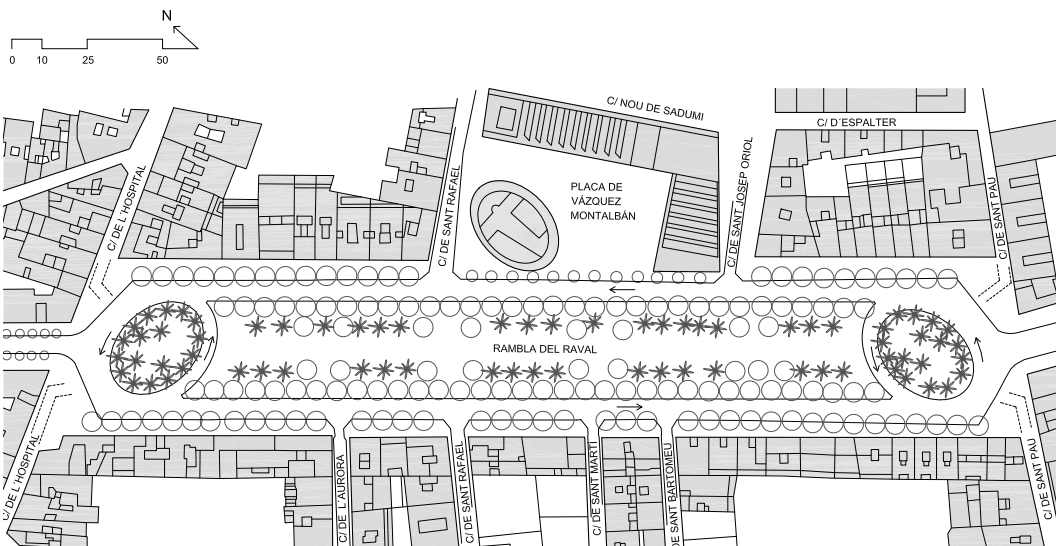Fig. 68   MACBA, view from Carrer de Ferlandina.

Fig. 69   Rambla del Raval, facades.

Fig. 70   Rambla del Raval, central square after construction.

Fig. 71   Rambla del Raval, site plan.

Fig. 72   Barceló Raval hotel.

Fig. 73   Rambla del Raval, 2013.

2.2.2 Budapest: Corvin Promenade and Mátyás Square

Similar to the analysis of public space in Raval, the following investigation of Józsefváros concentrates on the regeneration of two major squares. The comparison addresses the two distinctly different concepts of Corvin's developer-centric planning and Magdolna's participatory approach. Accordingly, Corvin Promenade and Mátyás Square are the subjects of discussion. While the former signifies a new boulevard-like open space with an extent of about 300x36m, constructed after the demolition of several blocks of varying quality, the latter demarcates the refurbishment of an existing nodal point in the district.

In Corvin Szigony, the reorganization of public space was based on two strategies: the widening of existing narrow side streets like Futó utca and Nagytemplom utca and the construction of Corvin Promenade as a new central open space. Notably, all streets as well as internal and external pedestrian areas have been refurbished or are currently undergoing refurbishment. Apart from new infrastructure such as street lights and storm water drainage, the refurbishment included the leveling of sidewalk and street, completed by new paving. Different types of bollards continue to separate the modes of traffic. The main pedestrian movement occurs in east-west direction along the new axis cinema-plaza-promenade rendering the mall a thoroughfare—at least during opening hours. The pedestrian traffic in longitudinal direction is crossed by one-way streets with vehicular traffic, which also provide access to the shopping mall parking garage. Overall, there is very little traffic within the quarter yet it must be stated that the enclosure of the shopping mall interrupts street connections that had previously been accessible. Although the promenade itself is not fenced, the mall acts as a barrier between the subway station at József körút and this area of the district. It interiorizes open space.

> They call it Corvin Promenade but if you visit it you can see that at the beginning of the promenade there is a shopping mall. You can access the promenade through a shopping mall—that is a crazy idea. [...] when you step out behind the mall, you find yourself in a nowhere land, which could be anywhere in the world. This is not Józsefváros, of course.
>
> Schneller 2013[34]

In comparison, Mátyás Square, represents a traditional crossing point in the Magdolna Quarter and its major open space. For many years, it had seen little interventions despite a partial regeneration in 2002. The square was still in a degenerated and largely empty state when the collaborative project started. Part of the design concept and refurbishment by local residents was its enclosure leaving only four access points facing each of the connecting side streets. Constructing a fence became important to the people in order to protect the new square from vandalism but also to ensure the safety of children on the playground from surrounding vehicular traffic including a local bus route. Nevertheless, the local population decided to leave about one third of the square unfenced and accessible all day long in order to still accommodate homeless people, people walking their dogs, etc. It is also here that—after much debate—a public toilet has been located.

In both cases—Corvin Promenade and Mátyás Square— the integration of pedestrian traffic with the surrounding network of streets is unsteady. It changes according to the time of day and is generally closed at night. Thus, a certain level of privatization of the public realm has been enacted.

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34 Schneller. Interview, page 270, section 4.

Apart from access regulations, they are also guarded by security personal. While the shopping plaza and its outdoor promenade are patrolled by the staff of a private company, at Mátyás Square a municipality paid security guard keeps watch from a little timber cabin.[35]

The architectural characteristics of Corvin's recently completed, modern block buildings can be summarized as follows: diverging from the original street layout, larger than previous parcel sizes, placed at a distance from each other to form a new outdoor space, and distinctly higher than adjacent buildings. In particular, the excessive height, which further increases toward the central promenade and reaches up to twice the height of the existing fabric, is responsible for creating a canyon-like setting that seems uninviting and is all too often overshadowed by its built frame (Fig. 74, 76). It aggravates the uncomforting feeling of enclosure and being watched.[36] The completed built frame is considerably higher than what had originally been approved by the local government.[37] It becomes obvious that the private investor managed to negotiate successfully vis-à-vis the public development agency Rév8 and had the project built according to his preferences.

In contrast to Corvin Promenade, the width of Mátyás Square in relation to the height of its built frame is much more generous. This results in a comfortable distance between private buildings and public space, further assisted by the buffer of (limited) vehicular traffic that encircles the square (Fig. 75). The more generous spatial situation results in a more casual and less controlled atmosphere; likewise, the negative impact of public noise on local residents is reduced. The largely homogenous physical frame of the square is predominantly turn-of-the-century architecture with four to six levels, partly refurbished. New housing such as the building on the eastern corner of the square toward Szerdahelyi street has been adapted to the existing heights.

Even though the Corvin retail center with its excellent transport links and central location attracts a large number of people, only few find their way to the outdoor promenade. In addition, the surrounding apartments, many of which are rented by new middle-class residents and foreign students of nearby Semmelweis University, are deserted during the day and do not contribute to space activation either. Even on a sunny day, the outdoor eateries along the promenade are poorly frequented while the mall's food court is brimming with people. Only a limited amount of time is spent in the space outside, usually related to the hospitality infrastructure, as there is little else on offer. Apart from the cafés, there is only a small fruit shop. The remaining shop fronts are full-size advertising covering the whole ground floor facade and thus do not encourage space activation. Retail is limited to the Corvin Atrium. This goes to show that the mall itself hinders use of the square. Paradoxically, with the Corvin project, the typologies of street and corridor have been inverted: the covered plaza resembles an activated street space with shopfronts while the outdoor promenade is little more than a passageway.

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35   According to Rév8 director György Alföldi, it was difficult yet crucial to get funding for a guard and protect the refurbished square from deterioration. See Alföldi, György. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (August 29, 2013) pages 277-281.

36   See Benkő; Szabó (eds.). *Urban renewal: essays on urban design,* 31.

37   According to István Schneller, the built density was raised from an approved 3,0 to a constructed ratio of 4,0 to 4,5. See Schneller. Interview, pages 269-272. Or refer to Locsmándi. "Large-Scale Restructuring Processes in the Urban Space of Budapest," 131-212. Here, Locsmándi notes that through sale and re-sale, the sites were eventually acquired by one developer, who managed to increase the density.

In contrast to Corvin's shopping plaza, the local point of attraction at Mátyás Square is the Kesztyűgyár Community Center, which was established in an old glove factory building that had become obsolete. The implementation of the center was part of the first phase of the program and has assisted the implementation of additional measures ever since, e.g., by providing meeting rooms. The resident-oriented refurbishing of the square and its correlation to the community center strengthened the importance of the location in the neighborhood. Mátyás Square has traditionally played an important role in the mental map of the local population with close relations to the residential surroundings.[38] The new community house emphasizes that meaning. Both elements—the square and the community center—assisted by other public institutions and civil organizations in their vicinity, complement each other in terms of space activation and inviting people to spend a considerable amount of time in the area. The project initiators and financers expect that "[t]hrough these actions a uniform local identity should arise."[39]

Corvin Promenade and Mátyás Square are radically different in their understanding of design as an element of public space regeneration. While the former was planned by the large London-based firm Townshend Landscape Architects (TLA), the latter is the result of community workshops. The promenade includes an array of sophisticated design features whereas Mátyás Square is much more pragmatic in its physical articulation. In 2006, TLA won the international competition for designing the promenade with a scheme that aims to affect the city on a large scale through its contemporary language.[40] The firm's proposal breaks up the linearity of the new boulevard through large triangular green spaces, which are elevated and gently sloped. They are covered with grass, shrubs and small-sized deciduous trees that have been arranged in rows. In front of the shopping mall entrance, a generous water feature consisting of individual fountains also displays the shape of a triangle. There are different kinds of paving, sometimes including lighting, that accentuate the walkways in between the triangles. The lush lawn on top of the landscaped areas seems well-kept, and is an odd reminder of nature within this distinctly urban setting. While seemingly offering itself to users, assisted by a sculptural seating element, its elevated position suggests that public use is not encouraged. Likewise, the ledge of these triangles, which might attract people to sit on or climb onto the grass, is often blocked by yet another row of street furniture. With regard to infrastructure, Corvin Promenade offers numerous 'comfort elements' like seating, rubbish bins, street lights, and disposal bins for cigarette butts as well as dog feces. The large quantity of these elements together with the raised buffer of vegetation and the diagonal arrangement of walkways and visual axes, make it almost impossible to grasp the extent of the square. In fact, the narrowing of paths and views opposes the creation of a wide promenade and further aggravates the canyon-like character of the space. Similarly, people watching, which public space should provide for, is discouraged by limited visibility. Paradoxically, the promenade can be easily monitored from the surrounding buildings but does not allow for visual orientation and interaction on the ground. Overall, the design seems manicured and evokes a somewhat artificial identity. Whether the appropriation of the overly detailed areas and lawns is actually encouraged or not remains unclear. Consequently, most people use the promenade as a thoroughfare to the

38 See description on GreenKeys Website. Retrieved from: http://www.greenkeys.org/en/pilot_projects/Budapest.html (accessed December 5, 2014).

39 See ibid.

40 "A space of civic proportions which will form a key intervention in the fabric of the City, which will have an influence wider than its physical environs, acting as a catalyst for renewal and regeneration." Website of Townshend Landscape Architects. Retrieved from: http://www.townshendla.com/news/corvin-promenade-1/ (accessed November 17, 2014).

mall or restrict themselves to the terraces of the surrounding cafés. As a result, the appropriation of the promenade seems orchestrated and planned: sitting down for snacks and drinks, and leaving as soon as one is finished. People do not spend additional time on the square; the central area with seating, bins, etc. lies deserted. Similar to Rambla del Raval, the café and restaurant terraces are neatly organized along the perimeter of the promenade. However, while the middle of the rambla remained an empty space for the people, in the case of Corvin, the buildings surrounding the promenade frame a space that is cluttered with artefacts but empty of people (Fig. 78-83).

As opposed to the promenade, Mátyás Square seems less pre-defined. During the design development phase, the local residents, assisted by professional planners and students of landscape architecture, listed their requirements and preferences for the square in terms of infrastructure, materiality, etc. and then joined forces to implement the changes.[41] There was a large interest and willingness to contribute to the renovation, as the square demarcates an important meeting point and an earlier attempt to become active there had shown little effect.[42] Participants included elderly people and students, social workers and public officials as well as teachers and pupils of the local secondary school who constructed 'sitting mounds' out of chicken wire, empty plastic bottles, and concrete. Likewise, the design included basic materials such as asphalt and rough stone paving as ground covers in correspondence to the preferences of the community. Today, the square offers a large central meeting ground where festivities are held. There are also smaller niches with tables and benches that provide space for more intimate gatherings, a playground, and a small grass-covered sitting hill. The ample vegetation of shrubs and deciduous trees offers protective shading and some level of privacy while the point of intersection of the diagonal paths is left open and undefined by any program. Moreover, the surrounding benches and raised viewing point on the hill create an arena-like setting and accentuate the empty middle. "The main goal was to create a public space that through its use by all social groups in the neighbourhood, would increase their integration to [*sic*] the area."[43] Accordingly, Mátyás Square is frequented by locals—elderly people, teenagers, and families with children—giving it a relaxed, low-key identity. The regeneration scheme has succeeded in underlining the square's relevance as a local meeting point. Slowly, the square in connection with the community center seems to also be attracting outsiders (Fig. 84-88).

While Corvin Promenade signifies the establishment of a convenient, aesthetically motivated retail zone, in the case of Mátyás Square, the empty, derelict yet relevant site posed a potential for the local population to actively and physically articulate the square's identity as a meeting place for different social and cultural groups. Its relevance as an open space is strengthened by the rehabilitation project. Through the involvement of residents, neighbourhood associations, and public institutions in the design and implementation process, an organizational framework has been established that supports the local community in considering the space as their property and enabling better utilization. In line with the GreenKeys objectives, the square is expected to form a network with other areas and other actors in the city, enhance the socio-cultural environment of the district, and transform the neighborhood into a healthier and more pleasing quarter.

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41 Planning occurred in 2006 and the implementation was completed in 2007.

42 Mátyás Square was partly refurbished in 2002 but was still in a dilapidated and somewhat undecided state. There was a lack of greenery and recreational facilities vis-à-vis a large number of homeless people and prostitutes.

43 Locsmándi. "Large-Scale Restructuring Processes in the Urban Space of Budapest," 210.

Indeed, with the regeneration of Teleki Square in 2013/14, a follow-up participatory project has been triggered. It has succeeded in further strengthening the newly established networks. Teleki is another large derelict public space and in close proximity to Mátyás Square. It showed very similar issues at the start of planning. Yet, as opposed to being embedded within a network of side streets, Teleki borders on two major connector roads (Népszínház utca and Fiumei út). It is well serviced by public transport and therefore passed by groups of people that, in comparison to Mátyás Square, are greater in numbers and diversity. Teleki represents a double reality: it is an entrance point into the Magdolna quarter and also an important point of linkage to surrounding districts. Thus, its renewal indicates that the idea of joint regeneration, which started in the local environment of the most affected places, is starting to move outwards.

Fig. 74   Corvin Promenade, rendering.

Fig. 75   Mátyás Square after its transformation, aerial view.

Fig. 76   Height comparison—
Corvin and adjacent buildings.

Fig. 77   Corvin Plaza entrance and
disconnected side streets.

Fig. 78   Corvin Szigony, site plan.

Fig. 79   Water feature at the beginning of Corvin Promenade directing pedestrians.

Fig. 80   View toward the entrance of the shopping mall.

Fig. 81   Walkway and café terraces.

Fig. 82   The central seating area.
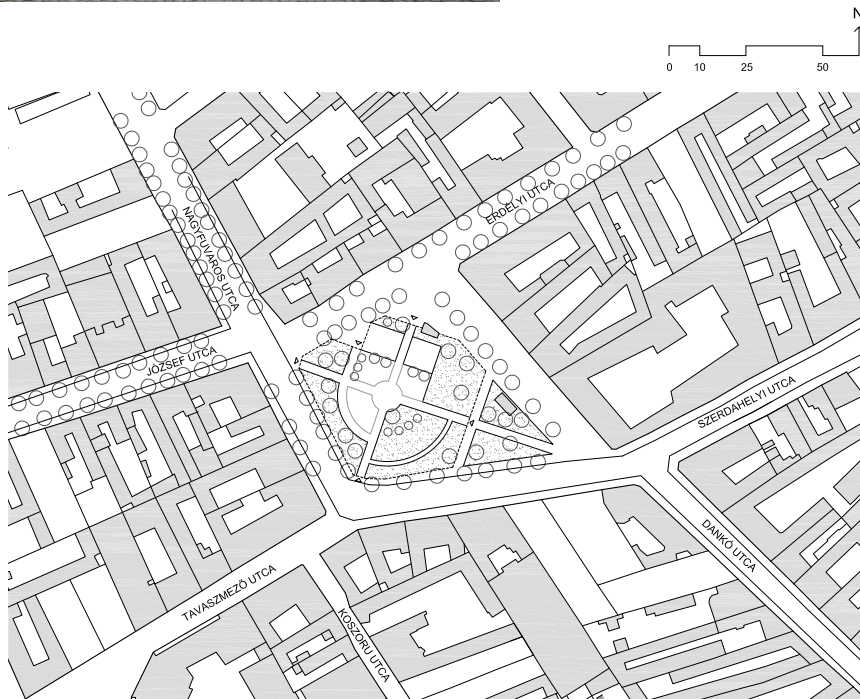
Fig. 83   Raised planting beds with sculptural element.

Fig. 84   Mátyás Square.

Fig. 85   Mátyás Square, central space. Playground and community center (white building) in the background.

Fig. 86   Mátyás Square, site plan.

Fig. 87   Mátyás Square, central space.

Fig. 88   Path and fence.

2.2.3 Berlin: Holzmarkt

The last example in this analysis is the Holzmarkt site. As opposed to the previous case studies, here open and accessible space is envisaged to cover the whole site rather than forming a distinct square. It also differs from the other examples in that it refers to a specific site allocated to one owner rather than to a neighborhood with a wide range of owners. Notably, Holzmarkt—theoretically a private site—shows a great level of commitment to publicness and public space.

The Holzmarkt is located east of the city center in close proximity to Alexanderplatz. It is well-serviced by public transport with nearby subway, bus and train stations offering good connections on the city and regional level. The site is framed by the Spree River, Michaelbrücke, and Holzmarktstrasse—all of which are frequented by traffic. On one side of the area, boats—especially sightseeing cruisers—pass by regularly while on the other side, it is bordered by the four-lane Holzmarkt street, a major road to the southeastern suburbs. The site stretches along the north bank on a plot of land that was formerly used as a timber trading port. The identity of the area is rather ambivalent. It is a niche site in relation to the Mediaspree project, as it is situated at the most western end of the development area, thus nearest to the city center. At the same time, it forms a prominent point of intersection between the districts of Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg, clearly defined by its surrounding traffic routes. It is diagonally split in half by elevated train tracks, which are frequented by the Berlin S-Bahn as well as the regional and national trains of the German Railway Company. Thus the central location of the site comes with impacts of surrounding traffic such as noise and air pollution. Overall, the Holzmarkt provides a prominent south-facing location and an excellent opportunity for real estate development in the center of Berlin with a somewhat island-like character. It is visible from various angles (river, bridge, train tracks) and once construction is completed, it will be fully open to the public.

As discussed in chapter one, the two parts of the site differ from each other with regard to their size, program, and architectural articulation. For the purpose of this investigation, the focus is placed on the larger Holzmarkt site facing the water as it was here that the project originated in the Bar25. Moreover, it best represents the aesthetic and ideological understanding of the initiators and it is also slated to be constructed first. While the site of the future Eckwerk behind the train tracks had traditionally been rented out to small business tenants of different industries, the Holzmarkt was an empty site on the waterfront, partially covered with large deciduous trees. It provided a somewhat protected yet prominent setting for the many activities the Bar25 had to offer. Besides, the surrounding scene of clubs and beach bars that had established itself during the 1990s on many other sites along the river facilitated the development of an alternative spot in the city. Following the termination of their temporary use agreement, it was thus the initiator's primary intention to eventually return to the site.

Considering public space, the new development at Holzmarkt takes the results of the public referendum one step further by providing not only a linear, publicly accessible riverfront—as demanded by Mediaspree protesters—but also by offering a meandering space integrated into the overall architectural scheme (Fig. 95). However, this understanding of public space is not self-evident. In fact, the level of publicness was a debated issue during the preliminary concept phase. It was a group of professionals who introduced public space as an important urban category to the scheme. The cooperative could not fully grasp the meaning of the term until planners started working on the design of the built volumes. Suddenly, it became obvious that a clear definition of

public space on the part of the cooperative was needed.

From early on, the initiators had insisted on the notion of village to describe their project and had developed rather precise ideas for its appearance. The architects were struggling to come to terms with village as a building category[44] and demanded an investigation of its relationship to the rest of the city. The initial concept to arrange a large number of individually stacked units, so called *huts*, soon proved to result in a rather introvert structure. Besides, the constant adjustments to the amount and variety of required programs, also in response to the growing interest in the project, demanded the inclusion of larger typologies. Therefore, a number of *halls* were added to the scheme in order to provide space for workshops, larger events, etc. (Fig. 92). The design challenge was to negotiate between the group's desire for a park-like setting and the simultaneous increase in built up space. The design team had to accommodate village, club, restaurant, park, and so on while also restricting the building height and accommodating the increasing interest of potential tenants. From this challenge, the attitude arose to fully commit to publicness, i.e., the creation of an open access area without any fenced-off spaces. This implies a reversal of perception: while initially setting out to construct a dichotomy of village and the rest of the city, the concept turned into a public area, on which the village is to be constructed.

Accordingly, public areas were the first to be constructed at the beginning of the implementation phase in 2013. Winning the tender process the year before, had empowered the group to concretize their construction plans. At this stage, the initiators expect the completion of both Holzmarkt and Eckwerk within the next ten years—an ambitious goal considering the scope of the project and the organizational framework of the group. In order to generate profit and secure further funding, the design of public space became a vital ingredient of the project right from the beginning. The Mörchenpark eV is responsible for public space regeneration and maintenance. It already counts several hundred motivated members that actively contribute to the physical change. The first interventions have been financed by the cooperative and implemented by Mörchenpark members and volunteers. So far, a number of timber benches, seating areas, deckchairs, and hammocks have been installed. The vegetation had been scarce at the beginning of construction and has been increased by trees, shrubs, and planters. There is a central meeting point covered by a large canvas sail as well as an outdoor bar servicing the area. The ground is covered with sand, tree bark, or patches of grass (Fig. 94). Likewise, urban farming is an important aspect of the site with vegetable patches and a greenhouse located at the rear of the site. Experimenting with organic local produce includes innovative farming technology such as aquaponics.[45] Arguably, the most invasive physical alteration of the site is the partial lowering of the riverbank at one point and raising it at another to form a small hill. Both measures allow for better views and experience of the riverfront. (Fig. 96).

This understanding and arrangement of shared public space was to be extended in the form of a riverbank path toward Schillingbrücke past the neighboring sites such as *Radialsystem V* culture

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44 "Wanting to do a village seemed rather strange to us […] What is a village and what does it consist of? […] Is it a village or rather a fortress?" Carpaneto, Sylvia. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (April 14, 2014) page 290, section 60-62: „Uns kam es einfach relativ befremdlich vor, ein Dorf machen zu wollen […] Was ist ein Dorf und worin besteht das Dorf? […] Ist es ein Dorf oder ist es eher eine Burg?" (translation by author).

45 Aquaponics is a method of farming, which combines aquaculture (e.g. fish farming) with hydroponics (growing plants in water) in one water circuit. Fish excrements provide nutrients for the plants while the plants clear the water for the fish.

center. However, at this stage, the responsibilities of public liability on this stretch have not been clarified and the accessibility of the riverfront is limited to the Holzmarkt itself.

The project is expected to act as an attractor to the area and re-define the rather industrial context. The new point of interest and activity combined with its quirky landscaping has already attracted tourists in addition to locals. The increased and more diverse activity on site will improve the linkage to its surroundings. As of 2014, in addition to utilizing the public space, a large range of cultural events are being offered to support this goal. During the period of construction, the site is only partially open to the public. Once club and restaurant have been completed, the construction of the hotel will commence and the public seating areas, planters, etc. will move to the completed part of the site. Right from the start, it was noted that open spaces—be they recreational or agricultural—will have to be a flexible element of the planning scheme. The design and detailing of public space is therefore not only rich in variation but also adaptable to new requirements.

Construction materials for outdoor spaces and buildings are generally cheap and selected with a focus on sustainability rather than design preferences. As such, timber is predominant, giving the area a warm character in visual as well as haptic terms. Moreover, timber refers to the origin and the name of the site as Holzmarkt translates to timber market. The preponderance of timber also claims uniqueness as it is rarely used as a construction material for buildings or ground surfaces in the city.[46] Apart from timber, the creative reuse of old building materials and parts—often identified as *upcycling*—is also common. Mixing these elements in opportunistic manner, results in a quirky, slightly chaotic appearance that consciously distances itself from the aesthetics and objectives of professional planning. "Of course, we are not interested in placing a straightforward, conformist building at this location, but […] to attract attention through the visual form"[47] (Fig. 90, 94).

The project combines aspects of the small-scale and the ordinary with playfulness and variations of both color and materiality. It attracts people interested in an ecologically more sustainable way of life. As Silvia Carpaneto points out, the majority of users are 'alternative urbanites' from Kreuzberg, many with children and many engaged in the project themselves. In fact, the identity of Holzmarkt resembles a local meeting point rather than an urban space. Of course, this might also be a result of the ongoing construction work, which still limits public access to the specified opening hours. Notably, due to the increased media coverage on the project over the last two years and due to its eventful history as a famous techno club, Berliners from other districts and foreign visitors have also started to visit the site, further encouraged by the opening of the club and the restaurant in the summer of 2014.

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46   As an example, the new timber structures are directly opposite prefabricated concrete housing estates from the Socialist era.

47   Klenzendorf, Christoph. *Ja! zum Holzmarkt* VideoClip. Received from: http://yesconsult.de/verein/yes-news/holzmarkt/ (accessed January 16, 2015): „Uns geht es natürlich nicht darum ein geradliniges und konformes Gebäude da hinzusetzen, sondern […] durch die […] optische Form auch aufzufallen."

Fig. 89   Holzmarkt, site plan.

Fig. 90   Holzmarkt, redesigned riverbank.

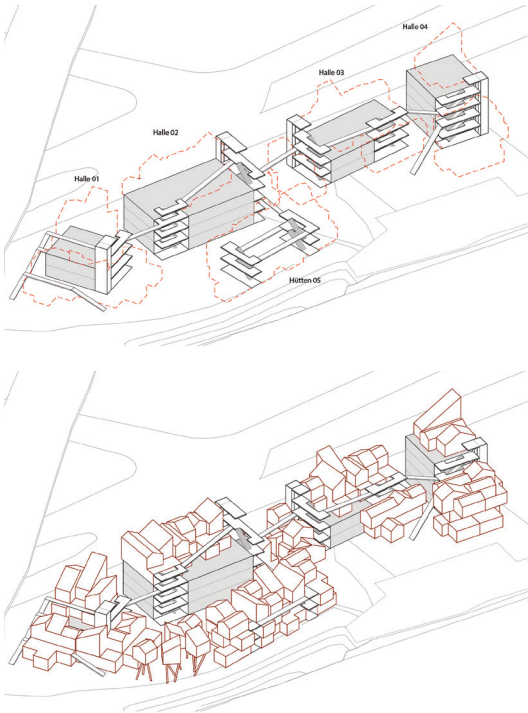Fig. 91   Holzmarkt, view toward the city center.

Fig. 92   Architectural design
scheme: halls and huts.

Fig. 93   Holzmarkt, before the
intervention.

Fig. 94   Central meeting place.

Fig. 95   Meandering public space
(public paths in red and blue).

Fig. 96   Redesigned riverbank.

Analyzing the architectural-spatial parameters of the selected public areas reveals a great amount of variety. The understanding of a particular space as indeterminate is not linked to its geometric form. While Rambla del Raval and Corvin Promenade both form elongated squares with a length of about 300m and are thus comparable in their categorization to wide pedestrian boulevards, they show striking differences with regard to their spatial articulation and thus their appropriation. The Rambla is conceived and used as an open multipurpose square whereas the numerous design features on the promenade result in a fragmented space which is limited in the way it can be utilized. Accordingly, the user groups and ways they appropriate the spaces differ greatly. The Rambla is frequented by a great diversity of people, both as a passageway and as a point of destination. It accommodates spontaneous gatherings as well as planned interactions like local events. In contrast, Corvin Promenade is mostly deserted. Activities are limited to the surrounding cafés and restaurants as well as its function as an access point to the mall. It does not contain any relevance as a meeting point within the neighborhood. Besides, it does not provide sufficient space for staging large gatherings as its center is cluttered with objects.

As opposed to the geometric shape, the specific built frame appears to have an impact on the categorization of zero points. This can be demonstrated by the example of Plaça dels Àngels, where an explicit modernity is inscribed into the square by its most dominant building. The appropriation is limited to specific user groups—mostly young, educated, and foreign. At Rambla del Raval and Mátyás Square, on the other hand, the surrounding buildings, including the newly constructed ones, blend in. They form a more consistent built frame or disappear behind a green buffer. A physical boundary is formed that accentuates the space and the activities within it rather than staging its own architectural identity. Understanding the built frame as a vessel of the public realm seems to apply to both examples and benefits the way they are utilized. This can also be argued in the case of Holzmarkt—well before the actual regeneration scheme began. The project indicates that the articulation of a built frame does not only refer to buildings but also applies to the clearly delineated, fixed boundaries of traffic routes or technical infrastructure. The examples of Rambla del Raval, Holzmarkt, and Mátyás Square exemplify that a certain level of distance—assisted by a buffer of trees or traffic infrastructure—positively affects the coexistence of private and public areas. The impact of the private domain on public space is kept to a minimum (e.g. through the restrictions of café terraces to the perimeter of the Rambla) while at the same time, the impact of public use (e.g. noise) is regulated. In fact, the case studies indicate that the notion of zero points includes an explicit distinction between private and public realms.

Overall, the case studies demonstrate that simple and functional finishes and fixtures in public spaces, which appeal to the needs and preferences of local residents as well as visitors, significantly enhance their acceptance. The absence of a multiplicity of design elements benefits the presence of a multiplicity of people. Here, Rambla del Raval shows the most reduced level of physical articulation vis-à-vis a great level of acceptance by the neighborhood. Corvin Promenade, on the other hand, is dominated by its physical elements and canyon-like character. It enacts indirect exclusion through a material environment that many people from the neighborhood cannot relate to. In other words, the space is privatized by its design.

Mátyás Square and Holzmarkt—though degenerated empty sites before their transformation—already represented important places for the community well before any interventions had been undertaken. Mátyás Square was traditionally the only space of its kind in the poor part

of Magdolna while Holzmarkt—on the grounds of its history as Bar25 and the abundance of temporary users in its vicinity—had gained a significant reputation as an alternative place. In both cases, the favorable setting, undefined character, and ambivalent identity of a leftover site in a prime location attracted different people willing to become active at these locations. Nevertheless, in particular Holzmarkt is now being increasingly transformed according to the programmatic and aesthetic preferences of a specific group. Whether varied uses and user groups are still possible or even wanted is questionable.

These observations allow a tentative categorization with regard to the hypothesis of zero points. Rambla del Raval and, to a certain extent, Mátyás Square and Holzmarkt before their regeneration best exemplify the architectural and spatial characteristics associated with the concept. However, as the hypothesis also includes socio-political consequences, the appropriation of these spaces following regeneration, or during the process of regeneration, have to be investigated. Before tending to an evaluation of the case studies in this respect, a brief scholarly historical review of indeterminacy in urban contexts will assist in specifying potential outcomes. Thus, the expectations toward indeterminate public space will become clear and can then be measured against the results of the case studies.

2.3   The Dimensions of Zero

The last section of this chapter focuses on exploring the dimensions of the concept of indeterminacy as they have been addressed by urban theorists and planners. The well-known investigation of nothingness in the context of the Berlin Wall by Rem Koolhaas will set the basis, followed by Raoul Bunschoten's theory of Liminal Bodies as spaces of transition and multiple relations, and finally leading to the conceptualization and design of Areas of Impunity by Spanish architects Ábalos & Herreros. With the help of these examples, it will be discussed how zero points could be articulated in urban design and what their impact on social and political practice might be.

2.3.1   The Discovery of Nothingness: Koolhaas Examines the Berlin Wall

Rem Koolhaas's essay "Field Trip," published in his main work *S, M, L, XL,* can be regarded as a starting point and a scholarly historical basis for the debate on indeterminacy in the contemporary city. In 1971, while studying at the Architectural Association in London, Koolhaas set off on a summer excursion to the divided city of Berlin. Even though his intention was to study the Wall as an architectural object rather than as a political statement, his findings are intriguing, bold, and in the end, inevitably politically charged.[48] The built structure cannot be separated from its political implications, albeit Koolhaas's focus lies on its physical properties. In his view, the study is a true revelation of architectural minimalism and the radicality of what he found in Berlin led him to proclaim that he "had come eye to eye with architecture's true nature."[49]

In his writings, he notes that the Wall—generally perceived as a two-dimensional, linear element—is in fact, a double-layered system framing a complex spatial sequence of sand pits, asphalt, and residual green. In the urban context, it thus forms a zone rather than a mere linear barrier. Koolhaas understands the Wall as an evolutionary situation in constant change and adjustment to its surroundings, e.g., waterways, bridges, and street layouts. The precise order of its spatial sequence continues along the Wall's entire length encircling West Berlin yet its overall width varies greatly, especially at border crossings. The in-between zone expands and narrows in response to the existing environment (Fig. 97). At the same time, it radically alters its physical and non-physical context, cutting through dense urban areas, parkland, or major squares and forming a relentless barrier. Koolhaas describes this continuity of the Wall as "heartbreakingly beautiful."[50] He concludes that it represents the epitome of minimalist architecture as its cruel political significance is not related to any explicit form but rather grounded in the simple, repetitive double-layered setup.
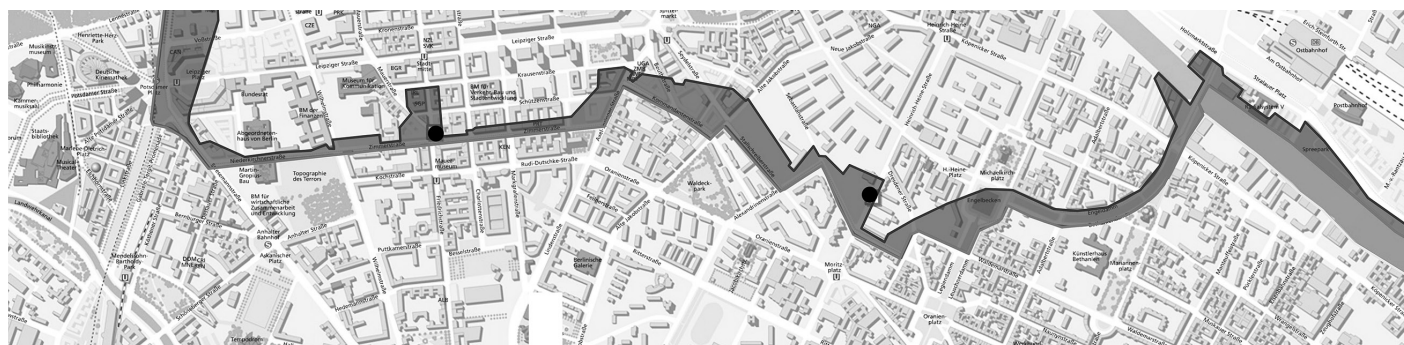

Fig. 97   The in-between zone of the Berlin Wall (from Potsdamer Platz to Ostbahnhof).

48   Koolhaas presented the findings of his study upon his return to London, yet the essay was not published until 20 years later. See Koolhaas, Rem. "Field Trip: (A)A Memoir" in: S, *M, L, XL* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1995) 212-233.

49   Ibid., 225.

50   Ibid., 222.

Apparently, the lightest of objects could be randomly coupled with the heaviest of meanings through brute force, willpower. … I would never again believe in form as the primary vessel of meaning.

<div align="right">Koolhaas 1995[51]</div>

Koolhaas notes, "***The Berlin Wall was a very graphic demonstration of the power of architecture and some of its unpleasant consequences.***"[52]—the power to include and exclude, to divide and reunite, was evident cruelty wrapped in the rough beauty of the serial arrangement and the void that was thereby formed and cut through the heart of the city. In this light, the Wall rendered any attempt to link form to meaning—the part and parcel of emerging Postmodernism—obsolete.[53] As an architectural object it was somewhat unimpressive, its significance, on the other hand, was outstanding. The Wall (a partial misnomer as it was not only a concrete barrier but in the beginning also included buildings) was transformed into a continuous solid element over time and its concrete surface was continuously improved. Yet, rather than to its architectural appearance, its meaning seemed to relate to the zone that was framed, dematerialized, and disconnected from its urban environment by the Wall. The presence of this zone evoked a large range of behaviors, events, and habits such as regular patrols, attempts to escape, or appointed family gatherings on both sides of the wall (Fig. 98, 99).

The same phenomena offered, over a length of 165 kilometers, radically different meanings, spectacles, interpretations, realities. It was impossible to imagine another recent artifact with the same signifying potency.

<div align="right">Koolhaas 1995[54]</div>

Koolhaas notes that the void between the walls—the empty zone itself—appeared to evoke this potency and the many ways to overcome its existence. The zone can be understood as a spatial object rather than an architectural one. Throughout the years, remaining buildings in this zone had been modified, emptied of inhabitants, and eventually torn down. Aside from concrete barrier, fences, and repetitive watchtowers, there were no vertical elements in the patrolled area. Regarding its material aspects it was thus of little significance. However, the continuous variation of the overall width of the inaccessible zone in reference to its surroundings was much more distinct. The powerful factor was the construction of an absence with the help of the vertical barrier, not the barrier itself.
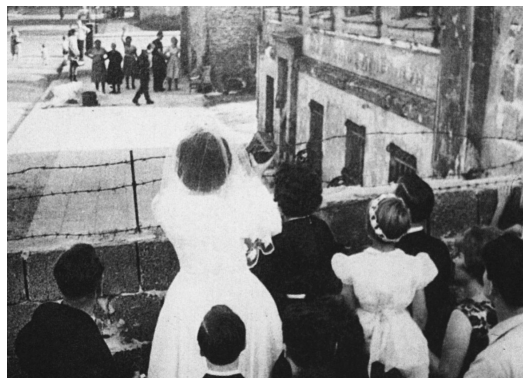

Fig. 98   The void of the Berlin Wall.
Fig. 99   Gatherings at the Wall.

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51   Ibid., 227.
52   Ibid., 226.
53   See ibid., 227.
54   Ibid., 222.

For me, it was a first demonstration of the capacity of the void - of nothingness - to "function" with more efficiency, subtlety, and flexibility than any object you could imagine in its place. It was a warning that - in architecture - absence would always win in a contest with presence.
Koolhaas 1995[55]

Koolhaas's understanding of the void offers a completely unexpected way of reading the Wall as a physically empty yet topologically complex zone. It bears a resemblance to the characteristics defined for indeterminate public space. With the hypothesis of zero points in mind, it should follow that with the fall of the Wall, the void, which had attracted so much activity during the time of separation, would gain in other kinds of importance once it was actually accessible, i.e., it would trigger new forms of appropriation and eventually be re-integrated into the urban fabric. While this has been the case in many locations and wounds were closed both physically and politically, other sites exemplify that the political history is indeed a dominant factor. The sites in the vicinity of the former death strip were transformed from dubious backwaters to valuable spatial resources offering opportunities for experimental re-conceptualizations of urban space: illegal settlements, temporary users, new developments, etc. Prime locations like the Potsdamer Platz were among the first sites to attract investors and became the subject of large planning competitions. Yet, some sites have proven rather difficult to handle. With the change of political system and the progressing revaluation (and re-capitalization) of abandoned places, came a change of perception and growing demands to retain pieces of collective memory such as the concrete remains now known as *East Side Gallery*.

Following the end of Socialism, the clarification of ownership status proved a lengthy process while the nothingness demanded to be put to new use. By the mid-1990s, the former demarcation line along the river framed by East Side Gallery had become a refuge for about 200 squatters. The site was cluttered with trailers, scrap metal, rubbish, and dogs; its inhabitants were struggling with poverty, drugs, and crime. In 1997, the Berlin Senate advised clearing the site, also in view of potential investment interests in the area. However, re-programming the site continues to be a sensitive issue. It is still a reminder of the time when two world powers had a tight grip on the city and the separation of East and West was synonymous with the ideological separation on a global scale. Though the gallery itself seems rather colorful and a-historical these days, the remaining slabs of concrete together with the narrow empty site along the water (Fig. 100) are a distinct symbol

Fig. 100 Empty space between East Side Gallery and Spree River.

55   Ibid., 228.

of the separation and thus visited by Berliners and tourists alike. The acceptance of the Wall as a witness of its time and politics renders its re-appropriation almost impossible as was again exemplified in early 2013 by the protests surrounding the new *Living Levels* high-rise apartment building (Fig. 101, 102). The building was constructed as part of the Mediaspree project and is now the first private structure situated on the former strip of death. Various groups had initiated extended protests against its construction.[56] This goes to show that the political significance is still very much engraved in the collective memory and might even hinder a re-appropriation of theses empty sites. Moreover, such public protests underline the altered perception of the wall. It is regarded a valuable, non-imposing piece of memory and history education worth keeping.

Consequently, despite the scholarly historical groundwork by Koolhaas, defining the void of the Berlin Wall as a zero point seems rather ambivalent. The emptiness, in connection with its historical value and sentiments of nostalgia, has certainly managed to unite different groups of protesters against private developments, such as the liberal middle-class, the radical left, or the gay-lesbian community, offering them a screen for a wide range of political projections that often extend well beyond the development project. Though criticism is mainly directed against the privatization of urban space, more general societal issues such as capitalism, social inequality, and racism have also been addressed.[57] As such, the emptiness has been successful in evoking a non-physical concretization of social and political practice. It has spurred the empowerment and interaction of local stakeholders and encouraged a sense of community building. However, this hybrid of views, activities, and ideas articulated by artist collectives, interest groups, civil movements, and political parties, has failed to manifest itself more permanently on the site. Incubating new social and political forms of urban life result in new alliances amongst these local agents and in some instances the reprogramming of other urban areas. The vacant site itself, however, continues to be dominated by its political heritage and, apart from the new apartment building, shows no distinct architectural formulations.

Fig. 101   Protest against *Living Levels*.

Fig. 102   Construction site of *Living Levels* between East Side Gallery and Spree River.

56   In 2013, during the construction phase, several segments of the remaining pieces of the Wall were removed to gain access to the construction site of Living Levels. Public criticism and protests were attached to the privatization of the site. Upon completion, the building now stretches from the gallery to the waterfront, cutting the former no-man's land in half and leaving only a narrow footpath by the water. Another building adjacent to the high-rise is currently planned.

57   The great diversity of protest groups is joined in the umbrella organization *Megaspree*, whose blog informs about events and calls for protests. See http://www.megaspree.de/wer-wir-sind/ (accessed July 12, 2013).

2.3.2 The Emergence of Liminal Bodies: Bunschoten Studies a Footpath in Timisoara

Koolhaas's analysis of the Wall compared to its post-reunification reality raises the question whether an equivalent space without the political overlay would be more open to physical appropriation. In continuation of his reading of the Wall as an indifferent space evoking a large variety of scenarios, another example of urban theory can facilitate a more concise insight into the matter: the writings and projects of Raoul Bunschoten and his office CHORA as summarized in *Urban Flotsam*. The book aims to understand the manifestations of global dynamics in local environments and to provide adequate tools for reading and planning the city. Bunschoten notes that a master plan no longer allows planners to grasp the different layers of the city and that a more systematic analysis as well as intervention is needed.[58] This work on new methodologies in urban planning was commenced during Bunschoten's time at the Architectural Association but was significantly fueled by phenomena of radical political change, namely the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Eastern bloc.[59] Cities undergoing major political, economic, and social transitions became central to CHORA's work over the following ten years and informed the body of theory that is collected in *Urban Flotsam*.

The book employs theories of different academic disciplines for the field of urban planning, most notably it includes Victor Turner's concept of *liminality*, which signifies a transition between clearly defined social states or conditions.[60] Provided that society is based upon a certain structure of positions, liminality describes an interstructural state—a being-in-transformation that allows multiple associations, e.g., to different social groups. Bunschoten translates Turner's concept of in-betweenness to urban matters. His *Liminal Bodies* are existing urban entities characterized by instability, or rather they signify entities that can be defined as being in the process of formation. They are located on the boundary between two or more spaces.

> In dynamic urban environments Liminal Bodies are 'interstructural' or transitional spaces. As emergent organizational structures they allow new forms of urbanity to occur: emerging urban settlements defined by and used for interactions, conflicts, and negotiations.
> CHORA 2001[61]

According to Bunschoten, dynamic urban environments are cities affected by radical change and/ or conflict. In this context, Liminal Bodies emerge as "intermittent correspondents"[62] between the different layers of the city and—due to their interstructural nature—act as stepping stones for new urban developments. They provoke and nurture changes across different layers and scales. Initiating one change is understood to trigger consequences and further changes. In this light,

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58 "Events on a global scale affect many places in the world simultaneously. Mobility by means of communication and transport technologies reduces distances between different places, bringing them closer together. The effect is a fluid urbanity hard to express through static models or identities. Increasingly, the city's only definable form, its only clear identity, can be found in the manner in which its changes evolve." CHORA. Bunschoten, Raoul; Hoshino, Takura; Binet, Hélène. *Urban Flotsam: Stirring the City* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001) 21.

59 Ibid., 29.

60 In his essay "Betwixt and Between," the anthropologist Victor Turner describes *liminality* as the transitional period between one state (a fixed condition) and another. He employs the example of initiation rituals to describe the ambiguous status of individuals in between two conditions. See Turner, Victor. "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage" in: *Betwixt & Between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation* edited by Louise Carus Mahdi (Peru, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company, 1987) 3-19.

61 CHORA. *Urban Flotsam: Stirring the City*, 348.

62 Ibid., 400.

Liminal Bodies represent "devices with which to generate and manage conflict and diversity,"[63] i.e., they are understood to actively promote the confrontation of urban actors and encourage their interaction. They manage to address different agents and trigger their need to re-establish their respective positions.

> Liminal Bodies are more than instruments of change; they are also users of the opportunities that an evolving environment gives. They are levers that regulate the force and energy of proto-urban conditions; they create new life forms, empower emergent ones. Liminal Bodies mutate from existing operational systems, or are created by actors and agents joined through conflict and negotiation.
>
> CHORA 2001[64]

Liminality, as described by Turner, is not a metrically measurable phenomenon, but rather a topological issue. The term Liminal Body, on the other hand, denotes a mixture of physical and non-physical aspects. "A Liminal Body is a body nevertheless, an object placed physically in the city" that has "the potential or the tendency to assume a greater state of complexity."[65] It refers to a wide range of physically present objects such as buildings and places while also indicating social or political events, e.g., the formation of collective identity. Liminal Bodies can be understood as "institutionalized [physical and non-physical] spaces of transition"[66] that constantly produce and reproduce new urban forms and identities.

It becomes apparent that Bunschoten—just like Koolhaas—acknowledges the presence of a superior urban element that cannot be identified as belonging to one specific layer—respectively side—of the city. Instead, the Liminal Body is simultaneously independent and immanent, absent and present. It is non-related yet related to everything. Though Bunschoten does not refer to Liminal Bodies as indeterminate spaces, their in-between status allows them to be interpreted in that sense. This can be further explained with the help of the project *Line of Dialogue*, a socio-spatial analysis of a public footpath in the Romanian town of Timisoara, which is also included in Urban Flotsam. In comparison to other projects presented by CHORA, the analysis of the post-communist changes along the footpath in Timisoara is of a relatively small urban scale and likewise only comprises two pages in the book. Yet, as an incubator of new programs and as a platform for new urban actors, the footpath is a highly interesting case study, a site which Bunschoten specifically refers to as a Liminal Body.[67] The site is located on the edge of the city and is in a rather run-down condition at the time of investigation. Nevertheless, the footpath is a well-frequented passageway, especially for students, as it connects a variety of university facilities, student housing, cafés, etc. The research preceding CHORA's proposal to regenerate the pathway and establish it as an active public space reveals that already during the early 1990s, following the change of political system, the simple pedestrian link was enriched by numerous other functions. A new Orthodox church, a variety of small enterprises, public service facilities, and retail spaces emerged in its vicinity. Likewise, new alliances and cultural manifestations appeared[68] (Fig. 103).

Fig. 103 The Line of Dialogue.

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63   Ibid., 352.

64   Ibid., 408.

65   Ibid., 348.

66   Ibid., 352.

67   See CHORA. *Urban Flotsam: Stirring the City*, 348.

68   Ibid., 426-7.

The footpath gained in contrast and variety. Its programmatic cross-section echoes the reality of an empowered local economy and a culturally and socially diverse community. In the ongoing process of reconditioning the urban sphere following the political transition, the walkway constitutes a mediating element. Bunschoten concludes, "A Line of Dialogue is a test of the power of a simple form when it is thrown into a common situation which contains some element, or trend, that allows it to thrive."[69] In this light, the form of the footpath, meaning its presence as a spatial container, and its constant flow of people migrating between its functions created the physical setting vis-à-vis the non-physical need to establish new cultural, social, economic, and political identities. The public space became the point of intersection of these different layers of the city.

The example of Timisoara alludes to the political power that a minimally designed yet well-framed and well-located public space might possess. Therefore, within the context of presenting the analysis, Bunschoten notes a few general requirements that, in his view, are responsible for rendering public space meaningful in this light:

> Public space is an instrument of societal change but it has a number of distinct requirements: it has to be recognized as being public; it has to be a physical space, a vessel of sorts; it has to be managed, maintained; and it has to have the capacity to be transported, as an idea, to other situations. The form of a public space is its physical presence, which provokes action, reaction, conflict. Its form is equally the organizational structure which invites specific ways of using the space, stimulating new patterns of collective behaviour.
>
> CHORA 2001[70]

Employing the findings of the Line of Dialogue study for a further theorization of the hypothesis of zero points, leads to the assumption that the combination of specific physical and non-physical conditions inform the way in which a space is appropriated. The presentation of an open, unregulated space is not sufficient to stimulate innovative uses and the emergence of new political subjects. Simultaneously, it must be met by a demand for such a space for negotiation, interaction, and visibility, as might be the case after political and economic transformations.

Moreover, Bunschoten's indication that a public space needs to convey its identity of being public and allow it to be transferred to other areas and functions resonates Eva Reblin's description of a semiotic element in urban voids. Only if people manage to read and comprehend the hidden message, will they feel addressed and react to the space on offer. Finally, Bunschoten's study—just like Reblin's typological differentiation of urban voids—raises the question whether this line of thought and the studies of the *as found* reality can be reproduced by urban planning and design. Can an indeterminate public space—with the potential to become a Liminal Body—be conceived by planners or other urban actors? Can indeterminacy be designed?

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69   Ibid., 426.

70   Ibid., 426.

2.3.3   The Insertion of Indeterminacy: Ábalos & Herreros Design Areas of Impunity

Bunschoten's theory of Liminal Bodies and his example of the footpath in Timisoara demonstrate that growing heterogeneity and complexity of demographic structures under the influence of global dynamics seek possibilities for negotiation. The growing demand for self-determined ways to communicate and interact renders public space a key aspect. Attempts to reconsider the public domain in this light and provide actual planning approaches beyond mere proclamations of intent are rare. A compelling exception is the concept *Áreas de impunidad* (Areas of Impunity) by Ábalos & Herreros, which the Spanish architects conceived and developed through a series of projects during the 1990s.[71] Their studies were influenced by societal transformations and by the architects' assumption that space and publicness would be changed accordingly.

The architects assert that homogeneity in the social sphere is in the process of ending. They note a devaluation of the family as the primary social group and a "systematic technification of the social."[72] These shifts do not remain without consequences for the modern subject. The absolute centrality of the self (as it was once expressed by Leonardo da Vinci in his *Vitruvian Man*) stands contested by comprehensive regulation and technological innovation. In this light, Ábalos & Herreros draw comparisons to Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*.[73] The human being—or rather body—has been 'thingified'. It merely reacts to what is brought upon it by higher authorities. Many theories have been developed in view of altered forms of subjectivity,[74] citing the Panopticon, however, reveals Ábalos & Herreros's reference to Foucault. Though the architects do not subscribe to his *death of the subject*, they acknowledge "the loss of his homogeneous, precise, optimistic and centred form."[75] It can be argued that these thoughts by Ábalos & Herreros reverberate the ideas on desubjectification and thus the increasing volatility and plurality of the subject as discussed at the end of the first chapter. The architects state that the characteristics and intentions of today's subject—the *hombre contemporáneo*[76]—have been multiplied. It is synonymous with increasing individualization and mobility, a nomad who not only covers distances in physical and virtual space but simultaneously acts as a connecting element between these spaces.[77] The contemporary man is thus both consequence of and catalyst for processes of globalization.

> […] this new social subject […] belongs more to the egalitarian world of Greek 'cities and citizens' than to the 'shepherd and his flock' hierarchy of the entire monarchical and Christian tradition, […] his modern forbears are undoubtedly closer to the Baudelairean *flâneur*, in whom W. Benjamin theorized the new gaze, or to G. Simmel's *blasé*, this worldly, hyperexcited, but thereby impermeable and secretive, individual.
>
> Ábalos & Herreros 1997[78]

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71   See Àbalos, Iñaki; Herreros, Juan. "Areas of impunity and vectorial spaces" in: *Áreas de impunidad* (Barcelona: Actar, 1997) 188–207. First published as: Àbalos, Iñaki; Herreros, Juan. "Áreas de impunidad y espacio vectoriales" conference paper at the 2nd Spanish Architecture and Urbanism Biennale (Zaragoza, 1994). The key aspects of the concept were also included in "Una nueva naturalidad (7 micromanifiestos)" in the *2G* architecture magazine portrait of the office. See *2G* Nr.22 (2002).

72   Àbalos; Herreros. "Areas of impunity and vectorial spaces," 192.

73   The Panopticon is discussed under section 1.3 of this thesis.

74   In this context, the architects mention, for example, Derrida's *parasite*, the *nomad* in the writings of Deleuze and Guattari, or Lyotard's *vagabond*.

75   Àbalos; Herreros, "Areas of impunity and vectorial spaces," 194.

76   See ibid.

77   As Ábalos & Herreros point out, in this position, the modern nomad resembles the sophists in Ancient Greece—the philosophers who moved between city-states forming physical and cultural connections among disjointed areas.

78   Ibid., 202.

Yet these traits are not ascribed to an abstract body; the architects define them as being inherent to every individual, to every action. The new social subject is all-encompassing: representing the individual and society all at once. According to Ábalos & Herreros, the modified notion of subjectivity implies a new definition of space. With reference to Habermas, they formulate the need for a space free of domination—"heterotopic, non-representative places, as spaces in which social norms not submitted to the ritualized conception and scenography of traditional public space develop; in which the priority of individual subjectivity is reflected in the rejection of hegemonic models of political and scientific objectivization."[79] In other words, the modern nomad requires a space that re-empowers the subject and favors the development of the self.

Ábalos & Herreros call these spaces **areas of impunity**. They are to be understood as metaphors for unregimented and undefined places and as such clearly contradict traditional planning strategies of rationalization and control. They are distinguished by equitable, versatile opportunities for utilization. The architects consider indeterminacy to be a precondition for the formation of new programs and a new social practice. During the formative process, which is founded upon the perception and use of these areas as well as the concurrent self-establishment of the subject, a social space is produced, which the architects call **espacio vectorial** (vectorial space).

> We will call *vectorial space* that modality of installation in the physical environment which the contemporary social subject constructs through his own perception, of the forms of establishing himself and the uses of space that he develops: vectorial space is the ambience that the contemporary subject creates in taking his place in the world. […]
>
> We will call *areas of impunity* those sites in which the practices of a new civil society coalesce: it is in the areas of impunity where vectorial space can unfold. Areas of impunity are opportunities for developing programs free of restrictions and hierarchies, centers or rhetorical figures; they are opportunities and programs (to be invented for the most part) in which the modes and practices of the new social subject can be developed: activities that enable a tangent topology to unfold.
>
> Ábalos & Herreros 1997[80]

In addition to this model of thought, the architects also provide exemplary projects, which denominate potential areas of impunity. Taken from these "sketches of a genealogy under construction,"[81] one example will be explained further in the following: the competition entry for the deserted Abandoibarra harbor grounds in Bilbao[82]—today the location of the Guggenheim Museum.

Ábalos & Herreros approached the competition as a challenge to redefine the objectives and methods of urban development with a focus on their theoretical work as outlined above. The result was an unconventional arrangement that engendered a strong contrast between the built and the unbuilt. The site was viewed as being a generator for further urban development. Initially, the architects worked with the topography of the site and highlighted its individuality by forming

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79   Ibid., 202-4.

80   Ibid., 206.

81   Ibid., 204.

82   Ábalos & Herreros Arquitectos: Harbor Site Abandoibarra, Bilbao, international design competition by the City of Bilbao, 1993–1994. In collaboration with César Azcárate and Patxi Mangado.

an island.[83] The isolation of the area generated a caesura in the urban fabric that caused de-contextualization and facilitated a self-referential spatial structure, so as to become reintegrated into the context via physical associations. Ábalos & Herreros described this island character as essential for establishing new relations with the surrounding environment (Fig. 105, 107).

In designing the island's built structure, the architects' focus was not on materiality or architectural form, but rather on shaping the empty space in-between. The buildings define vacuity solely through their positioning; they are delimiting without confining. The dense, uniform arrangement of reciprocally twisted structures creates an interstitial space that could either expand or contract. This interstice—as absolute distance between the buildings—is conceived as a public area, though not further specified by the architects. The different functions of the buildings have little effect on the interstice in terms of form. Regardless of their purpose, the buildings always demonstrate the same edging and leave the central space undefined. This reflects the impossibility of fostering order—the entire area lends itself to social and political structuring through the subject (Fig. 106).

The project represents an endeavor to design areas of impunity as pure vacuity, that is, to leave it undesigned, a fact that is underlined by the graphic depictions drafted by the architects. Exterior space is not detailed but rather remains blank within the project—there are no indications of program, furnishing, or vegetation. Abstraction as conscious choice is moreover confirmed by a playful, Lego-based design methodology. It allows for a reduction to essentials: the duality between open and closed. Thus, the project scrutinizes the relation between vacuity and density, public and private[84] (Fig. 104).

Ábalos & Herreros's concept of the modern nomad is formulated in response to the structural changes in advanced societies. Like Bunschoten, they acknowledge the significant influence of global dynamics (capital, technology, mobility) on the individual as well as on the local context. As the experience of the case studies has shown, radical political transitions seem to further aggravate these changes. The new subject that is thereby formed is accompanied by a re-conceptualization of space altogether. In this light, the concept of areas of impunity suggests that a publicly accessible, non-regulated space would succeed in addressing the needs of the new subject. The simple physical frame provided by the architects in their Bilbao competition can be understood as a backdrop for political subjectification, i.e., the empowerment of the individual to establish his or her position and to determine aspects of his or her urban surroundings. Indeterminate public spaces—respectively urban zero points—defined in such way represent a potential and prerequisite for the emergence of the political subject.
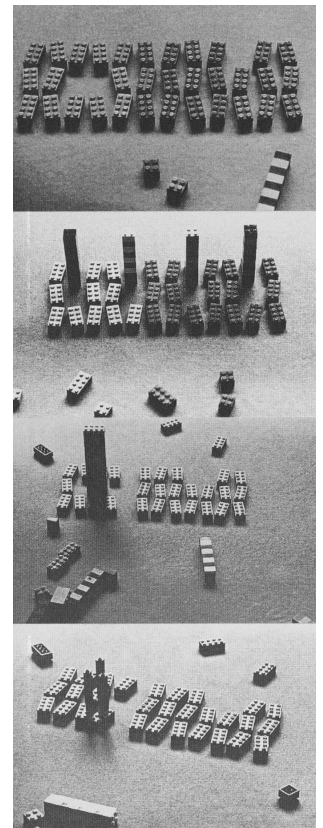

Fig. 104 Lego design methodology.

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83 References are drawn here to centrally located islands in other European cities like Paris or Berlin.

84 The issue of density and vacuity with reference to the Bilbao project has also been discussed in: Gelbke, Uta. "Urban Zero Points: On Density and Vacuity" in: *GAM.08 – Dense Cities: Architecture for Living Closer Together*. (Vienna/New York: Springer, 2012) 94-109.
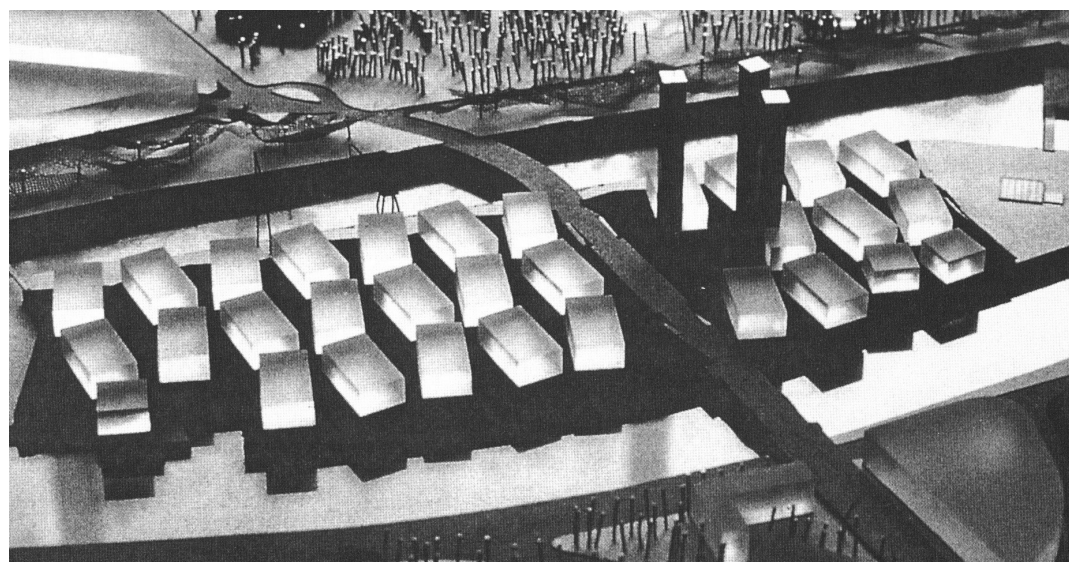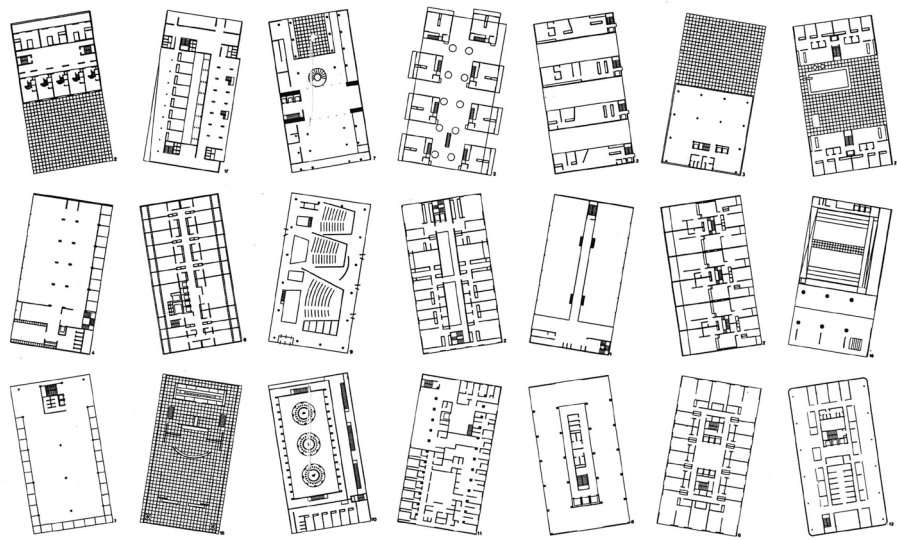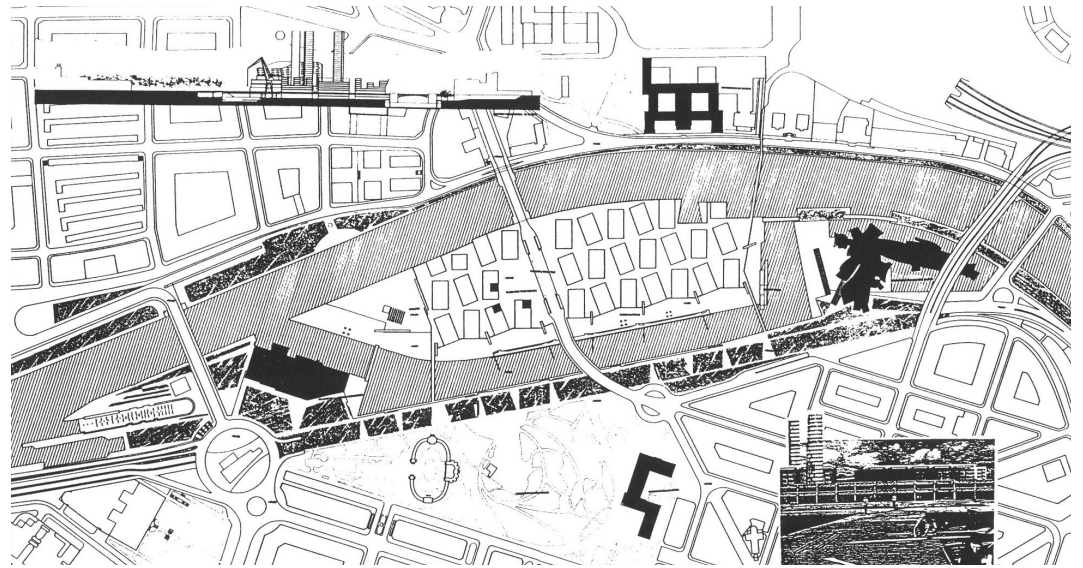
Fig. 105   Abandoibarra, master plan.

Fig. 106   Abandoibarra, floor plan.

Fig. 107   Abandoibarra, model.

Before continuing the investigation of the political relevance of indeterminate public space, this excursus into political theory will shed light on A) classical and contemporary thoughts on political subjectivity and B) outline the lack thereof in view of the end of the Cold War and economic globalization, also known as the post-political condition. Given the diversification of social and cultural demographics, this political apathy seems paradox and potentially dangerous. The excursus looks at what seems responsible for the post-political condition and reviews thoughts on re-politicization, i.e., the re-emergence of political subjects.

A.   Political Subjectivity

The Political Animal

In classical political philosophy, the roots of modern thought, Aristotle describes the human being as ***zoon politikon*** and thus refers to one of the key characteristics of mankind: the urge to participate and communicate in groups, which he sees realized in the realm of the ancient Greek *polis*. The word ***zoon*** translates to living beings or animals. However, this definition of humans as political animals by nature seems contradictory to the political reality of Ancient Greece, where formal political rights, such as citizenship or property rights, were restricted to particular groups, namely indigenous male adults. It excluded women, children, foreigners, and slaves. In fact, whether someone did or did not have rights was exemplified by two clearly separated entities: the good life of citizens (***bios***) and the mere life of humans (***zoë***). These entities translated to separate physical spaces: ***polis*** (the public realm) and ***oikos*** (the private household). In their architectural articulation the former can be understood as the inversion of the latter. While typically the ***oikos*** was an introvert structure with rooms arranged around a central courtyard and enclosure walls to define a sharp boundary between house and city, buildings of public interest were characterized by an outer colonnade, which allowed for a more gradual transition from interior to exterior. The polis is therefore a metaphor for both the physical articulation of the public realm with its permeable layers and the legally empowered actors in it.

The separation of ***zoë*** and ***bios*** in political philosophy and practice seems to evoke a paradox in Aristotle's thought. Hannah Arendt describes his political animal as "unrelated and even opposed to the natural association experienced in household life"[1] but at the same time, she states that this discrepancy can be understood when considering his second definition of humans as ***zoon logon echon***, as living beings possessing speech. According to Aristotle, language as the capability and natural impulse of enunciation is the quality which renders humans political. It distinguishes them from animals, which are reduced to mere voice, ***phônê***. While voice only allows a limited range of articulations, it is language that enables humans to differentiate between just and unjust, express approval or disagreement. The contrast of expression vis-à-vis indication is what defines the difference between speech and voice.[2]

These two definitions—***zoon politikon*** and ***zoon logon echon***—put forward by Aristotle show that he employed a wider understanding of the political. It was not restricted to the realm of the polis, but referred to social relations in general. Being political, in his theory, means participating in social groups.

Arendt followed Aristotle's trajectory by continuing and insisting on the separation between private and public realm. She states that the individual can only properly contribute to political struggles when relieved from the immediate necessities of social reproduction. Consequently, she differentiates between the notions of ***labor*** and ***action***. While the former is required to sustain mere life, it is the latter that defines the good life of the public. With reference to Aristotle, Arendt notes that constituting the political is only made possible through the unique human quality of language. In her view, human beings employ speech and interaction to distinguish themselves from

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1   Arendt. *The Human Condition*, 27.

2   See Aristotle. *The Politics*, translated by Benjamin Jowett (Clarendon Press, 1885) Book I. Retrieved from: https://archive.org/stream/politicsaristot05arisgoog#page/n38/mode/2up (accessed January 07, 2015).

others—the very essence of politics.[3] This interdependence of political qualities and the ability to speak was later questioned in contemporary political thought by Jacques Rancière. He defines speech as inherently political, not as enunciation as such but rather as the excess of words, which can surpass their merely descriptive level and which can be contested by others. The importance lies not in what is being said but rather in the act of claiming speech and in being recognized as speaking by others. Political exclusion does not derive from a physiological inability to speak but from not being entitled to speech and from not being recognized as a subject with speech, meaning a political subject. Here Rancière's definition already indicates one of the key aspects of political subjectivity: the need for some form of organizational-relational structure, which precedes the voicing of opinions and claims.

> Politics exists because the logos is never simply speech, because it is always indissolubly the account that is made of this speech: the account by which a sonorous emission is understood as speech, capable of enunciating what is just, whereas some other emission is merely perceived as a noise signaling pleasure or pain, consent or revolt.
>
> Rancière 1999[4]

Biopolitics

A paradigm shift in modern political theory was initiated by Michel Foucault's concept of **biopolitics**, which opposes the separation of mere life and good life. It conceptualizes a transformation in governing, which, according to Foucault, dates back to the seventeenth and eigthteenth centuries. He first presented these thoughts in his 1976 lecture series at the Collège de France.[5] Though Foucault is not to be credited for the term biopolitics itself, he developed it into an extensive and historically embedded, theoretical construct, which formed the basis for many further investigations.

Parameters of life and living beings are part and parcel of biopolitical concern. As a means of control, biopolitics focuses on biological aspects of both the individual human being and the population in general. Society is not understood as a judicial body but as determined by its reproductive attributes. Power is thus exercised by monitoring and manipulating these attributes with disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms. They focus on the control and improvement of the individual body in institutions such as schools and hospitals, while regulatory mechanisms are enacted on state level and refer to the population as a whole through demographic statistics and interventions regulating life and death. The politicization of issues such as health, mortality, and fertility, takes mere life into the realm of the good life. In this respect, the differentiation between the life of humans and the life of citizens becomes obsolete, and **zoë** and **bios** are no longer two separate entities. Both Foucault and later Agamben depict the turn to biopolitics as the defining moment of modernity as it abandons classical political philosophy.

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3 See Arendt. *The Human Condition*.

4 Rancière, Jacques. *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) 22-23.

5 See Foucault, Michel. "Vorlesung vom 17. März 1976" am Collège de France, Paris. Retrieved from: http://www.momo-berlin.de/Foucault_Vorlesung_17_03_76.html (accessed October 31, 2013) also published in: Foucault, Michel. *In Verteidigung der Gesellschaft. Vorlesungen am Collège de France (1975-76)*, translated by Michaela Ott. (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1999) 276-305.

As Agamben points out, it is striking that Foucault demonstrates these compelling thoughts on the matter of biopolitics yet fails to comment on its most extreme form: the totalitarian states of the twentieth century.[6] In **Homo Sacer**, Agamben closes this gap in Foucault's work. He presents the 'sacred man,' a convicted criminal under ancient Roman law that can be legitimately killed by anyone but not sacrificed. The individual is deprived of his political rights and reduced to his basic characteristics of being alive. He is subjected to the double exclusion of falling neither under human nor divine law. Here, Agamben draws a link between *homo sacer* and the totalitarian state of Nazism. He notes that "the production of bare life is the originary activity of sovereignty."[7] The sovereign in the Third Reich enacted its biopolitical power by stripping Jews and political opponents of their political rights and reducing them to bare life. The physical frame of this process, and therefore the absolute biopolitical space, was the concentration camp.

Modernity seems responsible for inextricably linking *zoë* and *bios*. If the "dispositifs no longer generate subjects ('interpellate individuals into subjects'), but merely administer and regulate individuals' bare life,"[8] we have all become potential *homines sacri*. This transformation cannot be reversed; biopolitics is the "political destiny of the West."[9]

> Every attempt to rethink the political space of the West must begin with the clear awareness that we no longer know anything of the classical distinction between *zoë* and *bios,* between private life and political existence, between man as a simple living being at home in the house and man's political existence in the city.
>
> Agamben 1998[10]

Intervening in life matters in the name of governing has asserted its position in the logic of the contemporary city. Agamben even states that the way we approach the city and try to plan the public sphere today resembles the biopolitical approach of a totalitarian sovereign.

> […] social sciences, sociology, urban studies, and architecture today are trying to conceive and organize the public space of the world's cities without any clear awareness that at their very center lies the same bare life […] that defined the biopolitics of the great totalitarian states of the twentieth century.
>
> Agamben 1998[11]

The mechanisms of biopolitics outlined by Foucault are not exclusionary, but rather complement each other on different levels. The regulatory comprises the disciplinary; state regulations referring to the population include measures to control the individual. This can be exemplified by the discipline of urban planning. Developed as a means of rational structuring under the influence of industrialization and fast-paced urbanization, planning regulations not only define the urban layout and the allocation of programs, but also the way the city is used and the relationships that might be established within it.

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6   See Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. (Stanford: Standford University Press, 1998).

7   Ibid., 83.

8   Žižek. "Afterward to the Paperback Edition: Welcome to Interesting Times" in: *Living in End Times*, 418.

9   Agamben. *Homo Sacer*, 188.

10   Ibid., 187.

11   Ibid., 181-182.

A series of books published by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri—drawing on Foucault—offer another interpretation of biopolitics, and demonstrate that it simultaneously includes a form of opposition. In *Empire*, the authors configure biopolitics as a systematic connection between economy and politics. Their Neo-Marxist view becomes apparent in presenting biopolitics as the reproduction, ordering, and exploitation of human existence through various forms of power, mainly capital. Though the thought of capitalist exploitation manifested in biopolitics and in its disciplinary and regulatory tools can already be found in Foucault's work, Hardt and Negri conceptualize a new global order—the empire—where everything is subordinated to the logic of capitalist production. The empire is a de-centralized and de-territorialized governing entity—a network of power consisting of supranational institutions and corporations. Being superior to individual nation states, the empire signifies a new expression of sovereignty. Yet, despite relying on productivity as its essential *dispositif* of power and mainly producing the aspects relevant to its own reproduction, the empire also creates its ultimate counterpart: the multitude, comprised of marginalized and exploited social bodies. The multitude can turn into political subjects insofar as it directs its agency against the suppression by the empire. As the concrete political practice remains unclear in *Empire*, criticism caused Hardt and Negri to publish the sequel *Multitude* and to further investigate the actual possibility of a global democratic project.[12] Here, Hardt and Negri further delineate the multitude—a multiplicity of singularities—as different from traditional coherent social bodies like the working class, which are exclusionary and limited. As such, the multitude is a direct response to the diversification of social strata. While "modernists want to protect or resurrect the traditional social bodies," postmodernists, including the authors, "accept or even celebrate their dissolution."[13]

> Looking at our postmodern society, in fact, free from any nostalgia for the modern social bodies that have dissolved or the people that is missing, one can see that what we experience is a kind of social flesh, a flesh that is not a body, a flesh that is common, living substance.
>
> Hardt and Negri 2004[14]

Hardt and Negri ascribe a swarm intelligence to the living flesh. It brings a collective intelligence to the fore and can gain political momentum within the realm of power of the empire. Though biopolitics manifests itself in disciplinary measures and *dispositifs* of control, as Foucault explained, the resulting power relations are not forms of simple totalitarian domination but rather include resistance. While the empire attempts to construct and control the multitude, the multitude breeds potential for resistance against the empire. Resistance implies not only the negation of an existing context but also the attempt to change it. It can be argued that power relations that draw aspects of the mere life of reproduction and labor into the public sphere, e.g., through urban planning, encourage resistance against these very relations and hold the creative potential for a transformation into a new political order. Foucault as well as Hardt and Negri emphasize the logic of biopolitics as a form of control that infiltrates life and thereby evokes opposition against this very form of control. Power includes resistance; resistance is formed within power relations.

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12 See Hardt, Michael; Negri, Antonio. *Empire* (Harvard University Press, 2000) and Hardt, Michael; Negri, Antonio. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).

13 Hardt; Negri. *Multitude*, 190.

14 Ibid., 192.

The Political Subject of Rancière

This mutual dependence of power and resistance also resonates in Jacques Rancière's terminological triad of *police – politics – political*. Rancière provides a substantial conceptualization of the political dimension by demonstrating the relationship between these three intimately linked aspects. His thoughts allow one to theorize and understand spontaneous insurgencies.

> […] Rancière endeavours again and again to elaborate the contours of those magic, violently poetic moments of political subjectivization in which the excluded ('lower classes') put forward their claim to speak for themselves, to effectuate a change in the global perception of social space, so that their claims would have a legitimate place in it.
>
> Žižek in Rancière 2006[15]

While the common understanding of politics signifies authoritarian decision-making and consensus-driven governing, Jacques Rancière describes politics as the people taking action, an activity of the political subject. Institutionalized power and social ordering, however, is defined in his work as *the police*. The concern of the police is the organization of human coexistence with a focus on the majority. The legislations and regulations of the police—summarized as the *distribution of the Sensible*—assign the roles and positions of speech.

> [The police is] an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task; it is an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise.
>
> Rancière 1999[16]

The police's underlying pressure of consensus and rationality contradicts the growing heterogeneity of global society and ignores the needs of those who do not have a say in public, or in other words, it denies the existence of a wrong. The very enunciation, thus subjectivization, of this wrong is what constitutes politics. While the police administer consensus, Rancière defines dissensus as the essence of politics. Dissensus not only confronts opposing interests but rather displays and articulates the gaps within the distribution of the Sensible itself. Subjectivizing the wrong, thus bringing politics proper into existence, implies contrasting the two opposing logics: that of the police and that of disagreement. Therefore, politics is the practice that confronts the police with new subjects who previously had not been assigned the right to speak.

> The struggle between the rich and the poor is not social reality, which politics then has to deal with. It is the actual institution of politics itself. There is politics when there is a part of those who have no part, a part or party of the poor.
>
> Rancière 1999[17]

Historically, this can be exemplified by the double meaning of the working class in Marxist theory as both a social group and a political actor. The essence of the political activity of the group was to modify the social conditions of its members. The formation of class as a political group beyond its social attributes is simultaneously origin and result of challenging a social order and interrupting the hierarchy it seems embedded in. This example allows the determination of one of the essential

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15   Žižek, Slavoj. Afterword in Rancière, Jacques. *The Politics of Aesthetics* (London/New York: Continuum, 2006) 69.

16   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 29.

17   Ibid., 11.

characteristics of politics: Though politics and the police are by definition two opposing entities, they cannot exist outside each other. Politics is included in the police order because its very aim is to challenge it. Likewise, the actual force of the police only reveals itself when meeting fierce opposition. The Sensible eludes the acknowledgment of a wrong while politics begins with the very declaration of that wrong.

The power of visualizing, thus subjectivizing, the wrong is the power of the political subject. It appears when those who are excluded from politics and who are not entitled to speech, commence to act and speak as if they were. The political is therefore at the center of Rancière's triad. It is the point of intersection of politics and the police—the mediating element. Only the political can activate the realm of politics, reveal the wrong and question the police order. Understanding the political as a powerful attribute of enunciation and agency in opposition to a set and heavily defended order generates two conclusions: firstly, the political proper is a non-exclusive dimension of negotiation and interaction and secondly, it is inseparable from a subject.

According to Rancière, the political subject is not a static entity but rather transformative in nature. It signifies an empty operator, which generates political dispute once it gains a position to do so.

> In politics, subjects do not have consistent bodies; they are fluctuating performers who have their moments, places, occurences, and the peculiar role of inventing arguments and demonstrations - in the double, logical and aesthetic, senses of the terms - to bring the nonrelationship into relationship and give place to the nonplace.
>
> Rancière 1999[18]

Rancière implies that politics is in fact an act of subjectification. The political subject can only emerge by being shifted to a position where it can claim speech and reversely be acknowledged as speaking.

> By *subjectification* I mean the production through a series of actions of a body and a capacity for enunciation not previously identifiable within a given field of experience, whose identification is thus part of the reconfiguration of the field of experience.
>
> Rancière 1999[19]

This goes to show that political subjectification does not create subjects **ex nihilo** but rather transforms identities based on the respective context of individuals. It occurs in those instances where existing conditions and relationships are called into question. Subjectification, as the formation of political subjects, is the emergence of an enunciative collective that challenges the distribution of the Sensible, the distribution of roles, territories, and languages. Therefore, political subjectification can be defined as the practice of creating the enunciating entity and the capability to enunciate, which questions existing power relations.[20]

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18   Ibid., 89.

19   Ibid., 35.

20   For example, it can be argued that the notion of class in Marxist theory is the political subjectification of a social group. Assigning this group a clearly determined position within a hierarchical order evokes resistance against that very position and results in the attempt to change it.

To conclude this brief investigation of subjectivity in political terms, if politics cannot emerge outside the order of the police and requires the formation of a political subject to do so, then obviously this process of formation is crucial. The relations or capabilities it requires *a priori* or manages to generate during the process influence the success of political engagement. Enunciation, in terms of both the one who is speaking and the one who is receiving, becomes the point of concern. Politics proper can come into existence only once an enunciating entity has formed and is recognized as such, thus only after the individual has turned into a subject. But how does contemporary biopolitical society affect the concept of political subjectification?

B.   To Post-Politics and Back

The Dilemma of Post-Politics

While the key aspect of politics in Ancient times was the delineation and defense of the public sphere as a space of dispute for the legally empowered group of citizens, the wake of modernity saw social and biological aspects being drawn into the focus of politics. This is exemplified by the concept of biopolitics developed in Foucault's work but also Marx's attention to class struggle, amongst others. While the link between the social and the political has been substantially affected by economic globalization and neoliberal thought, the biopolitical agenda is more relevant than ever. The following explains how both aspects assist the dilution of politics proper.

The collapse of the Eastern bloc and the prospect of accessing new markets was fuel in Neoliberalism's fire. It assisted the spreading of a market-centric political agenda and 'democratic' methods and processes. The progressive replacement of the national idea by intertwined local and global contexts as well as the dismantling of ideological beliefs which had been held in high regard for decades, affected matters of self-identification. Being submerged in a state of proximity yet competition, inclusion yet exclusion, and transforming power relations motivates the hybridization of identities. As political practice presupposes some form of identity formation, in the sense of subjectification, this struggle for self-identification benefits the erosion of the political sphere and the manifestation of a *post-political condition*. Symptoms of the post-political are the replacement of traditional identity markers (class, nation) by market-related ones and the general retreat from the public realm, as underlined by Nan Ellin.[21] It results in a disinterest in formal democratic procedures and parliamentary representation. Instead, power is extended to different authorities like professionals and institutions. Therefore, "the victory of so-called formal democracy is accompanied by a noticeable disaffection with regard to its forms."[22] The notion of post-politics is tightly connected to liberal capitalism and facilitated by diminished ideological markers and fragmented social relations. In contrast to Marx, disconnecting the political from everyday life and assigning it to experts and higher authorities, exemplifies the dissociation of the political from social bodies.

Likewise, the biopolitical penetration of everyday life diverts the attention from proper political dispute, or in Rancière's words *dissensus*, to a homogenization of the political sphere. Maintaining

21   See Ellin. *Postmodern Urbanism*.
22   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 97.

a 'normalized' state has become vital to economic viability and thus a focus of contemporary governing. It implies regulatory and observational measures in the name of **zero-tolerance** and civility while causing the systematic exclusion of 'abnormal' ethnic, religious, or social groups. In particular, sophisticated surveillance technologies that allow the authorities to watch or, not unlike the Panopticon, merely evoke the feeling of being watched, render any political relevance of spaces and their users obsolete. Both aspects—the disconnection from social bodies and the intrusion upon the biological field—are responsible for the proclamation of the **end of politics**.

> More precisely, the 'end of politics' is the end of the strained relationship between politics and metapolitics that has characterized the age of modern democratic and social revolutions. This strained relationship has been played out in interpretations of the difference between man and the citizen, the suffering-working people and the sovereign people.
>
> Rancière 1999[23]

If this "strained relationship" ceases to exist, contentious dynamics and thus politics cease to exist. Differences in political views, such as those between the Left and the Right are eradicated, or at least diminished in order to enable consensus on middle ground. The nature of liberalized politics as being intertwined with economic interests and capital management is no longer a secret or an outrageous thought as was the case in Marx's time. It is rather openly declared truth and agreed upon by conservatives and socialists alike. Diametrical political positions are giving way to one universal view. Dissensus—as the very essence of politics—is abandoned in favor of managerial governing and social ordering.

> In post-politics, the conflict of global ideological visions embodied in different parties who compete for power is replaced by a collaboration of enlightened technocrats (economists, public opinion specialists…) and liberal multiculturalists; via the process of negotiation of interests, a compromise is reached in the guise of a more or less universal consensus.
>
> Žižek in Rancière 2006[24]

Politics, today, means prioritizing directed consensual strategies over political discourse. This aggravates the **zero-tolerance** attitude of preventing whatever is considered anti-social behavior. Yet, enforcing civility—understood as surveillance and the fierce regulation of the public realm— is first and foremost heading towards conformity. Fostering control and consensus, instead of diversity and discourse, supports the spreading of the post-political condition and becomes evident in a "public arena evacuated from radical dissent, critique and fundamental conflict."[25] Or as Chantal Mouffe states, "Too much emphasis on consensus and the refusal of confrontation lead to apathy and disaffection with political participation."[26]

Rancière elaborates on the problem of consensus by pointing out its inherent contradictions. Though celebrated by the West as superior to totalitarian forms of governing, it seems to overlook the issue that "there is always a partition of the perceptible, a configuration that determines the

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23   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 86-87.

24   Žižek. Afterword in Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 72.

25   Swyngedouw, Erik. "The Post-Political City" in: *Urban Politics Now. Re-Imagining Democracy in the Neoliberal City*, vol. 6, edited by BAVO (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2007) 65.

26   Mouffe, Chantal. "Deliberative Democracy Or Agonistic Pluralism" in: *Reihe Politikwissenschaft* (Wien: Institut für Höhere Studien, 2000) 16.

way in which the different parties have a part in the community.''[27] The *a priori* position of a group determines to what extent the consensus will represent its demands and interests. Consensual strategies are best demonstrated in holistic concepts like Europe or the international community. They are Neoliberalism's new political bodies that comprise either every part or no part at all. They aim at being applied to all members of society, but in their universality might just be empty abstractions nobody can relate to. Here, Swyngedouw, drawing on Rancière, provides a compelling thought for the further discussion in this thesis. He connects the urban context to political theory and describes urban regeneration as a consensual strategy.

> While a variety of competing styles of governance still provide for a great deal of differentiation, urban regeneration is increasingly framed in a common and consensual language of competitive creativity, flexibility, efficiency, state entrepreneurship, strategic partnerships, and collaborative advantage.
>
> Swyngedouw 2007[28]

According to Swyngedouw, ever since the late 1980s when the economic success of the Barcelona model[29] became visible, large-scale urban development projects, which aimed at repositioning cities in the increasingly competitive market of global metropolises, gained momentum. Urban restructuring goes hand in hand with economic regeneration. He states that ''the making of new creative and entrepreneurial cities is one of the key arenas through which this post-political consensus becomes constructed.''[30] Urban regeneration is therefore a crucial means for constructing and controlling the post-political city—a metaphor, which in his view, can be applied to any major city in the industrialized world. Though the consensual language of regeneration, expressed in its generic processes and spatial interventions, might generate short-term economic growth, the long-term political effects are less than promising. Consensus attempts to create a society without classes or differences where the notions of inclusion and exclusion become obsolete, yet it is precisely the *a priori* assumption of a whole, which discourages any political subjectification. ''What indeed is consensus if not the presupposition of inclusion of all parties and their problems that prohibits the political subjectification of a part of those who have no part, of a count of the uncounted?''[31]

The political subject seems lost. One can describe ''our contemporary post-political/biopolitical society as one in which the multiple dispositifs desubjectivize individuals without producing a new subjectivity.''[32] Given that any political practice presupposes a political subject, as Rancière's analysis has shown, desubjectification results in a ''de-politicized sphere of post-ideological administration.''[33] In this respect, Rancière introduces the term of *postdemocracy* to demarcate the specific institutionalized mode of making the political subject disappear. According to Rancière, disappearance is achieved through ''an uninterrupted count that presents the total of 'public

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27   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 124-25.

28   Swyngedouw. ''The Post-Political City,'' 60.

29   Refer to the case studies chapter of this thesis for a detailed account of the transformation of Barcelona in the advent of the 1992 Olympic Games.

30   Swyngedouw. ''The Post-Political City,'' 66.

31   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 116.

32   Žižek. ''Afterward to the Paperback Edition: Welcome to Interesting Times,'' 418.

33   Ibid., 464.

opinion' as identical to the body of the people."[34] The presumably public view is identified within a system of opinion polls and simulated political acts. 'The people' are thus constantly on display and reflected to themselves. This permanent visibility deprives them of their chance to actually appear.

> Postdemocracy is the government practice and conceptual legitimization of a democracy after the demos, a democracy that has eliminated the appearance, miscount, and dispute of the people and is thereby reducible to the sole interplay of state mechanisms and combinations of social energies and interests.
>
> Rancière 1999[35]

Here, Rancière denotes postdemocracy's tendency to **aestheticize** politics, meaning to institutionalize the distribution of the Sensible in formal democratic structures. Instead of nurturing proper democratic processes and institutions, it engages in distributing seemingly democratic rights and responsibilities required for political agency thereby creating a make-believe state democracy.[36] For what it's worth, simulated democracy diverts the public's attention from the potentially dangerous effects of unexpressed thought. Post-politics/postdemocracy in its neglect and disapproval of a diverse political reality creates a vacuum where political disagreement, in all its many aspects, cannot be seen or negotiated. Yet it might still exist, spread, and escalate in more extreme forms of political views like xenophobia, fundamentalism, or spontaneous violent outbursts amplified by socio-economic problems.

> It is crucial to perceive how 'postmodern racism' emerges as the ultimate consequence of the post-political suspension of the political in the reduction of the state to a mere police agent servicing the (consensually established) needs of the market forces and multiculturalist tolerant humanitarianism […]
>
> Žižek in Rancière 2006[37]

With regards to increasingly heterogeneous and fragmented cultural milieus, negotiating ethnic or religious differences is one the most pertinent issues of our time. While expanding and diversifying social relations refine an individual's personality, as Georg Simmel already pointed out, they also heighten contentious dynamics. He stated that "external and internal conflicts arise through the multiplicity of group-affiliations, which threaten the individual with psychological tensions or even schizophrenic break."[38] If the modern era required individuals to reconsider their identity in view of multiplying affiliations, postmodernity has further exacerbated these multiplicities. If, however, post-politics' attention to consensus signifies a disregard for plurality and heterogeneity, it denies society the ability to reconsider and to readjust in response to its diversification. Individual identity is voided, while at the same time, under the influence of global markets and migration, the pressure rises to formulate a new identity. When society neither acknowledges nor reacts

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34   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 103.

35   Ibid., 102.

36   Pedro Levi Bismarck sees this aestheticization of politics materialized in regeneration projects that employ a conservative architectural rhetoric like the reconstruction of the castle in Berlin. Here, nostalgia functions as an instrument of power. The dynamics of global capital are wrapped and hidden in pseudo-historical layers and a design of national values while the immediate, politically controversial past in the form of the Palace of the Republic is erased. See Bismarck, Pedro Levi. "Architecture and the Aestheticization of Politics" in: *Design Observer* blog (February 10, 2014) Retrieved from: http://places.designobserver.com/feature/architecture-and-the-aestheticization-of-politics/38311/ (accessed February 11, 2014).

37   Žižek. Afterword in Rancière. *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 72.

38   Simmel, Georg. "The Web of Group-Affiliations" (1922) in: *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, translated by Reinhard Bendix. (Free Press, 1955) 326.

to this precarious situation, the floodgates open for stronger regulating bodies—anything from dictatorship to free market—capable of dominating society by offering fragile identity substitutes. Thus, the post-political condition gives rise to an uneven distribution and exploitation of power.

Žižek states that post-politics shows its Janus face by de-politicizing through technocratic governing on the one hand, and provoking radical insurgencies of the de-politicized on the other. Making consensus the central aspect of political objectives, causes dissensus on the periphery. Consensus should thus not be mistaken with peace or the absence of conflict. Despite post-politics' best efforts to muffle enunciation, the political Left and Right still exist. However, the homogenized atmosphere of consensus society pushes them towards more extreme articulations in the form of violent protests, revived nationalism, racism, and ethnic or religious fundamentalism. Suffocating speech will only compress the issues that need to be heard and act as a catalyst for anarchic raptures. Thus the attempt of "[e]liminating wrong, as consensus society demands, is identical to absolutizing it."[39] Both Rancière and Žižek warn that excluding political dissent from society means that the excluded will ultimately re-surface with even stronger force. "The Otherness excluded from the consensual domain of tolerant/rational post-political negotiation and administration returns in the guise of inexplicable pure Evil."[40]

Examples of such anarchic raptures are the insurgencies that have occurred over the past two decades in both American and European cities like the Rodney King riots in LA (1992), the rising of the Black youth in the Parisian banlieue and other French cities (2005), and the London riots (2011). In all three cases, the trigger was a specific event that subjected individuals to the force and uncalled-for violence of the police. They are also comparable in that the unrest quickly spread across a large urban area or even the nation. There was thus a general acceptance and approval of the reactions to police brutality amongst the affected groups. What is distinctly different though, is the background of the protesters. While the first two outbursts were in response to ethnically motivated exclusion and thus instigated by a specific ethnic group, the London incident included a greater diversity of participants. Different ethnicities from the white, black, and Asian population joined the protests, which suggests that exclusion was based more on growing socio-economic disparities like unemployment and derelict neighborhoods. This signals a transition in the logic of urban protest and a more varied group of the disadvantaged and marginalized. Reviewing the precarization of employment, the dissolution of social strata, and the shifting identities in contemporary society suggests that this excluded group is growing ever larger and thus needs to be taken all the more seriously.

Considering the long-term effects of the above-mentioned uprisings reveals that they failed to trigger comprehensive changes in the socio-political sphere. Instead, they were answered by an expansion of police control. The biggest concern was to subdue the protests, arrest the contributors, and 'return to normal' as soon as possible. Further reactions on institutional-political level were the demand for enforcing immigration procedures and increasing surveillance measures. In particular in a city like London, which is already superbly equipped with CCTV, this seems not only surprising, but even irrelevant to avoiding such outbreaks.

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39 Rancière. *Disagreement*, 117.
40 Žižek. Afterword in Rancière. *The Politics of Aesthetics*, 73.

The events indicate the transformation of an individual or group during protests. In the process of insurgencies, marginalized groups detect, occupy, and widen the cracks in the police order. The political subject finds himself/herself in a transitional situation by stepping beyond the position assigned to it by society and by claiming rights it previously did not have. It enters an ambivalent state between citizen and non-citizen, between counted and uncounted. This exemplifies the very nature of the political as a third identity—ephemeral and unsteady—constructed within specific constellations of power, knowledge, and place, which ceases to exist once those parameters change. Rancière states, "[t]he political community is a community of interruptions, fractures, irregular and local, through which egalitarian logic comes and divides the police community from itself."[41]

If the political re-surfaces in the form of violent ruptures despite post-political intentions to strangle it, how could this dynamic be channeled towards a more permanent and more effective political engagement? Random outbursts offer little perspective for comprehensive, long-term change with regard to the social or ethnic exclusion, which caused its emergence in the first place. The spontaneous act—the decisive yet ephemeral act of claiming speech—disappears once the police order has been restored. Instead, it seems beneficial to nurture the political dimension and allow for more meaningful and consistent means of political interaction.

Political Revival
The reasons for asserting a post-political reality put forward by academic scholars vary, or rather emphasize different aspects. They are, however, connected. The end of ideology is tightly linked to liberal capitalism and the spreading of postdemocracy. Despite the different approaches in the debate, all contributors define post-politics as the political reality of our time and acknowledge the severe irregularities that are caused along its borders. Therefore, re-politicization, i.e., encouraging the re-appearance of proper political subjects, presents itself not as an option but as a necessity. The right to visibility, and thus access to the political realm, is crucial.

Academia regards the development of a globalized politics in correspondence to a globalized market a possibility to re-strengthen the political dimension.[42] The diminished national power has not resulted in a "parallel shift towards an internationalization of politics" and instead there are "signs that localism and nationalism have become stronger."[43] It follows a simple logic: if we have a market beyond national borders, we also need democracy beyond national constitutions. This is essentially the belief that transnational politics would be the solution to keeping the market under control whilst reaffirming national sovereignty. As this demand originated in a time when the implications of the global market were first comprehensively noted, it can now be stated, with some experience, that this trust in a global political approach might be misleading. While ecological matters have spurred a transnational perspective, other issues like social equality and immigration have proven resistant to international politization.

41   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 137.

42   See Attali, Jaques. "The Crash of Western Civilization: The Limits of the Market and Democracy" in: *Foreign Policy*, 107. (1997) 54-64 or Martin, Hans-Peter; Schumann, Harald. *Die Globalisierungsfalle* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1996)

43   Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 305-306.

The global perspective, though certainly relevant, does not seem to provide a sufficient answer to the dilemma of local political challenges. A somewhat more fruitful concept with regard to re-politicization is Frederic Jameson's observation of **micropolitics**,[44] which, in the twenty years after his publication, has only increased in relevance. The concept of micropolitics refers to the interest in a specific topic by class-heterogeneous cultural groups. Thus, the subject of debate is not linked to aspects of social status. While the concerns of workers' unions were the conditions of their respective social class, micropolitics affirms the dissociation of the political from social bodies and demonstrates that the content of political debate has changed. Jameson defines localized non-class politics as a phenomenon of postmodernity.[45] As an example of micropolitics, one can identify the raised awareness for ecological issues articulated in the spreading of the urban gardening movement like the **Byhaven 2200** project in the Nørrebro neighborhood of Copenhagen.[46]

The great number and variety of urban initiatives—which will be presented in more detail in chapter three under the notion of **DIY urbanism**—show that people are fed up with the global hegemony of capital, the individualization and anonymity of urban agglomerations, and energy-wasting lifestyles. They form local groups in search of a less materialistic and more rewarding urban life, where the act of making is just as important as the product itself. Projects like Byhaven manage to increase self-responsibility and self-empowerment by enabling people to literally reap the fruits of their own labor. Empowerment means to be at least partially involved in issues of governance through managing a certain space. Byhaven is as much about presenting a socio-cultural platform and growing one's own food as it is a symbolic act of reclaiming responsibility for and control over urban space. Such self-organized movements feature a high level of local initiative. The political engagement is disproportional to governmental representation and financing: while public funds are decreasing, the creativity and level of involvement of the local community are on the rise.

This bottom-up approach resonates in the works of many scholars. In **Can Neighbourhoods Save the City?** Moulaert et al. acknowledge the potential of the local community for generating and articulating new political dynamics. Their compilation of theoretical thought and case studies tries to emphasize the link between global and local scales. While the community is the reflection of larger issues of society, it also presents the means to overcome them by offering a platform for political negotiation.[47] Though not summarized under the heading of 'community,' Hardt and Negri show a similar affection for bottom-up dynamics. They regard the fragmented and diversified members of the multitude as a potential for the new political body of **the common**. In their view, these singularities manage to question the existing political order through communication and cooperation and thus investigate and establish alternative political structures.[48] Finally, Paul Virilio also allocates the political in the context of group structures. He identifies the scale of immediate human relationships as the origin of and potential for re-politicization.[49]

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44 *Micropolitics* resonates Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau's investigation of alliance politics: the subject matter, e.g., a non-class issue like nuclear energy, is established as the point of interest and the common denominator of a particular group.

45 See Jameson. *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*.

46 *Byhaven 2200* is a self-organized urban garden located near *Superkilen* (see chapter one). Byhaven provides for shared activities and local food production. It attracts people of different backgrounds and age groups and protects valuable parkland.

47 Moulaert, Frank et al. (eds.) *Can Neighbourhoods Save the City? Community Development and Social Innovation*. (New York: Routledge, 2010).

48 See Hardt; Negri. *Multitude*.

49 Virilio, Paul; Brausch, Marianne: "Randgruppen. Ein Gespräch" in: *Mythos Metropole*, edited by Gotthard Fuchs, Bernhard Moltmann and Walter Prigge (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1995) 89-97.

Reviewing these thoughts of different scholars, it can be said that proper political interaction seems to depend on strengthening relationships on the micro-level. The modification and densification of urban environments through economic and demographic change not only demands new urban layouts and building typologies, it also requires new political concepts. It raises questions of self-perception and self-placement in today's society. Providing an arena for political mobilization and empowerment must be a priority in an ever-densifying and ever-diversifying urban context. As a suitable setting for re-politicization, we can imagine nothing other than the city. Urban agglomerations have long been and still are the epitome of societal concentration, where different aspects of human habitation and an increasing variety of cultural backgrounds and social strata overlap but do not necessarily interact. It is here that the subjectivization of the wrong by the political subject is not only in strong demand but also provoked and nurtured by various contentious situations. With reference to urban insurgencies, Antonio Negri states that the formation of new political subjects is "nowhere else as visible and forceful as in the urban dimension."[50] Likewise, David Harvey offers an explicit statement on the matter. He describes the city as a catalyst for a (Western) notion of community. Therefore, any attempt to strengthen political engagement[51] must consider the city as both its realm of operation and its most pertinent issue.

> Any political movement that does not embed itself in the heart of the urban process is doomed to fail in advanced capitalist society. Any political movement that does not secure its power within the urban process cannot long survive. Any political movement that cannot offer ways out of the multiple alienations of contemporary urban life cannot command mass support for the revolutionary transformation of capitalism.
>
> Harvey 1989[52]

This excursus into political theory presented Rancière as a passionate advocate of radical emancipatory politics. Though his references to nineteenth-century revolutionary dynamics seem somewhat outdated,[53] his acknowledgement that any political act has an inherent aesthetic dimension is all the more relevant. It signifies that the political entails distinct organizational structures, gestures, and styles that support its emergence, its interpellation of different groups, and its longevity as a meaningful disruption of the police order. Despite his comprehensive thoughts on the actors and prerequisites of political mobilization and his verification that "the only city is a political one,"[54] Rancière has considered neither architecture nor public space as a constitutive parameter in the production of political subjects. This concept will be pursued in the final chapter of the thesis.

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50   Negri, Antonio et al. "What makes a biopolitical space? A discussion with Toni Negri" in: *Eurozine* (2008) Retrieved from: http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2008-01-21-negri-en.html (accessed April 2013).

51   Harvey understands a review of political engagement as a renewed form of Socialism.

52   Harvey. *The Urban Experience*, 255.

53   In *Staging the People*, he traces the history of worker's emancipation (volume 1: *The Proletarian and His Double*) and analyzes how the new Left of 1968 adopted the tradition of working class resistance for their own virtues (volume 2: *The Intellectual and His People*). See Rancière, Jacques. *Staging the People*, translated by David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2011).

54   Rancière. *Disagreement*, 71.

CHAPTER 3

THE UTOPIA OF DIY URBANISM

The following is an investigation into the link between the built environment and the people that occupy it, in order to delineate any potential socio-political outcomes of indeterminate public space. Cities are the quintessential physical manifestation and representation of society. Consequently, this renders the city the ideal testing ground for utopian concepts in architectural as well as political terms. This chapter presents a short overview of the most influential ideas in the area of urban utopianism and interprets recent self-organized approaches to urban design as a contemporary version of utopia. It is followed by an examination of the case studies for correlations between urban zero points and the emergence of individuals or groups that—by themselves—manage to define aspects of their urban surroundings. Eventually, these dynamics of DIY urbanism evoked by and articulated in indeterminate public space are assessed with regard to their achievements and shortcomings. Additional preconditions of DIY approaches, such as high levels of cultural capital, are also considered.

3.1 Ideal City, Ideal Society

3.1.1 Society Follows Space: Social Relations and their Built Frame

The Ancient Greek polis, the great medieval fortifications, the skyscrapers in our CBDs—cities have always been the medium and outcome of power relations. Their architectural and spatial parameters are the result of negotiations between different power-related entities such as legal or political authorities, institutions, and capital. Cities are the quintessential physical manifestation and representation of society. At the same time, a society's built frame manages to impair the behaviors, feelings, and relationships of its members. Examining *urbanism* is thus not to be understood as merely studying the physical structure of the city; it is also related to economic, social, cultural, and political aspects, which precede and determine any built environment and likewise are defined by it. This reciprocal relationship hints at the complexity of the urban dimension. At the beginning of the twentieth century, under the influence of modernization and the subsequent wave of urbanization, the correlations between built frame and behavior—between the space that we occupy and the way we occupy it—formed the foundations of urban sociology, which was concerned with phenomena like interaction and agency in reaction to physical and non-physical factors in urban environments. Following the conceptual groundwork laid by Georg Simmel and Max Weber,[1] sociological studies on the interdependence between urban space and urban society were further developed in the 1920s and 30s by scholars of the Chicago School like Robert E. Park and Louis Wirth. Thus, the urban social question did not emerge with the end of Fordism but rather must be related to its beginnings. At the time, the academic thought followed the view that modernity, with its enlarged, densified urban agglomerations and its advances in communication and transportation, impacted human relations by producing the simultaneous phenomena of physical proximity and social distance.[2]

> […] for the city is not only in ever larger degrees the dwelling-place and the workshop of modern man, but it is the initiating and controlling center of economic, political, and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, peoples, and activities into a cosmos.
>
> Wirth 1938[3]

The writings by Wirth and his contemporaries demonstrate a remarkable timeliness. Regarding the city as the matter of sociological review requires looking beyond the physical parameters and including a variety of other factors like demographic and organizational structures, economic relationships, or the perception and appropriation of the material environment. The urban identity does not exist by its own virtue. It has to materialize in built form and, in return, is also affected by this form. The material surroundings shape social relations while being shaped by them. According to Thomas Gieryn, the built environment, like other technological artifacts, is "at once, the product of human agency and a stable force for structuring social action."[4] This two-directional dependency

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1 While Simmel focused on the psychological state of individuals in relation to urban environments, Weber investigated the urban dimension as a focal point of economic and political development, relying on rational administrative structures. For example, see Simmel. "The Metropolis and Mental Life" and Weber, Max. "The City" (1921) in: *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

2 Both Simmel and Wirth regard the rising number of relationships and chance encounters as responsible for weakening their actual social extent. Simmel describes a protective *blasé* attitude amongst urbanites while Wirth identifies a volatility in urban social relations and an emphasis on 'fictional kinship groups.' See Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" and Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life" in: *The American Journal of Sociology* 44:1 (July 1938) 1-24. Retrieved from: http://www.sjsu.edu/people/saul.cohn/courses/city/s0/2768119%5B1%5DWirth.pdf (accessed December 7, 2012).

3 Wirth. "Urbanism as a Way of Life," 2.

4 Gieryn, Thomas F. "What Buildings do" in: *Theory and Society* 31 (2002) 41.

and the thus accentuated meaning of physical urban space for forming social relations has seen reflections—both in agreement and disagreement—in sociological thought.[5]

However, recalling the physical changes of the postindustrial city suggests that social relations have likewise been altered. Today's social and spatial practices are distorted and complex. They show signs of dissolved class relations, diversified cultural milieus, and enlarged yet volatile 'webs of affiliations'[6] due to global economic and political transformations as well as technological innovation. In this context, Edward Soja has coined the term **postmetropolitan transition**[7] to grasp the condition of the contemporary city, marked by an ever-enlarging urban population, a new economic regime, and global networks of capital, labor, and culture assisted by virtual space. The heightened concentration of people in the postmetropolis is accompanied by an aggravated fragmentation of its society. Spatialization—as the physical and non-physical articulation of this society—increasingly becomes a playing field of social power, i.e., the capacity to influence the interests and perceptions of individuals through institutions, legislation, capital, or space.[8]

Henri Lefebvre's extensive work on space in general and urban space in particular paved the way for Soja's considerations. Lefebvre noted that space is not a physical container but rather the product of affiliations and interactions which articulate themselves spatially.[9] Likewise, these social relationships are inextricably linked to spatial dimensions. "***Their underpinning is spatial.***"[10] David Harvey extends these thoughts by following Lefebvre's Marxist trajectory and further emphasizing the link between advanced capitalist society and urban space. According to Harvey, it is not only the production of space but also the possibility to exercise control over it, for example through means of financial power, which is responsible for (re)producing social relations. Thus, the command over space enables the command over people. Being able to control space—through continuous appropriation, ownership, etc.—is a key objective of different urban actors.

> The freedom to appropriate and move over space at will is highly valued […] The purchase of private property rights secures exclusive rights to dominate a parcel of space […] Those without money power have to define their territorial privileges by other means. The urban gang protects its turf through violence, and low income and minority populations seek to define collective spaces within which they can exercise the strictest social control.
>
> Harvey 1989[11]

While those with financial means can move freely in-between spaces and acquire ownership to their preferences, lower income groups tend to feel trapped in spaces that they cannot control.

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5   For example, in contrast to Gieryn, sociologist Manuel Castells opposes the affective qualities of material environments. He claims their impact on human relations is much less decisive than existing social and economic constellations. Though the city allows for various activities and relations, it is not their generator. See Castells, Manuel. *The Urban Question. A Marxist Approach*, translated by Alan Sheridan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

6   This term refers to Simmels analysis of altered social relations under the influence of urbanization. See Simmel. "The Web of Group-Affiliations."

7   Soja aims to differentiate it from previous terms like *late-capitalist* and *postindustrial* as he considers those restricted to the 1960s to 1980s. See Soja, Edward. "Postmetropolitan Psychasthenia: A Spatioanalysis" in: *Urban Politics Now. Re-Imagining Democracy in the Neoliberal City*, vol. 6, edited by BAVO (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2007) 78-93.

8   The opposite of social power is physical power (force), which is not directed at the self of another being but rather at its bodily aspects.

9   Lefebvre famously notes, "*(Social) space is a (social) product.*" Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*, 26.

10   Ibid., 404.

11   Harvey. *The Urban Experience*, 197.

Eventually, their inability to control space causes insurgencies and political unrest similar to that discussed in the political excursus. If the command over space constitutes a vital goal of urban actors, the liberation of space becomes a point of political struggle.

> The demand to liberate space from this or that form of domination and reconstitute it in a new image, or to protect privileged spaces from external threat or internal dissolution, lies at the center of many urban protest movements and community struggles […]
>
> Harvey 1989[12]

The issue of space as a contested category is also reflected in Soja's **spatioanalysis**[13] of the postmetropolis. He notes that recent traits of de-politicization can only be counteracted through spatial justice. Drawing on Lefebvre's *le droit à la ville* (the right to the city), Soja understands the equal access of all individuals to the urban form and its products as the prerequisite for a revival of urban politics of resistance and change.

> At the foundation of this new consciousness is the Lefebvrean dictum that space is socially produced and as such can be socially transformed. […] Space, and urban spatiality in particular, is activated as a contested process and product.
> […] we can organize movements at multiple scales, from the global to the local, aimed at seeking greater spatial justice and what Lefebvre long ago described as le droit à la ville, the democratic rights and responsibilities of all urban residents to the resources and use values produced in the city.
>
> Soja 2007[14]

Similar to the remarks by Harvey discussed at the end of the political excursus, Soja attributes the question of re-politicization to *urban* space. Assuming that any political movement needs to address the urban dimension and considering the great diversity of social relations in the urban sphere that need to be politicized, the city signifies the realm of pre-eminent significance with regard to re-politicization. However, the prime responsibility of urban planning has traditionally been to organize and homogenize this diversity. The discipline of planning strives to unite what cannot be united: private and public, production and consumption, regulations and freedom, group and individual, tradition and utopia, etc. This fact in itself is politically charged to the extent that the objectives and methods of urban planning are presented as yet another facet of Rancière's police order.[15]

Nevertheless, if architectural objects and urban layouts influence how we live, it seems only logical to imagine their modification in order to live better. It renders the city the ideal testing ground for utopian concepts in architectural as well as political terms. Consequently, in awareness of their power, urban planners have long engaged in a wide range of utopian thoughts, more often than not closely linked to decisive societal upheavals. In particular the great modernists subscribed to the logic that a new society demands new spaces.

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12 Ibid., 182.

13 The term *spatioanalysis* reveals references to Lefebvre. It relates to his way of thinking about space, drawing on sociology and psychoanalysis.

14 Soja. "Postmetropolitan Psychasthenia: A Spatioanalysis," 88-89.

15 Refer to the political excursus for more information on Jacques Rancière's concepts of politics and the police.

3.1.2 Brave New World: Utopian Thought in Urban Planning

The city as a material form, narrative, and political construct has seen many reflections and re-conceptualizations throughout history. The most alluring visions are the ones with a utopian aspect, the ones that follow the example of Thomas More and imagine an ideal society.[16] They draw their appeal from the fact that they simultaneously conceive a new social and a new physical model. To a certain extent, every urban master plan contains the aura of an omniscient planner and his view of the future. Yet the most important schemes of urban utopianism developed throughout the last century address both aspects—space and society—in equal measure.[17] Some well-known examples are discussed below. Each in its own way, they have exerted an influence on how cities are imagined and planned.

The effects of continuing modernization and urbanization at the beginnning of the twentieth century, which motivated Simmel to note his thoughts on the link between urban space and behavioral patterns, also encouraged new radical planning models such as the *Garden City* concept by Ebenezer Howard. It took altered forms of mobility into account, envisaged a more dispersed urban layout, and included a distinct socialist twist by imagining a new collaborative social structure based on shared land ownership.[18] While *Garden City* still relied on a network of railroads, *Broadacre City* by Frank Lloyd Wright completely indulges on the idea of car-based mobility and de-centralization. Wright's vision was based on a right to land and individual lifestyle. His vast landscape of homesteads was a spatial articulation of a distinctly non-hierarchical structure that empowered the individual. The equal distribution of land was an expression of democracy.[19] Combining physical transformations with a political agenda was also present in the urban concepts of Le Corbusier and CIAM.[20] Plans like *La Ville Radieuse*[21] were conceived as the expression of and the breeding ground for a new enlightened society. Urban space was rigidly structured and the order of society was expected to follow suit. His concept depicts the city as a verticalization of built volumes and split up in residential areas, business districts, and industrial zones, including an elaborate traffic system to navigate in between. Both aspects of his plans—the 'towers in a park' and the city consisting of separate programmatic zones—became one of the leading urban paradigms for years to come.[22] Le Corbusier's attempt to generate a better society also included the constitution of a permanent hierarchical organization of the collective realm—e.g. through representatives—which was to accompany the spatial-architectural rigidity of his plans. In his view,

Note:
Utopia derives from the combination of the Greek words *ou* and *topos* which translates to 'no-place'. It denotes an ideal form of state, society, or space that does not relate to any specific place and is thus independent from any historical, geographic, or cultural context.

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16   In 1516, Thomas More published a description of a model society in a mysterious place. A vast range of utopian visions have been developed since and rendered the term a renowned concept in sociology, political theory, and urban planning. More, Thomas. *Utopia* (1516) Retrieved from: http://www.goodreads.com/ebooks/download/18414.Utopia (accessed January 26, 2014).

17   In this light, Bart Lootsma demonstrates that the concepts of, for example, Otto Neurath and Constant Nieuwenhuys are inextricably linked to the notion of *leisure*, i.e., their physical plans include the vision of reduced working hours or even no work at all. See Lootsma, Bart (ed.). *Research for Research* (Amsterdam: Berlage, 2001).

18   See Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1902) Retrieved from: https://archive.org/details/gardencitiestom00howagoog (accessed January 12, 2015).

19   See Wright, Frank Lloyd. *The Disappearing City* (New York: William Farquhar Payson, 1932) Re-written and published as *When Democracy Builds* (University of Chicago Press, 1945) and *The Living City* (New York: Horizon Press, 1958).

20   The collaboration between CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne) and Le Corbusier was very fruitful throughout the 1930s and 40s. The debates influenced his project work, and vice versa, which is exemplified by the correlations between *La Ville Radieuse* and *La Charte d'Athènes*.

21   The project was designed in 1924 and published later in Le Corbusier. *La Ville Radieuse* (1935).

22   The paradigm of functional separation was further developed within the scope of the 1933 CIAM conference and published as *The Athens Charter*. See Le Corbusier. *La Charte d'Athènes* (1943). The functional city became an inspiration for post-WWII urban reconstruction, see for example Hans Scharoun's *Kollektivplan* for Berlin.
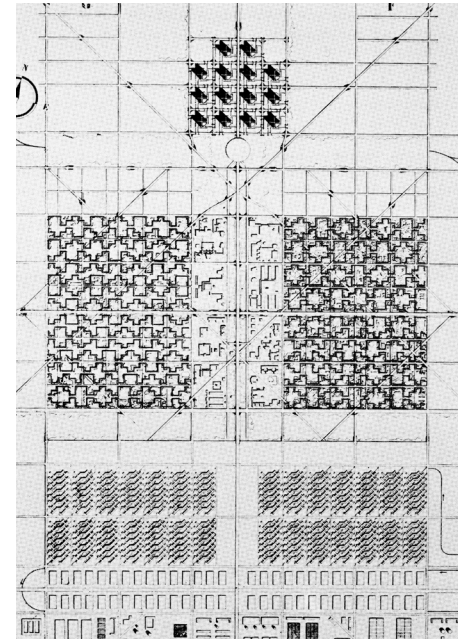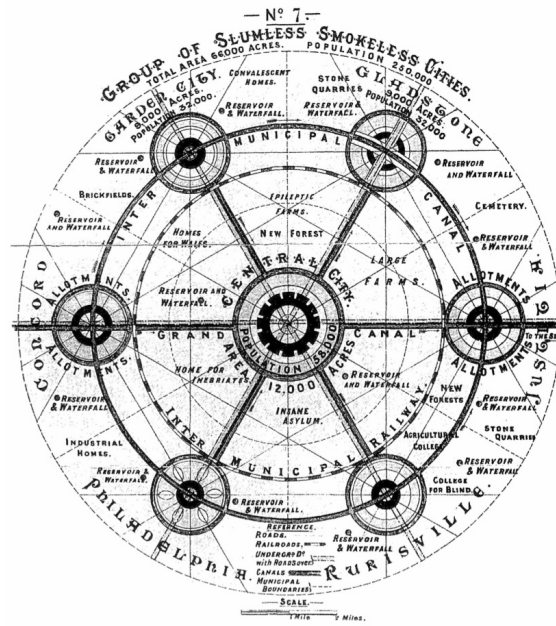
Fig. 108 Ebenezer Howard, Garden City.

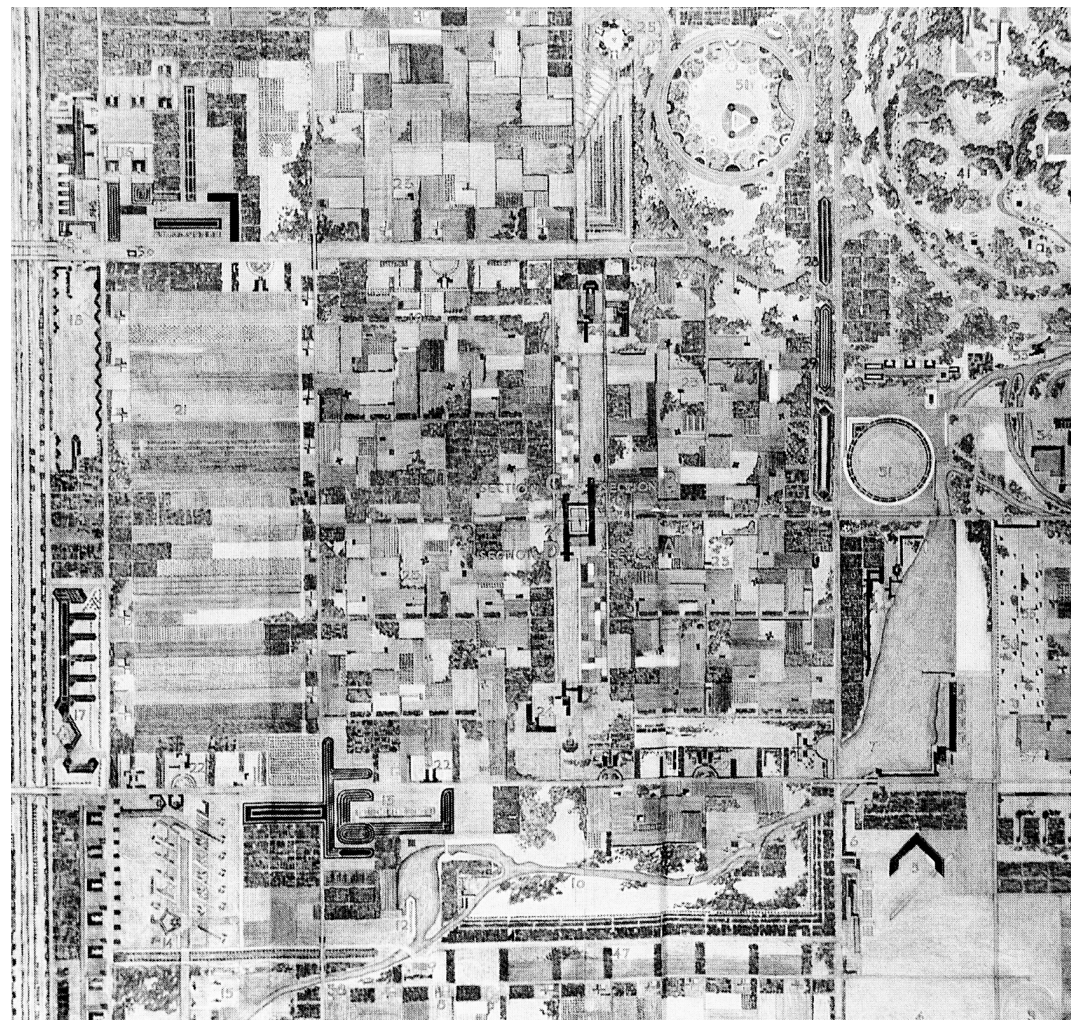Fig. 109 Le Corbusier, La Ville Radieuse.

Fig. 110 Frank Lloyd Wright, Broadacre City.

this was not a political statement but rather the articulation of a *natural* social order that was to ensure collaborative relationships (Fig. 108-110).

The rationality and radicality of modernist urban visions were a clear acknowledgement of growing industrial production, technological advances, and spreading traffic infrastructures. In *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, Robert Fishman compares Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier with regard to their spatial and social visions. Their approaches differ greatly even though the three planners express an equal disaffection with the urban environments of their time. They attempt to radically restructure the urban space and thereby establish an alternative society. While Howard sees a new social dynamic best developed within the cooperative system of confined small-town environments, Wright advocates complete individualization. Le Corbusier, despite including aspects of cooperation, emphasizes the need for a superior administrative structure to ensure order. The physical manifestations of these approaches, in accordance with their social objectives, range from medium-sized urban clusters and extensive low-density sprawl to the affirmation of the centralized and verticalized metropolis. Nonetheless, the three schemes are united by one central issue, which Fishman calls the *classic utopian dilemma*:[23] "To appeal to everyone on the basis of universal principles is to appeal to no one in particular. The more glorious the plans are in theory, the more remote they are from the concrete issues that actually motivate action."[24]

Each of the examples mentioned above, in its own way, formulates critical statements toward the present and imagines "a revolution in politics and economics as well as in architecture."[25] They each construct an ideal, which ascribes spatial-architectural means the power to resolve problems of conflict or disorder. Expecting universal salvation from one particular planning scheme seems rather limiting and a potentially dangerous oversimplification of the urban dimension. The planner becomes a superior being: the *philosopher-king* who has the foresight and power to act on behalf of the society and guide it toward a better future. Fishman uses this phrase in reference to Le Corbusier's plans, which embrace the idea of governing and controlling the people. Despite his intention of promoting an egalitarian society, *La Ville Radieuse* must be understood as a thoroughly authoritarian effort in social engineering and therefore as a political act. His spatial approach of centralizing power and expressing it in verticality further underlines this aspect. Though Wright's plans show a diametrically opposed approach to Le Corbusier by constructing extreme horizontality, the projects equally reveal each architect's belief in his ability to determine how people should live as a way to solve social problems.

To summarize the short portrayal of these three examples of utopian thought, it must be stated that, paradoxically, they contain a political dimension in two different and largely contradictory ways. They employ architecture as a means of achieving objectives of a more progressive and more equal society, yet their rigidity in terms of both obsessive geometric order and social engineering seems to restrict multiplicity and signifies an act of totalitarianism. "Through its attempts to take a spatial form as a goal for a better urban future, and through its attempts to remake the environment in the image of that form, this kind of utopian urbanism has been denounced as

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23 See Fishman, Robert. *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

24 Ibid., 18-19.

25 Ibid., 7.

inherently oppressive."[26] Howard, Wright, and Le Corbusier believed that the social conditions of their time were in disarray and that this fact was somehow linked to the physical structure of the city. With the best intentions, they imposed a de-historicized and de-contextualized order on both society and space. This authoritarianism raises the question whether utopian thought is necessarily linked to some form of authority, or whether multidimensional authorship is possible.

In this light, it seems relevant to look at the large variety of utopian ideas that originated in the progressive political sphere of the 1960s. The consequences of WWII had largely been overcome, the economy improved, and technological advances allowed for an overall optimistic view of the future. Mass transport systems and mass media increased both personal mobility and the attention to imagery and information. The discipline of architecture and urban planning was engrossed in a debate on how to read, construct, and consume the city. The widespread acceptance of open, interdisciplinary thinking and changing lifestyles called permanent physical structures into question.[27] At this point, Yona Friedman's proposal of *La Ville Spatiale* is indeed a valuable addition to the discussion of urban utopianism. Similar to the modernists, Friedman saw the traditional city as an outdated model that could not be adapted. However, instead of replacing the existing with a glorious new spatial arrangement, Friedman simply overlaid the historical core of the (European) city with an open, light-weight structural system that could be constantly transformed according to user needs through a range of wall, floor, and ceiling elements: prefabricated and adjustable[28] (Fig. 111). In the line of utopian thoughts presented here, Friedman's concept is the first that profoundly questions—and finally denies—the authority of planners in the process of constructing the city. In his view, planners and their material products should not provide more than a framework, within which individuals are free to create their lives physically. This clearly distinguishes *La Ville Spatiale* from the totalitarianism of previous schemes and it reflects the political liberalization of its time. It can be argued that Friedman's utopia of self-planning adumbrates a level of individual impact on urban space that only recently—under the influence of economic and political transformations—has gained in importance together with the notion of *Do-It-Yourself (DIY)*.
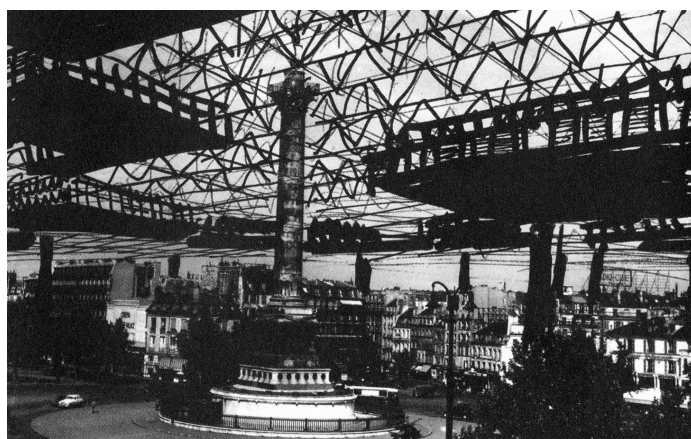

Fig. 111   Yona Friedman. La Ville Spatiale.

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26   Pinder, David. "In Defence of Utopian Urbanism: Imagining Cities after the 'End of Utopia'" in: *Geografisker Annaler.* **84 B** (2002) 233.

27   This approach can be found, for example, in the way the Situationists International propagated reading the city, or in related urban concepts by planners like Constant Nieuwenhuys, Archizoom, and Superstudio. The projects of this era show a distinct affection for the large scale, thus causing the term *megastructure* to become synonymous with utopia. See Düesberg, Christoph. *Megastrukturen: Architekturutopien zwischen 1955 und 1975* (Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2013).

28   Friedman drew references to Konrad Wachsmann's highly efficient space frames and concluded that by limiting the structure to its minimum, the architect can pass the creative task of designing the material environment on to those who are using it.

The final peak of visionary thought in the 1960s was followed by its plunge into depression. When the crisis of Fordism hit in the early 1970s, utopian concepts were increasingly hard to come by. Economic transformations and the growing awareness of receding energy resources put an end to the functional city with its rigorously divided zones and dependency on vehicular traffic. Besides, overcoming modernist visions was accompanied by the disaffection with idealistic planning altogether. While the great utopian plans of the modernists were based on the assumption that an altered urban environment would generate a new society within its framework, the link between space and society became irrelevant in postmodern urban theory and practice. Postmodernism rather prioritized aesthetic principles and the staging of grand spectacles, further encouraged by crumbling ideological stances.

Given that the fate of utopia can often be linked to economic and political events, it is not surprising that the collapse of the Eastern bloc symbolizes a significant caesura in the tradition of alternative societal concepts. "What place was there now for utopian thought […] when we have supposedly witnessed the triumph of liberal democracy and the 'end of history'?"[29] The ideological breakdown of 1989, the leveling that seemed to occur in view of liberal democracy, and thereby the affirmation of the post-political condition, resulted in a lack of critical perspectives on the present and a lack of aspirations to establish new ideals.[30] Fishman argues that contemporary society has lost the "confidence in the reality of a common good or purpose which can become the basis of city life."[31]

The post-political condition resonates in the dismissal of strategic, large-scale planning in architecture and urbanism. The disquieting apprehension, however, is that this negation of utopian thought might entail the end of urbanism altogether, or in other words, the **end of the city**. The discipline of urban planning fails to sufficiently address pertinent issues like urban sprawl, segregation, and the emptying out of city centers. Cities beyond urbanism seem to result in privatized, decentralized, fragmented, and sprawling spatial patterns that not only stretch along the fringes of metropolitan areas in North America but also affect the interurban corridors of European cities while the attempt is made to keep their central core with its administrative and cultural significance alive through piecemeal regeneration projects. Anti-utopianism seems to translate to anti-urbanism, demonstrated by a lack of identity, diversity, and meaningful public space. Upon closer examination, the territorial expansion of today's (post)suburbia—not unlike Wright's Broadacre City—does not ensure individuality. It rather generates uniform tastes and life choices, a subordination to the opinions of the majority. It signifies a deserted no-man's land of no political value whatsoever. Facing the spatial and political challenges of the contemporary city while avoiding the very notion of planning, the question arises: Can we think of new ideals, which acknowledge our fragmented urban realities, and formulate a statement on how to proceed? Is there still a demand for utopian thought?

Cities are simultaneously imagined and real entities, consisting of dreams as much as the built form. Hence, David Pinder advocates rethinking the ties between urban utopianism and urban reality. In his view, contemporary critique needs to reject the authoritarian schemes of the modernists and

29   Pinder. "In Defence of Utopian Urbanism," 230.

30   See Jacoby, Russell. *The End of Utopia: Politics and Culture in an Age of Apathy* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

31   Fishman. *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, 267.

re-conceptualize utopianism in more process-oriented ways beyond ideal concepts of society or spatial form. According to Pinder, if the aspect of **desire**—as criticism of socio-political reality and as an indication that something is missing from the present—is encouraged in visionary thought, utopianism can be grasped as a process, instead of a blueprint.

> […] a utopian perspective is not necessarily about projecting representations of a 'perfect' city, the institution of which is then sought as a means of trying to overcome the difficulties and complexities of the present. Nor does it need to involve closing down the social and spatial field by proposing a fixed solution. Rather, it may be re-thought in terms of addressing what is possible, and of seeking out the prospects within present conditions for different and more just processes of urbanization.
>
> Pinder 2002[32]

Pinder's suggestion of thinking utopianism as transformative further extends Friedman's vision of the adjustable city. It introduces the notion of temporality, which opposes the generally permanent nature of architecture and the urban form. Likewise, David Harvey re-conceptualizes contemporary utopia as an ideal of a socio-spatial **practice**. Where classic urban utopianism engendered repression through its spatial structures, a more open and flexible concept of utopia has the capacity to become meaningful in a political sense. "Emancipatory politics calls for a living Utopianism of process as opposed to the dead Utopianism of spatialized urban form."[33]

3.1.3   Hands-on Urbanism: The New Utopia of Self-Organization

The terminological understanding of utopia as process provides for an open, relational approach to shaping the city and, more importantly, it allows for adjustments along the way. Traditionally, urbanism as a discipline refers to the grand scale. Apart from organizing the built environment, it has to negotiate a number of non-physical parameters like economic and cultural aspects and their correlations to each other as well as to the physical realm. Considering the complexity of liberal capitalism and the array of problems it entails—from shifting markets to the precarization of employment and growing social discrepancies—architects and urban planners face a multitude of issues they cannot solve by virtue of their discipline. To imagine solutions solely on the grounds of architectural interventions would mean returning to the authoritarian utopian models of modernism. Instead, alternative utopian schemes need to incorporate a greater variety of urban actors and provide for a flexible process of defining aspects of the physical and political urban realm.

Similar to the scholars discussed above, Ana Jeinic acknowledges the present disaffection with utopian thought and comprehensive planning, which she calls the "hostility toward the project."[34] In her view, the decline of macro-utopianism is compensated by two opposing tendencies: on the one hand, the ideal of local initiatives and on the other, the utopian motif (not project) of sustainability. The continuously rising popularity of the latter—the omnipresent eco-fetish—tries

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32   Pinder. "In Defence of Utopian Urbanism," 239.

33   Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 436.

34   Jeinic, Ana. "Neoliberalism and the Crisis of the Project … in Architecture and Beyond" in: *Is There (Anti-)Neoliberal Architecture?* edited by Ana Jeinić and Anselm Wagner (Berlin: jovis Verlag, 2013) 64.

to fill in the potholes of neoliberalism, but fails to develop strategies to eliminate them. Green utopia is thus a utopia of survival, not progress. In fact, sustainability seems to be yet another term in what Swyngedouw describes as the consensual language of urban regeneration and thus accelerates the post-political momentum rather than counteracting it.[35] The proliferation of community initiatives, however, might very well give utopian thought a fresh impetus insofar as it nurtures the emergence of political subjects on a local level.

Jeinic states that an alternative socio-political project will have to outline both the vision of a better world and the transformation toward it. A joint effort with regard to urban space and politics, which addresses **goal** and **process** in equal measure, is required. Such a revised notion of utopia—updated to our times—certainly resonates in the large variety of urban movements. Some generate and focus an enormous level of local creativity while others attend to the most pressing social issues of the community and provide educational programs or assistance with handling public authorities. In 2007, the Swiss Architecture Museum (SAM) in Basel hosted an exhibition that related contemporary urban projects and theories to the thoughts of the Situationists. The curators noted that projects like Lucy Orta's **Refuge Wear** or the (full-time senior) **Recreational Vehicle (RV)** reflect the demand for direct intervention in urban space and revive the nomadic identities asserted in the 1960s. The projects establish new ideas of community, participation, and interaction, rejecting a consumption-based lifestyle[36] as much as the permanence of physical structures. Instead, they require informal and temporary architectural and spatial layouts and propose mobile forms of urban settlements (Fig. 112, 113). A compilation of the works and texts was published by SAM under the title **Instant Urbanism**.[37] In the introduction, curator Francesca Ferguson describes the projects as exemplary micro-scale realizations of the Situationists' vision of reorganizing the city so "that citizens themselves could decide the spaces and architecture they want to live in, and how they wished to live in them. The goal was presumptuous as it was seductive – the revolutionizing of everyday life."[38]

The Swiss exhibition with its artistic interventions as well as the great number of (partially more realistic) examples that have emerged in cities around the world, reveal a decisive change in scale. The era of utopian vision in terms of inspirational megastructures (Archigram, the Metabolists, Superstudio, etc.) has certainly passed, yet the imaginative and experimental nature of utopia seems to persist on a micro-scale. Today's urban gardening movements, art collectives, and joint building teams—despite their modest approach—embody the visionary power of yesterday's megastructure. **DIY urbanism** emerged as a leitmotif to express people's mistrust of professionally-authored urban planning and their search for alternative ways of conceiving, constructing, and living in the city. DIY urbanism focuses first and foremost on social, cultural, and political aspects, and only on a secondary level does it relate to the actual reconfiguration of urban layouts. The term is synonymous with other expressions that emerged with reference to self-organized urban activities: **Tactical Urbanism**, **Instant Urbanism**, or even Lefebvre's **Right to the City** (though clearly detached from its historical and theoretical framework).

Fig. 112   Lucy Orta, Refuge Wear.

Fig. 113   Recreational Vehicle, sketch.

35   Refer to *The Dilemma of Post-politics* in the excursus of this thesis.

36   However, in the case of the RV, one might also argue that it simply signifies consumption of a different sort (vehicle, fuel, etc).

37   Swiss Architecture Museum (ed). *Instant Urbanism: Tracing the Theories of the Situationists in Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism* (Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 2007).

38   Ibid., 1.

In this light, David Harvey offers a renewed interpretation of Lefebvre's term in an effort to grasp the recent diversity of bottom-up initiatives.

> […] to adopt the right to the city as both working slogan and political ideal, precisely because it focuses on the question of who commands the necessary connection between urbanization and surplus production and use. The democratization of that right, and the construction of a broad social movement to enforce its will is imperative if the dispossessed are to take back the control which they have for so long been denied, and if they are to institute new modes of urbanization. Lefebvre was right to insist that the revolution has to be urban, in the broadest sense of that term, or nothing at all.
>
> Harvey 2008[39]

The programs, initiatives, and actions are manifold and it is impossible to subsume them in one category. Nevertheless, they can often be described as provisional and temporary. They tend to be small-scale and spontaneous in nature though some of them have also managed to evolve into more long-term projects. Common motifs are mobility, flexibility, and a healthy lifestyle. If the projects include physical elements such as built structures, their design tends to follow the notion of the ordinary or the vernacular. They also make extensive use of scrap materials and old building parts, usually defined as **up-cycling**.

With a focus on urban gardening, Elke Krasny notes that local urban projects are by no means a new phenomenon. She discusses bottom-up initiatives as a historical development, which, since its emergence as a side effect of industrialization in the mid nineteenth century, has assisted the urban population in coming to terms with several waves of modernization. Her book **Hands-on Urbanism** includes a range of projects that are characterized by self-organization, a critique of established institutions and economic systems, and the empowerment of local agents to determine matters of their urban surroundings. Community-building and formulating rules on how to organize space become the key aspect of these projects. Local agents claim the power of spatial articulation. Thus, agency in terms of appropriating a certain space, setting up a garden, or constructing some form of physical structure becomes a political act of claiming visibility.[40]

Though Krasny presents historical precedence of self-organized urban projects such as the **Schrebergarten** movement, it can be argued that the number of contemporary examples has increased considerably in view of heightened competition, neoliberal politics, and developer-pressured urban environments. This is also demonstrated by the extent of research recently undertaken in relation to such projects although romanticizing the informal and its social objectives or merely exploiting its aesthetic principles (e.g. shanty towns) seem to be all too simplistic interpretations of these movements. The hypothesis of the informal should rather be used to review and modify traditional patterns of perceiving the city.[41]

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39   Harvey, David. "The Right to the City" in: *New Left Review* 53 (September/October 2008) Retrieved from: http://newleftreview.org/II/53/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city (accessed January 23, 2015).

40   Krasny, Elke. *Hands-on Urbanism 1850-2012. Vom Recht auf Grün* (Architekturzentrum Wien: Vienna, 2012).

41   See Hagemann, Anke. "Der Mainstream des Informellen: Urbanistische Forschung zwischen Romantisierung und städtischer Realität" in: *Hands-on Urbanism 1850-2012. Vom Recht auf Grün*, edited by Elke Krasny (Architekturzentrum Wien: Vienna, 2012) 70-80.

Despite the rise in self-organized initiatives, the different ideas and groups are rarely connected and their impact varies. The question arises how their success as local expressions of utopian thought and political claims to visibility can be assessed and whether there are any spatial preconditions that nurture the formation of DIY movements. In chapter two, the hypothesis was formulated that an indeterminate public space represents the backdrop for political subjectification. This was further substantiated by Ábalos & Herreros's areas of impunity, in which subjects manage to establish themselves, thereby forming a new social practice. Accordingly, it must now be examined whether the prediction that DIY urbanism—as a contemporary version of utopianism or as a form of subjectification—will emerge as a consequence of indeterminacy is proven true by the case studies. *What are the socio-political parameters of indeterminate public space in the case studies of urban regeneration?*

3.2   Case Studies: the Socio-political Parameters of Public Space

The following section assesses the level of appropriation in the denominated public areas. Who is using the space and how? Is the public realm the location of political dynamics or even their point of concern? What kind of self-organized urban initiatives are formed? This evaluation of the level of political mobilization in the neighborhood is largely informed by the field notes taken during site visits and the interviews conducted with planners, academic scholars, social workers, and other agents related to the respective project.

3.2.1   Barcelona: Public Space as a Political Issue

A. local agents

In the first years of Raval's regeneration after the restoration of democracy, the most pertinent issues were addressed quickly and in response to the demands of the local population. Consequently, the social movements that had gained power toward the end of the Franco era, lost momentum, or as Calavita and Ferrer put it, they lost their **raison d'être**.[42] The very basic problems had been dealt with, the physical and social situation started improving, and the immediate concept of the enemy had disappeared. Yet, there is another reason why these movements have been modified and are not as strong as they were in the early days of the young democracy: the profound diversification of the population, in particular in Raval.

The objectives of regeneration took a different turn as did the demographic structure and 'Catalan' identity of the neighborhood. Joan Subirats and Joaquim Rius outline the scope and impact of the physical restructuring in Raval. Their comprehensive study was commissioned in 2006 by CCCB as a 20-year review of the project and demonstrates the economic and socio-cultural change the neighborhood has experienced.[43] Parallel to opening up the dense urban structure, public institutions with a focus on research and culture were relocated to Raval. As intended by urban planners, the neighborhood saw an increase in tourism and commercial activity as well as the development of the hitherto practically non-existent real estate market. The unemployment rate decreased significantly,[44] the social strata with high socio-economic status grew accordingly. These figures resulted from economic improvements as much as changing demographic structures. Lower unemployment must thus be understood in reference to younger and better-educated people moving to the neighborhood. Simultaneously, there was a notable increase in inhabitants with foreign backgrounds. In the mid-1990s, driven by global migration, Raval experienced an influx of immigrants that exceeded the average levels in Barcelona by far; thus confronting the neighborhood with new challenges (Fig. 114). While migrants used to come from other parts of Spain, now the new residents had other (mostly non-European) backgrounds such as Pakistani, Moroccan, and Filipino. There are currently three main groups in Raval: the original working-class inhabitants, immigrants from more than seventy countries, and a small, mostly Spanish middle class with higher education and/or artistic ambitions.[45] Due to the great diversity of the demographic

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42   See Calavita; Ferrer. "Behind Barcelona's Success Story."

43   See Subirats; Rius. "From the Xino to the Raval."

44   Subirats and Rius note a decline in unemployment from 37,6% to 15,9% between 1986 and 2001.

45   According to Subirats and Rius, the population is made up as follows: lifelong residents (50%), non-European immigrants (35%), and middle-class newcomers (15%). See Subirats; Rius. "From the Xino to the Raval."

structure, only a rough classification into one of these three categories is possible. The groups themselves are heterogeneous and thus hard to subdivide. This goes to show that global migration patterns have fast-tracked Raval's evolution from a mono-social/mono-cultural milieu to an ethnically diverse neighborhood symbolic of our globalized times.

> At the edges of this project, global dynamics and the great migratory movements of the end of the last century have meant that the Raval would go back to its traditional and recidivist condition as a neighbourhood of refuge for people with very few resources who come to the city seeking work and a future. This is a bottom-to-top process, which in practice has been much more far-reaching in its effects than the last time it occured, but this time nobody imagined it would happen as it did.
>
> Subirats and Rius 2006[46]

	1991		1996		2002	
	Emigr.	Immigr.	Emigr.	Immigr.	Emigr.	Immigr.
Raval	13.2‰	14.9‰	25.0‰	55.2‰	53.0‰	202.8‰
Barcelona	12.7‰	9.4‰	21.4‰	25.2‰	34.3‰	64.2‰

Fig. 114 The evolution of emigration and immigration figures in Barcelona and Raval.

SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL CATEGORY	1978	1986	2001
High-level category	1,221	678	2,402
% high-level category	3.79%	4.19%	16.16%
Medium-level category	6,985	1,027	2,827
% medium-level category	21.70%	6.35%	19.02%
Low-level category	23,069	14,178	9,612
% low-level category	71.68%	87.69%	64.86%
Artists and Armed Forces*	907	286	20
% artists and Armed Forces	2.82%	1.77%	0.13%
Total	32,182	16,169	14,861
% total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Until 1996 there was a category that grouped Armed Forces and artists (sic) under a single heading, but the 2001 data only take into account Armed Forces professionals

Fig. 115 The socio-professional categories in Raval.

The incoming residents—the new middle-class as well as different immigrant groups—have spread rather evenly over Raval, although differences between north and south can still be noted. Overall, the atmosphere and consumption-oriented infrastructure in the vicinity of the cultural cluster is more likely to attract young professionals, artists, tourists, etc. whereas the number of immigrants tends to be smaller where rents are higher.[47] The different groups, each in their own way, contribute to the character of the area. It must be said that there seem to be fewer conflicts between long-term residents and the new immigrant population than one might expect, as they belong to similar working-class environments. "The old people who are living here feel more comfortable with the immigrants because they are more like them than the tourists or people from higher [class] neighborhoods in Barcelona."[48] Besides, "it was the immigrants who ran little shops for daily shopping at a time when all around Barcelona and also here, the little shops disappeared. […] now everyone goes to buy there."[49]

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46   Subirats; Rius. "From the Xino to the Raval," 23.

47   For a detailed analysis on which group is occupying which area of the neighborhood, see Subirats; Rius. "From the Xino to the Raval," 31-32.

48   Gual, Carme; Santos, Marc Aureli; Terra, Anna. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (September 23, 2011) page 249, section 66.

49   Gual; Santos; Terra. Interview, page 249, section 57.

Fig. 116 Volem un barri digne.

In Raval, persisting conflicts among different urban actors are location-specific and vary throughout the neighborhood. While prostitution is prominent along two streets around Plaça de Salvador Seguí, robberies pose an issue in Carrer de l'Hospital. The northern section of Raval struggles with increasing noise pollution and tourists while the south experiences a high frequency of change in small business ownerships. Although the challenges of everyday life in the neighborhood are diverse and complex, the main issue in all of Raval is the lack of resident interaction. Keeping a reserved distance is starting to escalate into open displays of dissatisfaction. The resident movement *Raval per Viure* (RPV), formed in 2009, is trying to channel protest against what is considered to be anti-social behavior. As stated on their internet blog, this includes drug-dealing, street prostitution and "l'ocupació il·lícita del carrer,"[50] the illegal occupation of the street. They initiated the banner campaign *Volem un barri digne* (We want a decent neighborhood, Fig. 116), which expresses a lingering dissatisfaction with perceived conflicts and with the lack of intervention by the authorities. It also exemplifies growing levels of xenophobia and the successful establishment of *zero-tolerance* in people's minds. Characteristics of the neighborhood such as petty crime and multiethnicity are considered uncivil and are fought against.

So far RPV has failed to unite the various residents into a collective movement. Instead, the large range of neighborhood associations—synonymous with the diverse quarters—and especially their umbrella organization *Fundació Tot Raval* are putting in a great effort to counteract the issue of alienation. They are engaged in local projects that target social and cultural segregation, insufficient education, or assist in dealing with authorities. As community worker Elisa Covelo points out, these projects contain a participatory approach that can help to overcome cultural or social boundaries.

> There are over 70 nationalities in this neighborhood but participating more stably … Pakistanis—the women's group, people from the Philippines, certain places in Latin America, Sikhs […] Moroccans, obviously. […] the interesting part is not so much that they are participating as a cultural group, they are participating as neighbors in Raval. Sometimes they are not participating within their group. It's just Pakistani women in another space. Or the kids, for example, there is a lot of youth that we work with in these projects. They organize their concerts or whatever they are doing and […] they are not organized as a cultural group, they are organized as youth.
>
> Covelo 2013[51]

In conclusion, the population has been diversified and is now—mainly thanks to the immigrants—much younger than before the renewal program. Raval has been rejuvenated with regard to both its buildings and its people. This process did not happen uncontestedly and in particular public space has become a device of negotiation.

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50   *Raval per viure* Internet Blog. Retrieved from http://ravalperviure.blogspot.co.at (accessed August 20, 2011).

51   Covelo, Elisa. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (October 02, 2013) page 258, section 26.

B. the appropriation of public space

The success of the regeneration project—improved cultural and economic activity, demographic change, etc.[52]—is based on two crucial aspects: culture and public space. The cultural cluster assisted the symbolic transformation of Raval and functions as a local attractor for both people and business. Culture and art-related functions like galleries, artist studios, and design practices have settled in the area. The creative industry positively affected the perception of Raval, increased its appeal as a 'place to live', and was followed by the reinvigoration of other economic sectors. Today, especially in the northern part, it offers a considerable range of beauty salons, bars, and health food stores. On the other hand, the importance of public areas for social and political change in the district was due to the fact that for the most part they had no clear-cut functions or buildings allocated to them; that is to say, there was no ownership structure or any rules regarding their use. The regeneration project of Raval is more than the attempt to widen the labyrinthine structure of the inner city or to better integrate the neighborhood into the larger urban area. It is employed as a political symbol and an actual support for social rehabilitation. Public space presents an opportunity to improve the social environment *from the bottom up*, i.e. by the people themselves. Urban planners conceived the majority of public spaces as open squares, not as semi-public inner courtyards linked to the city's system of paths. During the initial planning stage, this concept was guided by the idea of decentralization and social stabilization, but later came under the heading of homogenization. Mari Paz Balibrea analyzes the correlations between culture "with a capital 'C'"[53] and public space, which she sees in the formation of a universal consensus to support the project. In this light, the construction of a non-defined, open space plays an important role, "a public space rhetorically defined as open to all, and therefore as the place of encounter and of the production of collective culture."[54]

Alleviating the physical density of the area broke down the boundaries between different social strata and neighborhoods. The physical and metaphorical opening of Raval manifested itself in far-ranging transformations. A multitude of social and ethnic groups, urban functions, and economic figures—all with real although different needs for public space—found a suitable setting in the neighborhood. Monica Degen describes varied processes of appropriation and interaction in these new empty spaces such as people walking their dogs, children playing, immigrant families having picnics, and homeless people looking for a resting-place for the night. The urban space is "digested within the neighborhood's daily life."[55]

Shortly after the reconfiguration of the area around MACBA and the completion of Plaça dels Àngels, the museum initiated an international design project on its doorstep. The aim was to visualize the new square and familiarize the local population with it. Four architectural practices—Ábalos & Herreros, MVRDV, Riegler Riewe, and Vincente Guallart—set about conceiving temporary interventions that could potentially strengthen the neighborhoods relation to this new public space. Riegler Riewe decided to accentuate the new square by the simple yet convincing

Fig. 117 Plaça dels Àngels with temporary design interventions.

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52 See Subirats; Rius. "From the Xino to the Raval," 47.

53 Balibrea. "Urbanism, culture and the post-industrial city: challenging the 'Barcelona Model'," 221.

54 Ibid., 221.

55 Degen, Monica. "Consuming Urban Rhythms: Let's Ravalejar," in: *Geographies of Rhythm*, edited by T. Edensor, (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2010) 21-32.

gesture of using a double dashed yellow line on adjacent facades to trace its irregular shape.[56] The outline metaphor can also be found in MVRDV's proposal for the square. The office drew the contours of different sports fields on the ground therewith encouraging its appropriation (Fig. 117). According to Marc Aureli Santos, these interventions were very effective as Raval's young immigrants started claiming the space as their own.

> The people from Morocco controlled the football playing and the people from … I don't remember … controlled the basketball playing. It was some kind of self-organization. It was very difficult to remove these lines because the people were the owners of these fields.
>
> Santos 2011[57]

Nevertheless, once the outlines of the sports fields were removed, the square lost some of the appeal for local residents, which it had gained through the intervention. Today, it is mainly frequented by visitors of the cultural cluster and young skateboarders (Fig. 118, 119).

Fig. 118 Young skateboarders on Plaça dels Àngels.

Fig. 119 Skateboarders and pedestrians in front of MACBA.

Magrinyà and Maza also pick up on the matter of public space appropriation when analyzing the links between immigration and the *huecos* (holes or in-between spaces) in Barcelona's historical center. The new public areas have encouraged a restructuring of the social realm, and are now under growing pressure from conflict-laden competition between different actors, triggered by the coexistence of diverse groups in the same space and their laying claim to it. The authors describe the social space produced in this way as complex and thus fragile. They argue that the image of peaceful multiculturalism is merely created for TV cameras,[58] it fails to factor in the different processes of appropriation of space, and overlooks the potential for conflict. Contentious situations from Raval's past and present are as varied as its heterogeneous social structure. They range from residents being mobbed by landlords and expulsion to prostitution, noise pollution, and petty crime targeting tourists and residents alike. However, the actual situation in the neighborhood is less unstable than its media representation. In fact, there seem to be two opposing portrayals of Raval—one advertising a vibrant multiculturalism in order to attract tourists, and the other stigmatizing its residents and exaggerating individual conflicts. Both of these

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56   Riegler Riewe's *Outline* project has been published in *Definite Indefinite. Riegler Riewe* edited by Architekturstiftung Österreich (Vienna: Springer Verlag, 2002) and in *2G. Riegler Riewe* no. 31 (2004).

57   Gual; Santos; Terra. Interview, page 254, section 177.

58   Magrinyà Torner, Francesc; Maza Gutierrez, Gaspar. "Inmigración y huecos en el centro histórico de Barcelona (1986-2000)" in: *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* 94. University of Barcelona (August 1, 2001) Retrieved from: http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn-94-62.htm (accessed July 28, 2011) "Se produce así una fácil escena de multiculturalidad virtual producida por la cámara oportuna del fotógrafo o del reportero de TV." (translation by Marisol Vidal Martinez).

images of the neighborhood tell the truth and deviate from it at the same time. The plurality of nationalities and social groups does not seem to translate into the eclectic mix one might expect. In the private realm, residents tend to stay within their respective groups. Likewise, gatherings in public spaces continue to be mainly group-focused, with only occasional interactions, even though it can be argued that the younger generation is better integrated and mixed. Children grow up in Barcelona, receive an education, and form friendships—they are thus more likely to cross cultural boundaries.[59]

In this light, great importance is attached to the new public spaces. It is here that people manage to organize themselves and utilize these spaces for a variety of gatherings, events, and festivities. Thus, public space becomes a mediating element where different interests can be negotiated. It offers a platform where different groups can express themselves through the way they appropriate space. Here, Carme Gual notes that public space usage has changed and that the immigrants display behavioral patterns in public space that used to be an attribute of the old-lined residents.

> It is something to think about that 25 years ago people used to sit outside in the street and just talk with their neighbors. […] It disappeared and now the only ones who do it are the immigrants. They recover things that we did before. Why is it so strange? I mean, we say that it is a cultural thing but in fact, they are doing things we used to do not so long ago.
>
> Gual 2011[60]

Marc Aureli Santos continues that people's expectations of what public space should be or offer have changed. While the openness and potential publicness of **plazas duras** were the leading design concept of the young democratic state, nowadays, people have more specific demands of the uses and level of comfort that should be provided.

> Today, they have to eliminate any possibility of danger for the kids. [The space must be] well-designed, well-kept. A sunny place for old people. A place for exercise. The demand on public space is higher than our demand 20 years ago or the immigrant demand. At that time, we only needed a place for the birth of the new European or Catalan society. [Today], the public space must be more thought about. […] Our demand on public space is more specific.
>
> Santos 2011[61]

C. public space as a political issue

While the formal tools of participation such as the ARI Management Committee or the hearings and consultations instigated by FOCIVESA showed limited success in the regeneration of Raval,[62] Blanco and Brugue suggest that an informal participatory process, in which self-organized local associations represent the interests of their respective cultural or social group, can give a new impetus in this respect.

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59   See interviews with Elisa Covelo (pages 257-263) and Huma Jamshed (pages 264-268).

60   Gual; Santos; Terra. Interview, page 249, section 57.

61   Gual; Santos; Terra. Interview, page 253, section 158.

62   Blanco and Brugue list a number of aspects that are responsible for hindering a participatory process, e.g. the sole focus on physical tasks, the lack of time, ineffectiveness due to lengthy debates, and pre-existing conflicts between different actors. See Blanco; Brugue. "Urban Governance Networks and Democracy," 12.

For a long time, the weakness of the resident movement, the weak ideological commitment of local political leaders to community engagement, and the strong dependence of public institutions on the private sector's resources have dramatically restricted the opportunities for community participation. […] beyond the institutionalized forms of citizen participation, community organizations can have a big impact on policy decisions (and can make a significant contribution to the democratic quality of urban politics) from the margins (and not necessarily from the center) of governance networks.

Blanco and Brugue 2010[63]

The authors envisage community involvement as an emancipatory process on the basis of the marginalized position in society that disadvantaged groups hold anyway. Nevertheless, each political statement requires some kind of spatial frame in which it can occur. Here, the *instrumentalization* of public space for political purposes—for non-institutionalized forms of participation—is a well-known concept and is reflected in the reality of the neighborhood. In fact, Raval offers numerous examples of public space appropriation with political significance. Its main squares, in particular Rambla del Raval, have become essential spatial resources in this light. The following discusses how they assist identity formation in the neighborhood and, moreover, how they have become the point of political dispute.

The Rambla is one of Raval's major physical changes and was widely criticized during time of construction because of its disproportionality.[64] The Barcelona City Council tried to activate the area by staging concerts and festivities, also as part of its *Ravalejar* campaign.[65] The architectural-spatial differences between Plaça dels Àngels and Rambla del Raval have resulted in the former becoming a cool urban hot spot[66] and the latter a platform for the immediate neighborhood. This is reflected by the different groups and ways in which these squares are appropriated. Fifteen years after its completion it can be stated that Rambla del Raval is addressing specific needs with regard to staging large community events such as the annual rice tasting festival *Mostra d'Arrossos del món*.[67] Numerous Raval restaurants install a temporary market and offer traditional rice dishes of their respective nationalities. The meals are prepared by the restaurants and served free of change. The different culinary influences not only represent the neighborhood's diversity, they are most importantly a simple yet effective strategy to bring different people together, redefine public space, and act against spreading individualization and xenophobia. This type of non-imposing political activity establishes a common ground and encourages people in overcoming ethnic and social boundaries. The gathering takes subliminal conflicts, prejudice, and skepticism into the public both physically and psychologically (Fig. 120).

How important the Rambla has become for the collective identity of the neighborhood is also explained by the conflict that emerged surrounding one of its major music festivals. Each year, the neighborhood stages a music event on Rambla del Raval, organized by and for the community.

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63 Ibid., 16.

64 See information on planning phases in chapter one.

65 *Ravalejar*, a Catalan verb without clear definition, was developed as brand to assist the transformation of the neighborhood. It encompasses notions of energy, diversity, and fun, but leaves the exact meaning to individual interpretation. The campaign was supposed to create an identity, promote the area, and attract new residents and visitors.

66 See interviews with Elisa Covelo (pages 257-263) or Carme Gual, Marc Aureli Santos, and Anna Terra (pages 246-256).

67 Numerous Raval restaurants install a temporary market and offer traditional rice dishes of their respective nationalities. The meals are prepared by the restaurants and served free of change. This event is organized by the *Associació de comerciants de la Rambla del Raval*, a neighborhood organization of entrepreneurs, and supported by Fundació Tot Raval,

One year, a group of neighbors started boycotting the event and tried to get the hip hop act excluded from the project. "They would let everyone else do it—the jazz, the whatever—but they did not want the hip hop because it's Moroccan kids, its African kids, its stuff they don't want to see."[68] Instead of following the neighbor's protest, however, the majority of residents decided to relocate the entire event to Plaça dels Àngels on short notice. Though not perceived as a genuine meeting point of the community, it gave them the opportunity to switch to another place. The year after, the organizers threatened to not hold the event at all if they could not hold it at Rambla del Raval. In the end, they managed to re-occupy their original location.

> So we kind of recuperated that space. But the nice part of what happened […] was that all the organizations said: 'if you don't want [the kids], then we are leaving as well. We are all together. You cannot choose which concerts you want to have.'
>
> Covelo 2013[69]

The right to access and occupy public space has been repeatedly challenged and became a matter of power struggles between the different native and immigrant groups. Notably, these struggles have also occurred within the same cultural group. Huma Jamshed, leader of the Pakistani Women's Association, criticizes that claiming visibility in public has been made difficult for women by the much larger and more influential group of Pakistani men. For example, the annual public celebration of the Pakistani Independence Day has become an all-male-affair. The women were first asked to pay money in order to get the right to contribute to the event and appear on stage, and in recent years they have been excluded altogether. Thus, claiming public space, participating in various projects, and fighting for recognition have become critical points on the Association's agenda.[70]

Fig. 120   Rice tasting festival on Rambla del Raval, 2011.

68   Covelo. Interview, page 260, section 60.

69   Ibid.

70   See interview with Huma Jamshed (pages 264-268).

These examples of utilizing public space in Raval can be summarized under the heading of soft activism, i.e. "urban projects that create collectivities on micro, neighborhood levels."[71] The term implies the political empowerment of local agents. Soft activism does not necessarily translate to immediate political action, it rather negotiates positions and assists community building, which can turn into long-term, formal types of political engagement at a later stage. Due to the cramped spatial conditions of Raval, public space—especially one that succeeds in interpellating the local population as political subjects and encourages soft activism—is vital for the future of the neighborhood. In this light, the Rambla can eventually be defined as an *urban zero point*. It repeatedly provides for and is used as a space of political empowerment. It gives rise to different local agents; some of these with conflicting interests but to a certain extent each one laying claim to public space. Rambla del Raval's unequivocal articulation of an indeterminate central space open to all kinds of users and ways of appropriation is affirmed by the variety of activities and conflicts that take place. The square is the only location in Raval where the vision of a multicultural yet balanced neighborhood interaction can be formulated and tested.

The radical surgical interventions performed in Raval by urban planners used emptiness as a planning tool to oppose the density of built mass. The reduction in mass and the establishment of 'public platforms' altered the perception of the neighborhood and spurred the diversification of its social tissue, yet provided for potentially contentious situations at the same time. Until today, *plazas duras* assist Raval in eluding administrative control and developing a density of ethnic and social groups and cultural and economic figures. While the initial planning objectives targeted the most urgent problems, the demographic structure is now different, more than 20 years later, and so are the needs of Raval's residents. Old boundaries have been dissolved, yet new ones have appeared. Although the neighborhood is generally more integrated into the city context, its diversified socio-cultural strata leaves residents struggling to establish an identity and visibility. The formerly mono-social milieu has become an urban microcosm. Raval symbolizes the local manifestation of a global process, reflecting transformations on a universal scale. The current situation between apathy, resentment, and small-scale interactions clearly demonstrates the contemporary challenges in densified urban settings. Thus, Subirats and Rius describe Raval as the "the great urban question mark"[72] in the middle of Barcelona with the task of enhancing diverse yet balanced demographic environments as one of its major issues. However, translating the diversity of activities and inhabitants into a state of accepted coexistence can only be achieved if residents feel capable of voicing their opinions. The future development of the neighborhood will therefore hinge in particular on an adequate supply of indeterminate public areas that succeed in interpellating all of the residents as political subjects.[73]

Recent policy frameworks such as the *Pla de barris del Raval Sud*, put in place by the Barcelona City Council and the Generalitat de Catalunya in reaction to rapid diversification and persisting conflicts, try to accompany urban planning schemes with comprehensive mediation processes. It can be argued that these attempts at top-down social ordering and consensus politics tend to have the opposite effect, thwarting communication and aggravating the potential for conflict. Roberta

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71   Negri et al. "What makes a biopolitical space?"

72   Subirats; Rius. "From the Xino to the Raval," 41.

73   For further thoughts on interpellation with regard to public space see Balibrea. "Urbanism, Culture and the Post-Industrial City."

Marzorati states, "local administration itself has prompted fragmentation in the neighborhood."[74] It remains to be seen whether mediation instigated by authorities, already mistrusted by many residents, can have a positive influence on the neighborhood. At this stage, self-organization and soft activism seem to be more promising. "Since the workspace is no longer an entrance into politics, the neighborhood provides access to another form of political practice."[75]

3.2.2 Budapest: Learning Democracy Through Participatory Regeneration

A. local agents

Józsefváros comprises a large area that reaches from the inner city to the outer suburbs. Consequently, there are various social and cultural groups residing in or visiting the district. Zoltán Kovács states that these groups coexist but do not necessarily interact as they occupy different neighborhoods.

> I don't think that people living in Dankó utca in the Magdolna Quarter, would often go to the very inner part with the nice pubs near the National Museum. They live in the same district but I don't think there should be a close relationship. […] The cohesion within the district is not as strong as compared to some peripheral districts of Budapest […] This is an inner-city district with some peripheral zones, very complex and very diverse.
>
> Kovács 2013[76]

Then again, if the regeneration scheme aimed to relieve the distress of residents, the restructuring would also require urban planners to open up the affected areas, form linkages, and integrate them into their urban context. Here, the local government, respectively Rév8, has taken two opposing directions with the proposals for Corvin and Magdolna, as discussed in chapter one. Likewise, the urban actors involved in the project vary greatly. In the case of Corvin, the real estate developer Futureal became a powerful partner in restructuring the area physically as well as socio-culturally. The Corvin area is characterized by a distinct absence of immigrants, Roma, and homeless people. The invisibility of the homeless population this is particularly striking as one of Józsefváros's care centers is in the immediate vicinity of the mall.[77] Instead of catering for the local population, the commercialization of the urban space has attracted people from outside the neighborhood. The existing population has largely been replaced by middle-class residents, professionals, students, tourists, and people shopping at the mall. Futureal gained leadership in the district and used its connections to political leaders to increase its impact, e.g. in terms of branding the area as 'Corvin-negyed' (Corvin Quarter) and renaming the metro station accordingly. The company organized design competitions and engaged professional planners for its prestigious public areas.

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74 Marzorati, Roberta. "Will the Real Raval Please Stand Up? Identity, Contentious Dynamics and the Issue of Representation" lecture at *RC21 Conference*, Amsterdam (July 9, 2011).

75 Constantin Petcou on the potential of spaces to function as "neighbour's unions" and enable political practice in: Negri et al. "What makes a biopolitical space?"

76 Kovács. Zoltán. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (August 26, 2013) page275, section 20.

77 It must be stated that both mall and promenade are supervised by a private security service. In addition, a new law renders homelessness a criminal act. In 2013, the municipality of Budapest, assisted by conservative politics of prime minister Viktor Orbán, designated homeless-free zones, especially the UNESCO World Heritage sites, which cover a large area of the city center. The measure expresses the hostility toward homeless people, the poor, and otherwise marginalized groups. It can be understood as an effort to distract from the social disparities following the economic crisis.

The Magdolna Program, on the other hand, puts an emphasis on empowering the existing population and involving them into the decision-making concerning the neighborhood's physical changes. This is hampered by complex and unsteady group structures due to inner-Hungarian migration and social disparities. According to György Alföldi, people arriving in Budapest from the more rural parts of Hungary aggravate the factor of diversity in that they put varying claims to public space forward. Magdolna has traditionally been a collecting pond of the poor—whether local or from the countryside—and posed a challenge to urban planners in this respect. Apart from the issue of diversification, community building is also made more difficult due to the low percentage of long-term residents. Alföldi notes that the great majority of residents have moved to Magdolna within the last ten years, further encouraged by the 2008 economic recession. Social hardship causes dissatisfaction and a lack of identification with the local environment. Thus, for planners who want to involve the local community in the planning process, this is an additional factor that needs to be taken into account.[78] Regarding the homeless population, the planning team responsible for Mátyás Square decided on a compromise: to fence and protect the new square yet leave one third unfenced in order to provide public space for everyone day and night. Though the main reason behind this measure was to keep homeless people from occupying the staircases of private buildings, it still acknowledges the fact that there are people living in the streets surrounding the square.

Within the scope of the Magdolna Program, the assignment and perception of positions is a rather sensitive issue. In particular, Rév8 as mediator between locals, civil organizations, and public authorities, has been reproached for taking sides with one or the other party. Similarly, there were conflicts among different agents involving the planning and implementation of Mátyás Square. The designers "wanted to design a lot of things and prepared a lot of different proposals […] their main keyword was 'professional',"[79] but the residents managed to form an opposition against those planning decisions they did not want and were eventually encouraged by Rév8 to get their ideas across.

While the substantial replacement of the existing population in the Corvin Quarter is a questionable result of the project, the success of the Magdolna Program can be measured by the visible change of the Mátyás Square and the social improvements for the population. Furthermore, the impact of the community center seems to exceed the boundaries of the quarter. "People do not only come from the neighborhood but even from the small cities around Budapest."[80] The square attracts numerous people and adds to the activation of the area. Unlike Corvin Promenade, it is not under the control of any business interests.

Due to the positive experiences with participatory planning and in order to secure its outcomes in the long run, the second phase of the Magdolna Program included the formation of a neighborhood council—a permanent representative organ of the residents that acts on behalf of the community.

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78   See Alföldi. Interview, pages 277-281.

79   Ibid., page 278, section 12.

80   Varga. Zita Interview in writing (September 2013) page 285, section 18.

Maneszota (Magdolna District Neighborhood Council) […] initiates cooperation with its partners, makes relevant suggestions and opinions concerning the public and its environment. It has a bottom-up organization depending on local residents who partake in individual working groups.

Varga 2013[81]

Zita Varga, social worker at the Kesztyűgyár Community Center, explains that the neighborhood council assisted in collecting information on the local population, e.g. the way of life, the local identity, and the integration of marginalized groups. This data on the conditions and requirements of the locals informs future planning. Throughout the process, locals are assisted by professional planners. Apart from gaining knowledge about the residents of Magdolna, this measure is vital in order to forge contacts with the local population and establish trust between all parties involved.

Experienced professionals conducted the forums and meetings. In case of a certain topic or discussion, governmental representatives were present guaranteeing that the suggestions of the locals reached the competent person. The active participation of local civil organizations was expected and encouraged.

Varga 2013[82]

The implementation of Mátyás Square—in terms of both design and process—is widely considered a success and has been published repeatedly. More importantly, in the third phase of the program, it triggered follow-up projects like the regeneration of Teleki Square. The project also exemplifies how professional planners and the residents involved in the project carried these new relationships further. The participatory process has matured. Rév8 can now rely on the results of the previous scheme and is a stronger partner in negotiations with the municipality. Accordingly, the planners have managed to form a more solid basis, upon which local residents can develop and assert their ideas. They have taken crucial steps toward being recognized as local agents.

A lot of people meet every Thursday evening […] and prepare the plan with Dominika Tihanyi from Újirány Csoport. […] if the people together with Dominika prepare a plan, the municipality will accept this plan. […] They agreed to accept everything the local people want.

Alföldi 2013[83]

Considering the modes of community involvement, Teleki demonstrates similarities to the renewal of Mátyás Square. However, Kristin Faurest, landscape architect involved in the new scheme, criticizes the inadequate representation of the ethnic diversity of the neighborhood in the group of participants, including Roma people.

We did have some difficulty getting ethnic groups involved, […] it would have been better if we regularly had had several Roma and also if we had had some of the immigrant groups of the neighborhood. It would have better reflected the neighborhood. […] We have all these other immigrant groups in the neighborhood that we did not know how to communicate with. It would have been great to have more diversity.

Faurest 2013[84]

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81 Ibid., page 284, sections 2-4.

82 Ibid., page 284, section 4.

83 Alföldi. Interview, page 278, sections 14-18.

84 Faurest, Kristin. Interview in writing (September 2013) page 283, section 16.

Nevertheless, Teleki signifies a growing level of self-organization. The local population has not only been empowered to put across their ideas, they have also developed more sophisticated tools for organizing themselves. In addition to regular meetings during the planning phase, they set up their own non-governmental association and facebook page to assist the future maintenance of the results. "In theory, this group would function as a go-between for the residents and the municipality, as an advocacy organization for keeping Teleki Square vibrant."[85]

B. the appropriation of public space

The area surrounding Corvin cinema—leading from the metro station to the main entrance of the shopping mall—is a well-frequented place in the district, whereas behind the mall—Corvin Promenade—there are generally fewer people. On the promenade, public activities are limited to shoppers passing by on their way to the mall entrance and people using the few facilities the promenade has to offer such as the fruit shop. The retail character of the promenade resembles the one inside the shopping mall in that it tries to address people as potential consumers. It thus appeals only to people with surplus capital and a certain lifestyle. The promenade is appropriated by different groups of consumers. Mothers go for a stroll with their buggies, and there are tourists and students occupying the outdoor seating areas of the cafés and restaurants. The public seating in the central space of the promenade, however, remains empty at most times. In contrast, the two side entries of the mall in Vajdahunyad street are used more frequently. Here, employees of the shopping center step out for a quick bite to eat or a cigarette.

In contrast to Corvin, the program and design of Mátyás Square successfully addresses a larger range of people in terms of their social strata, cultural background, and age. On the playground, there are families with their children while a group of teenage girls occupies one of the niches protected by the greenery. A man with a briefcase sits at one of the tables for an extended telephone conversation. The central space is left open and can be used as a meeting place for larger gatherings such as the annual *Napok* Festival at the end of August. The festival is an essential method of space activation and community-building. It is organized by the community center but fundamentally relies on the participation of residents. A stage is set up in the middle of the square. A local band is playing. There are hip hop and gypsy dance performances prepared by the children and teenagers of the neighborhood. In addition to the entertainment on stage, the community center sets up outdoor social service points where adults can seek advice while their children get their faces painted. The festival participants and visitors include many people of Roma descent, many teenagers, and families with children. The event is accompanied by a large number of security personnel guarding the stage and the entrance points to the square (Fig. 121).

Though the visibility of the homeless population at Mátyás Square has decreased, there is still a noticeable presence of poor and bedraggled people in some of the side streets like Dankó street and Magdolna street. Here, small groups of men of different ages—with an average age of around 45—hang out in the streets, some of them are drinking alcohol. A large homeless shelter in Dankó street can accommodate up to 200 people. Aware of the care center in the vicinity of the square,

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85   Ibid., page 283, section 16.

local residents had decided to leave one third of the square unfenced. Although the gates of Mátyás Square are closed at night, this accessible part would allow for an after-hours occupation of the space. Notably, bedraggled people in the area do not seem to relate to the square. On a hot summer day, they prefer the scaffolding of a construction site in a side street to the square's benches in the shade of trees.

As mentioned in chapter two, Mátyás Square—in contrast to the new Corvin Promenade—has traditionally been a meeting point for the local community. Likewise, Teleki, where the latest refurbishment project recently took place, is a public square that is of great importance to the neighborhood. It had seen considerable neglect by public authorities over many years. Consequently, the commitment on the part of local residents to be involved with this location was significant. "They were so eager to finally get something done there. In fact, at the last meeting, one of the older ladies burst into tears saying she'd been waiting for this for 37 years."[86] The new design and the final implementation were undertaken collaboratively. Teleki was completed and re-opened with a big celebration in September, 2014.

Apart from participatory yet professionally-authored public space regeneration projects, an entirely informal urban gardening movement has also developed in Józsefváros over the past few years and by now includes three sites in the district. Comparable to many other examples of urban gardening, these groups appropriate vacant sites in between buildings and start growing their own food. Kovács understands this self-organized cultivation of urban land as "a positive example of how local people can strengthen the cohesion within the community and use otherwise empty, vacant plots for some useful purpose."[87]

Fig. 121 Napok Community Festival on Mátyás Square, 2013.

86   Faurest. Interview, page 282, section 10.
87   Kovács. Interview, pages 275-276, section 28.

C. learning democracy through participatory regeneration

When discussing the issue of participatory planning in the context of Budapest, one has to focus on the refurbishment of Mátyás Square. As part of the Regional Operational Program (ROP) and the EU-funded GreenKeys scheme, the main goal was to achieve an *integrated* development, which implies the involvement of the community in the decision-making. It was at least in part up to the local population to decide what kind of interventions should be undertaken and how it should be done. Participation is a lengthy process, of course. First and foremost, engaging with unknown partners requires the building of trust through communication and interaction prior to starting the actual project. Besides, people's commitment to the planning objectives must be strengthened in order to sustain the success and the longevity of the results.[88] In this light, the key words of participatory schemes are 'collaboration' and 'identity'. Boosting the notion of identity and the feeling of being attached to the area, is a way to make people want to stay in the neighborhood and accept it as their home.[89] On an urban scale, it also results in presenting the quarter in a more positive way. "By creating a unique identity of its own, Magdolna district became an independent but integrated area of Budapest."[90]

In the case of Mátyás Square, the attempt was made to encourage interaction between different local agents through a range of communicative and educational measures like the distribution of leaflets, public meetings, a survey on the living conditions and requirements of the community, and the involvement of professionals to provide additional information. These measures were accompanied by elements of community building, like celebrating the finalization of a particular stage in the project.[91] As a result, many volunteers took part in the implementation (Fig. 122-123).

Fig. 122 Mátyás Square, joint planting project.

Fig. 123 Mátyás Square, sitting mounds created by local pupils.

Similarly, the Teleki refurbishment began with extensive efforts at sharing information. In order to empower people to make decision on what kind of changes they wanted, they first had to learn and to imagine what was possible. At this stage, professional planners opted for steering the design process by providing a certain level of knowledge.

88   See Somogyi, Eszter; Teller, Nóra. *VADEMECUM. Improving housing conditions for marginalized communities, including Roma* (2011) Retrieved from: http://www.euromanet.eu/upload/84/25/vademecum_OSI_2011.pdf (accessed January 19, 2015).

89   See Kovács. Interview, pages 273-276.

90   Varga. Interview, page 284, section 6.

91   See Somogyi; Teller, *VADEMECUM*.

We as designers were trying to influence them in what we considered to be the right direction. [...] We focused on naturalistic plantings, on simple pavings and lighting features that were modern and not fake-historical, which perhaps some of them might have chosen if they were on their own. But I would call that education and persuasion—it certainly was the farthest thing possible from manipulation. They liked our ideas and we were successful in winning them over in some instances where what they wanted was not the most economical or sustainable or aesthetically suitable choice

<div align="right">Faurest 2013[92]</div>

Notably, the new Teleki project takes advantage of additional technological tools that were not readily available when Mátyás Square was constructed. The designers employed social media to communicate with participants. They sat up the facebook page *Milyen legyen a Teleki tér?* (What should Teleki Square look like?) in order to provide the community with regular updates on the project. According to Kristin Faurest, the page attracted more than the younger generation.

Dominika and her team operated this facebook page and I think it was fantastic. And, surprisingly, even some of the pensioners were on facebook regularly. So, it was much more inclusive than you might have thought. It was a great way to exchange ideas and post current information about the project's status.

<div align="right">Faurest 2013[93]</div>

Facebook continues to be a practical communicative device. It has been relevant with regard to further self-organization of the neighborhood. In summer 2013, during the design phase, residents founded the non-governmental organization *Társak a Teleki Térért* (TTT, which translates to Partners/Friends of Teleki Square). The group acted as a contact with reference to Teleki and assisted the community in identifying with the square. In response, the local municipality has given the association the legal means to maintain the area and develop activities there.

The slow realization of participatory schemes and the learning process this type of planning requires are expressed in the comments of György Alföldi. The director of Rév8 notes that participation as a form of sharing decisions is in fact a way of learning democracy. In his view, the lack of adequate legal frameworks and Hungary's legacy as a non-democratic state—under both Habsburg and Communist rule—additionally impede the concept of participatory planning. Consequently, the establishment of a form of direct democracy through community-based development is his main motivation for such an engagement in the area.

For me, the main importance is the involvement [in the neighborhood]
[...] the involvement [of people in the project] is a type of sharing decisions and this is a type of direct democracy.
[...] in my opinion, the main aim is learning democracy, learning how to work together.

<div align="right">Alföldi 2013[94]</div>

Though Alföldi emphasizes the democratic aspect of such joint regeneration projects, it is worth noting that both Mátyás and Teleki Square also show design aspects that contradict the idea of an indeterminate, equally accessible public space and instead, could be described with Oscar Newman's *defensible space theory*. According to Newman, providing micro-spaces with a distinct

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92 Faurest. Interview, page 283, section 26.

93 Ibid., page 283, section 20.

94 Alföldi. Interview, page 277, sections 2-8.

design and a clear ownership structure assists people in forming an identity with the place and 'defending' it, e.g., against criminal acts.[95] From a planning background, Faurest argues that indeterminate public space might work in projects like Jan Gehl's transformation of Times Square in New York[96] where there is a large number of people, but she ascribes negative consequences to indeterminacy in the case of Teleki, which was marked by persistent issues with public safety.

> Teleki, as it is, is so functionless and sort of lawless, there's no owner. The fact that it's in a high crime neighborhood adds to the problem. Here, people are afraid of places that are dark and empty.
>
> Faurest 2013[97]

Faurest's observation suggests that the demands on public space have changed: it indicates that a clear delineation of uses in public space and the secure enclosure of these areas have become more important. As a result, the planning team followed the tone of Newman's theory to counteract the sense of lawlessness. By including the preferences of the locals and providing group-specific design aspects, the team tried to enhance the formation of different identities and their respective physical manifestation in public space without necessarily subdividing the space. The measure is supposed to enhance ownership and longevity of the project.

> You can call some of the planning in Teleki Square defensible-space-style planning because we tried to create a series of spaces with clear functions for clear groups that will be easy for people to claim ownership of.
>
> Faurest 2013[98]

3.2.3   Berlin: Business-Hippies Designing the City

A. local agents

Holzmarkt is neither a typical investor project nor an attempt at participatory planning like the refurbishment of Mátyás Square. It is rather an entirely self-organized and self-funded effort in designing urban space and thus cannot finance its ambitious plans in one go. Instead, it opts for a step-by-step approach. The coordinators specifically aim for their project to remain in flux and open to change, which is also reflected in their group structures. As indicated in chapter one, the organizational framework with its three entities and a range of subordinated operating companies is rather complex. It has established a system that allows a maximum number of independent responsibilities, so that if one aspect of the project does not work out as planned, it does not jeopardize the whole development. However, the people behind these organizational bodies tend to move. They are involved in different aspects of the plan at different times. Moreover, the

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95   Newman, architect and urban planner, first published his thoughts in *Defensible Space* (1972). For details on defensible-space-style design strategies, see Newman, Oscar. *Creating Defensible Space* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1996) Retrieved from: http://www.humanics-es.com/defensible-space.pdf (accessed February 8, 2015).

96   In 2008, Gehl Architects implemented a radical change in the urban layout of New York City. The office achieved the closure of the square for car traffic and introduced a large empty space for pedestrians with temporary street furniture instead. The construction of a permanently pedestrian public square will be completed by Snøhetta in 2015.

97   Faurest. Interview, page 283, section 24.

98   Ibid.

individual working groups are constantly enlarged and more knowledgeable persons are taken on board—either as supporters and advisors or as new associates in the cooperative.

> We also notice that the team continuously expands in order to tackle any issue that might appear. Whether planning issues or construction issues, we as laypersons—no one claims to be an urban planner—cannot understand them, we need specialists.
>
> Noack 2013[99]

Given the impermanent group structures and the large size of the project, it is difficult for the cooperative to state the exact number of participants. Likewise, it is difficult to subsume this heterogeneous group in one category. It comprises different age groups, nationalities, and professions. Nevertheless, all these collaborators seem to be united by the same level of "ideological claim to become active at this location"[100] and a willingness to enter a process that is somewhat uncertain. It can also be argued that a large percentage of users and collaborators are living on the other side of the river in Kreuzberg—a district that is known for its multicultural population and squatter movements.[101] Thus, there seem to be mutual interests and life choices, which bring people together. As architect Silvia Carpaneto points out, the members of the group are joined through affinities that relate to their creative power. They are united in their desire to get involved, to reconfigure the city culturally and physically. "There aren't any theorists among them. Overall, these are pragmatic people who are ready to 'get their hands dirty.'"[102] Carpaneto states that, in comparison to joint building ventures, which generally rely on a certain level of economic capital, the Holzmarkt cooperative is more diverse. The group includes academics as well as handymen. In her opinion, anyone who is willing to work within a slightly chaotic structure is capable of participating, irrespective of their profession. Even though the project is based on a distribution of responsibilities, the individual positions and assignments are changeable.

> It also requires a certain ability to bear risks, to enter a hierarchically not perfectly organized but rather moderate chaos. Not everyone is suited to finding one's place. There are responsibilities but yes—what can you say—it is in flux. […] You have to find your place. It is not a given that you go there, get a position, and keep it.
>
> Carpaneto 2013[103]

Whether one can adjust to this level of uncertainty eventually determines whether people join the team or not. "[C]oming from outside as a planner or professional in your trade, you first have to learn how to handle it—this way of living and working."[104] This goes to show that, in the case

99 Noack, Ludwig. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (April 25, 2014) page 296, section 30: "Wir merken auch, dass sich das Team immer weiter erweitert, um jegliche Fragestellung, die auftritt abdecken zu können. Sei es Genehmigungsfragen, Baufragen, die können wir als Laien—niemand sagt von sich, dass er ein Stadtplaner ist—gar nicht überblicken, da brauchen wir Spezialisten." (translation by author).

100 Hofmann, Aljoscha. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (April 23, 2014) page 304, section 64: "ideologischen Anspruch, an der Stelle aktiv zu werden." (translation by author).

101 See Carpaneto, Silvia. Interview conducted by Uta Gelbke (April 14, 2014) pages 286-294.

102 Ibid., page 289, section 48: "Da sind keine Theoretiker bei. Das sind im Großen und Ganzen pragmatisch veranlagte Leute, die bereit sind anzufassen." (translation by author).

103 Ibid., page 289, section 50: "Es bedarf auch einiger Risikobereitschaft, sich in ein hierarchisch nicht perfekt organisiertes, sondern mittelmäßiges Chaos zu begeben. Das liegt nicht jedem, seinen Platz zu finden. Es gibt Zuständigkeiten aber ja—wie soll man sagen—es ist im Fluss. […] Man muss seinen Platz finden. Es ist nicht gegeben, dass man da hinkommt, eine Position erhält und dann hat man die." (translation by author).

104 Noack. Interview, page 297, section 40: "wenn man von außen als Planer oder Profi in seinem Gewerk dazukommt, muss man erstmal lernen damit umzugehen—mit dieser Lebens- und Arbeitsweise." (translation by author).

of Holzmarkt, the aspect of exclusion cannot be argued in terms of discrimination based on age, gender, social or cultural background. It is rather a form of restriction that is self-inflicted, as not everyone will feel addressed by such an open structure. People are free to join the group but they can also get out again. To what extent one manages to contribute in a meaningful way depends largely on the level of personal commitment. In conclusion, participating in this project requires a great deal of self-motivation, self-esteem, and assertiveness.

Likewise, the programs that are offered by the cooperative will determine who is using the space. People who are interested in club music, alternative theater productions, and performances, or simply need a relaxed outdoor space where they can go to during the day with their children, will find an adequate infrastructure and atmosphere in the Holzmarkt village. Whether or not someone decides to visit the site is based on these activities, "on the interests that are negotiated in this space respectively based on what is offered."[105] In particular, the open areas provide a setting that considering its size, location, design, and cultivation is unique in the city of Berlin—a colorful and playful park without any sealed surfaces where children can run around and learn how to grow vegetables. On the other hand, such a creation of place constructs distinct identities, which do not necessarily appeal to everyone and instead, will make some people stay away due to their lack of a sense of belonging.[106]

> I believe such things as Mörchenpark tend to be an educational facility, at least, that is the claim as far as I understood it. That means it will certainly spark interest among families with children beyond the local context […] I think that such places attract people with a higher level of education as well as people who just want to relax there.
>
> Hofmann 2013[107]

B. the appropriation of public space

Examining the aspect of (public) space appropriation in reference to the Holzmarkt project, initially raises the question why this kind of development—from the first temporary users to the implementation of an ambitious urban development project—was possible on the site. Apart from obvious environmental advantages of waterfront, evening sun, and central location, it can be argued that the programmatic peculiarity of the area to which the site belongs has in fact encouraged innovative uses. As outlined in chapter two, Holzmarkt is clearly delineated from its surroundings by architectural and urban infrastructure like train tracks and street. At the same time, the site is part of a strip of special use permits with, for example, car wash facilities and a discount supermarket. This strip was formed along the river in locations where re-programming after reunification was a slow and tedious process (ownership rights, finding investors, etc.). Carpaneto notes, "[i]n a way, nothing has developed there either. Well, it has developed but it just

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105   Hofmann. Interview, page 301, section 28: "Ich glaube vielmehr, dass es sich zu einer relativ selbsttragenden Einschränkung entwickeln wird, wer den Raum nutzt, einfach aufgrund der Interessen, die dort im Raum verhandelt werden bzw. aufgrund der Angebote." (translation by author).

106   See Ibid.

107   Ibid., page 302, section 38: "Ich glaube sowas wie der Mörchenpark ist tendenziell eine Bildungseinrichtung, zumindest ist das der Anspruch, so wie ich es verstanden habe. Das heißt, der wird sicherlich auch über den lokalen Kontext hinaus für Familien mit Kindern interessant sein. […] Ich denke, dass solche Orte dann durchaus sowohl ein Bildungsschichtpublikum anspricht wie auch Leute, die da vielleicht nur entspannen wollen." (translation by author).

is something else. It's industrial, basically, it's like an industrial area and that's why it was a waste land."[108] She continues that this unhospitable character of the site has benefitted the emergence of other (non-residential) programs.[109] Likewise, Hofmann acknowledges, it is "a good site to open a club, of course, because it is an isolated and rather noisy location."[110]

Hofmann states that, since the 1990s, temporary activities (beach bars, clubs, etc.) were particularly prominent on the northern side of the river where they found more development opportunities. At the same time, they further encouraged the insertion of alternative urban programs and thereby contributed substantially to the development of the area. Meanwhile, some of these activities have established powerful and more permanent local agents such as Radialsystem V or Spreefeld in the immediate vicinity of the Holzmarkt site. This goes to show that the area has traditionally been occupied by creative users and nurtures these kinds of transformations.[111]

The public areas of Holzmarkt were the first to be designed and constructed after its partial opening in 2013 (Fig. 124, 125). *Mörchenpark* was responsible for rounding up volunteers and implementing the numerous features of the outdoor areas: a small hill with seating elements, garden beds, mobile planters, hammocks and benches by the river, a greenhouse, an outdoor bar, etc. Notably, the team also managed to get permission to lower the edge of the riverbank and replace its facing of rigid steel piling with a rugged gravel finish. Due to the gentle slope, it is now possible to actually access the water—a rare opportunity in the city center. Besides, the shallow shore will allow animals like ducks and beavers to use the site as an entry and exit point to the river.

Two years after these first implementations, the completion of more elaborated physical structures still impedes the final opening of the site, which the cooperative had committed to. Even though the restaurant and club were completed in 2014, construction works for Holzmarkt's other facilities are still under way and the ambitious Eckwerk project is expected to follow suit shortly. For now, the urban gardening infrastructure such as movable planters continues to share space with excavators and other construction equipment, but once the village is completed, the site will be opened permanently and turned into a park that is accessible at all times.

> It is evident that we can open every area only as far as we can access and use it. Of course, everything that belongs to the construction site must be secured. […] Eventually, when the Holzmarkt village is completed, as defined by all major buildings have been constructed and substantial excavation work is no longer necessary, it will be opened *peu à peu*.
>
> Noack 2013[112]

108 Carpaneto. Interview, page 292, section 106: "Da ist auch nichts in dem Sinne gewachsen. Also es ist gewachsen aber es ist einfach was anderes. Es ist Industrie, eigentlich ist es wie ein Industriegebiet und deswegen war das ja auch so eine Brache." (translation by author).

109 See Ibid., section 102.

110 Hofmann. Interview, page 305, section 70: "natürlich auch ein gutes Grundstück, um einen Club aufzumachen, weil es ein abgelegener und tendenziell lauter Standort ist." (translation by author).

111 See Ibid., page 305.

112 Noack. Interview, page 296, section 18: "Es ist klar, jeden Bereich können wir soweit öffnen, wie wir ihn erschließen können, wie wir ihn nutzen können. Es ist klar, alles was Baustelle ist, müssen wir sichern. Da müssen wir gewährleisten, dass niemand rauf kann. Wenn am Ende das Holzmarkt Dorf gebaut ist, in dem Sinne, dass die großen Bauwerke alle stehen, wird das peu à peu aufgemacht, sobald keine große Baugrube mehr ausgehoben werden muss." (translation by author).

Despite the access control that is still necessary, the public areas are already a sought-after meeting place for both locals and tourists. "After all, the sand pit is now public. For Bar25 you still had to pay admission."[113] People enjoy the sunset, kids are playing among the garden beds, and some gardening aficionados harvest the vegetables for the restaurant (Fig. 126). The humming of people's conversations mixes with the music that covers the entire site with gentle beats. In contrast to its history as a techno-club and one of the most renowned party locations in Berlin, the atmosphere of Holzmarkt is now much more family-oriented and relaxed. It is a space for recreation, fun, cultural activities, and community life. Given the variety of uses, a more consistent activation of the site and its surroundings is to be expected, i.e. different users will take advantage of the new urban programs throughout the day. Families with children benefit from outdoor activities that are free of charge and offer them something to do during the day whereas the restaurant, the club, or event spaces like *Ding Dong Dom* encourage activation at night. It follows that although the access to the site will not be controlled in the future, the clientele is expected to use it 24 hours a day, "so that you can expect that there will be a certain level of social control."[114]

Fig. 124 Riverbank path under construction.

Fig. 125 Riverbank path completed.

Fig. 126 Redesigned public space.

113   Laberenz, Lennart. "Irgendwie irre kreativ" in: *Freitag* 37 (September 11, 2014) Retrieved from: http://kadenundpartner.de/uploads/publikationen/Freitag_37_lowres_14.pdf (accessed on September 29, 2014) "Immerhin ist der Sandkasten jetzt öffentlich, für die Bar 25 musste man noch Eintritt bezahlen." (translation by author).

114   Hofmann. Interview, page 301, section 28: "sodass man davon ausgehen kann, dass eine gewisse soziale Kontrolle vorhanden sein wird " (translation by author).

A final aspect that determines how the site is appropriated is the articulation of the public space itself and the built structures that surround it. The initiators employ a distinctly non-professional architectural language in order to distinguish themselves from more traditional urban projects and groups. The site is covered with sand and tree bark, there are peculiar wooden statues and improvisational structures made of recycled building parts. Not unlike other DIY initiatives that aim to develop urban space, these aesthetic preferences have become a symbol of the innovativeness of the group. Simultaneously, they will certainly only appeal to people who are susceptive to ecological issues, a sense of disorder, and an alternative lifestyle that might count as a subculture. Overall, there is the attempt to translate the notion of the *unscripted* from the built context to the kinds of appropriation that it hosts.

C. business-hippies designing the city

The cooperative's approach to urban planning strives to protect valuable urban space from privatization and open it to various uses and users. In this context, two levels of publicness are addressed: first, the limited publicness of the cooperative, which one can contribute to depending on the necessary funds, and second, the envisioned absolute publicness of the non-enclosed, accessible space currently under construction. Likewise, participation ranges from visiting the site and using the new facilities offered by the cooperative (restaurant, club, start-ups, etc.) to assisting the further development of the project and its imprint in the urban environment (Fig. 127). The self-proclaimed business-hippies offer opportunities to directly impact on the outcome of the project, especially with *Mörchenpark* as the institutionalized mediator between initiators, surrounding neighbors, and everyone interested in getting involved. The association meets regularly to discuss and develop new concepts for the site's open spaces. Meetings are announced online and through social media.

Another example of establishing a culture of openness and interaction is the cooperative's endeavor to set up a complex energy cycle that takes advantage of neighboring facilities. The cooperative intends to mount photovoltaic modules on the large roof surface of the adjacent WBM housing estate in order to generate electricity. Furthermore, it will be serviced with heat extracted from sewage water by the municipal water company next door at comparably low cost. A separate energy agency will be founded by the cooperative to better manage these additional business relations. Notably, Holzmarkt will not only profit from its surroundings but also aims to provide an extra benefit in return. It will therefore forward excess energy from its photovoltaics to the water company's pumping station. In view of these elaborate plans, the cooperative seems to be integrating well into local networks and striving to become an addition to the city's infrastructure.

Fig. 127 Groundbreaking ceremony on May 1, 2013.

Fig. 128 Energy concept.

Likewise, the buildings, which are to be constructed on the Eckwerk site, signify a possibility to generate a greater benefit for the city. Though planned by the cooperative, they will eventually be owned by the municipal housing construction company Gewobag. Student housing as well as start-up facilities will be available for rent only. Once again, this expresses the group's opposition to privatizing urban space. The cooperative argues that it aims to open its doors to as many, and as diverse people as possible. The project is intended to act as an incubator for artists and business start-ups. It will assist individuals in getting into contact with like-minded people. Thus, the economic interest is oriented towards a non-financial surplus such as nurturing a creative environment or synergies with other projects—not individual profit.

However, given the group's objective of providing an attractive space for all kinds of people, the question arises to what extent the village, its activities, and users succeed in interpellating different socio-cultural groups or whether there are any means of control and exclusion that prevent the new riverfront from becoming a well-accepted public area after its completion. As an example, it is relevant to take a closer look at the rental agreements—the only contractual agreement between initiators and tenants. The agreements envisage a fixed short-term rental period of 900 days maximum after which the tenant has to vacate the property. While this regulation perpetuates the temporary-use-ideology of the former Bar25 and certainly opens the project to many people, it might also impair emerging businesses in their aspirations to get bank loans. The prospect of having to vacate the site before reaching the critical three-year mark at which economic benefits are to be expected is less than ideal. Another regulation that affects new business tenants is a rather peculiar rule, which according to Eckwerk coordinator Andreas Steinhauser will also be part of the rental agreement: restrictions on enforcing patent rights. Under this restriction, start-ups are not allowed to sue for intellectual property infringement or their rental agreement would be terminated. Overall, these restrictions limit young businesses both in their need to become financially sound and to protect their ideas. More importantly, it excludes everyone who does not subscribe to the cooperative's *open source policy*. The cooperative employs administrative thumbscrews in order to enforce a selective process of finding like-minded tenants for its buildings and collaborators in its dreams. Renting space is not just a business matter, it means contributing to the idea of a society that positions itself in contrast to the rest of the city. One might argue that these kinds of regulations are a fair deal since the restriction in individual rights is met by the benefit of a creative, collective working environment. The collaborative structure is a stepping-stone on the way to self-employment—the pooling of interests acts as an incubator of ideas and visions. Yet the open source policy is likely to preordain, which professions will rent office or studio space.[115]

The cooperative has seen a remarkable development from temporary users in trailers to a large cooperative structure working on an ambitious construction project. While the public protests against Mediaspree were a first important step in voicing an opinion, the cooperative managed to find new ways to channel informal political events toward a more long-term engagement. It features a high level of determination and creativity, including innovative social, ecological, and economic approaches. It is met by a great deal of idealism on the part of its supporters, like

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115 The incubator might work well for the software industry and the creative industry, where collaborations are common and patent rights are of limited importance respectively intellectual property is difficult to substantiate. Yet, for professions where patent rights become crucial such as the engineering sector, the open source model seems less attractive.

professional planners, lawyers, journalists, etc. who do not understand the project as a source of income but rather as a form of civic commitment.[116]

Holzmarkt manages to actively integrate civil urban actors into the current debate on the future of the site and of the city. It takes advantage of its niche character and introduces a greater functional variety to the industrial-park-like context of the site. This is expected to substantially increase the density of users in the area and stimulate more consistent use patterns by day and night. Notably, without the intervention of the Holzmarkt cooperative, the one-sided Mediaspree development might have already turned the site into yet another densely built-up area for commercial or high-end-residential purposes blocking both view and access to the river. Mediaspree still is little more than an accumulation of isolated architectural projects realized by private investors and development companies.[117] Holzmarkt, on the other hand, is a prime example of DIY urbanism, or as Susann Hochstein calls it with reference to Michel Bauwens, a peer-to-peer urbanism.[118] Its organizational framework, planning objectives, and aesthetic principles stand in contrast to those of traditional planning schemes. The implicit and explicit knowledge of all participants is expected to contribute to the reconfiguration of the urban environment. In other words, Holzmarkt signifies the attempt of urban planning as an *open source process*.

Contributing one's ideas is only possible if potential users have an equal say in design matters in comparison to professional planners, public authorities, and investors. In contrast to the apparatus of urban regeneration, the organizational framework needs to enable these users to realize and claim the right to participate in designing their respective living and working environments. It also implies that their aesthetic preferences can deviate from those of the architects and urban planners and yet be taken seriously. This way, the joint development of the city is expected to nurture communication between different stakeholders and result in programs, buildings, and spaces that succeed in appealing to a wider group of people than the results of conventional developer-based urban projects. However, despite the group's effort of creating an open setting in both physical and metaphoric terms, it must be acknowledged that the project also shows profound signs of an ideological exclusiveness.

The particularity and exemplary nature of the project fuels its successful realization but it makes it all the more difficult to assess whether this kind of self-organized project represents an alternative to professional modes of planning. The group claims to undertake urban development, but does the project, which is clearly aligned with specific group preferences, account for the needs of contemporary urban society? Is the cooperative approach—its understanding of urban space and design—an example of an alternative planning scheme that could also be repeated in another context? *Does the utopia of a self-organized, open source process offer a third way in urban politics as well as planning?*

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116   See Carpaneto. Interview, pages 286-294.

117   The built-up area along the river resulted in a fragmented urban layout and is an unmistakable sign of wasted opportunities. Instead of a continuous promenade, access to the water is mainly restricted.

118   Hochstein, Susann. "Der Holzmarkt – Ein neues Konzept für urbanes Leben" in: *polli Magazin* (November 6, 2013) Retrieved from: http://polli-magazin.de/?p=1462 (accessed November 18, 2014). Hochstein refers here to Michel Bauwens, the founder of the Foundation for Peer-to-Peer Alternatives, an organization that considers peer-to-peer in a very broad sense, thus not only related to urban development.

SUMMARY   Analyzing the socio-political parameters of the selected public areas reveals that the impact of a particular physical space on the neighborhood is proportional to its level of indeterminacy. In chapter two, it was stated that the presumed architectural-spatial qualities of zero points are best exemplified by Rambla del Raval in its completed state and Mátyás Square and Holzmarkt before their transformation began. Indeed, Rambla del Raval stands out as a location where spatial activation is promoted by different actors and, in part, with the distinct purpose of bridging gaps between them. The repeated instrumentalization of the large vacant square for aspects of soft activism is unique in comparison to the other examples. In this light, Rambla del Raval also resonates with the previous assumption that the mere presence of an undefined spatial setting is not sufficient to trigger its appropriation. It must likewise be met by a need for interaction and negotiation, e.g., due to a large demographic diversity. Though ostensibly concerned with cultural festivities, the collaboration of different actors is a decisive step in the process of political empowerment. It falls into the category of DIY urbanism insofar as the actors involved consciously reconfigure their socio-cultural environment.

Likewise, the participatory scheme in the context of Magdolna is an exercise in basic democratic procedures revolving around the transformation of a centrally located yet unprogrammed square. The project demonstrates a great level of commitment during the planning and implementation phase. Moreover, the renewal of Teleki, as a follow-up project of Mátyás Square, further advances these new experiences. Here, the level of self-organization, including using new means of technology, is more pronounced and raises hopes for long-term results and benefits. In the process of reconfiguring the derelict space, the local residents managed to establish themselves as legitimate owners of the site. The same can be stated in the case of Holzmarkt. The range of possibilities contained within the empty site has sparked alternative concepts of planning and life in urban communities. The cooperative revived and re-programmed vacant urban space, simultaneously transforming the idea of community into a collaborative approach defined by mutual goals and visions. Recalling Eva Reblin's study on urban voids, mentioned in chapter two, in which she noted that fissures in the city are read as either dysfunctional or as carrying potential, it can be argued that the two aspects are in fact connected. Mátyás Square, Teleki, and Holzmarkt had degenerated to the very point of dsyfunctionality and for that very reason were spaces of possibility. In all three examples, the indeterminate space of the wasteland has supported political engagement on a neighborhood level. However, the examples also show how inscribing specific group interests into the spatial setting, redefines the identity of the space and is likely to foreclose its future appropriation by other urban actors. Whether introduced by the group itself or on the advice of professional planners (e.g. defensible space theory)—the spaces are increasingly modified according to the programmatic and aesthetic preferences of a certain group, thus counteracting the very dynamics that enabled their transformation in the first place.

For the purpose of this thesis, the socio-political consequences in terms of public space appropriation and dynamics of self-organization following regeneration, or during the process of regeneration, have been evaluated. In this comparison, Plaça dels Àngels and Corvin Promenade show the lowest level of appropriation related to empowerment and DIY urbanism. At Plaça dels Àngels the temporary implementation of sports fields succeeded in encouraging appropriation and alleviating the dominance of MACBA. At least temporary heterogeneous group activities could be achieved with the help of professional planners. In Corvin Szigony, however, the comprehensive replacement of the previous population and the over-articulation of the central space have resulted in a space that shows little appropriation and contains little political significance.

3.3   The Utopia of DIY Urbanism

In order to determine whether DIY urbanism presents an alternative to financially distressed public planning and socio-culturally questionable developer-centric schemes, this last section of the chapter tries to evaluate the visions that form the basis of and are constructed by community-based planning processes. It also assesses their achievements and shortcomings, and finally, it sheds light on the preconditions of a DIY approach in urban matters, i.e., the parameters that might hinder or spur the process of self-organized developments.

3.3.1   Vision

The analysis of the three case studies reveals varying levels of involving the community in physical and political matters of urban life. Furthermore, the examples demonstrate different motivations on the part of public authorities and professional planners to do so. In Raval, the attention paid to local urban movements was strongest in the aftermath of the dictatorship, in that these groups actually had an impact on physical adjustments. The idea of empowering local residents as a symbol of the new democratic state was translated to and represented by a multitude of new simple, empty spaces. Allowing *visibility* was a key aspect of opening up the dense inner-city district and engaging the local population in urban planning. Meanwhile, the neighborhood has seen a radical change of its demographic structure, which makes the presence and ideology of Raval's empty spaces more important than ever. The neighborhood is continuing to experience an instrumentalization of public space for political purposes, or in other words, for soft activism as a form of DIY urbanism. Given that the first institutionalized forms of participation after the dictatorship have been weakened by the multiplication and diversification of ethnic and social groups, open space as a place of encounter is the basic tool of expressing the new vision of a multicultural yet integrated neighborhood. Stabilizing the large variety of groups in a confined space and enhancing community-building is a great challenge and requires the equal right to individual representation. This goes to show that aspects of visibility and recognition are just as relevant as they were at the end of the Franco period.

Facilitating the consolidation of a new political system and the stabilization of the social structure is also the motivation behind the participatory approaches of the Magdolna Program. Within the scope of the program, urban planners understand shared decision-making as a form of direct democracy. In their opinion, Hungarians are not yet familiar with democratic structures. Consequently, the project has been turned into a joint learning process. While public authorities have to learn which legal frameworks are required to support the involvement of the local population, the local population has to understand the extent of their new role and explore the ways in which they can participate and raise their voices. Finally, professional planners have to redefine their position in the context of urban planning. Even though they provided design ideas in the discussed schemes, the final decision lay with the local residents. Thus, the planner's role is more oriented toward mediating between and building trust among all parties involved. New power relations have been formed that benefit residents and users in particular. The political empowerment of the local population is the main keyword in this context. It encompasses the new democratic aspect of urban planning and portrays knowledgeable, self-determined individuals as new urban actors. The parties involved gain experiences during the process of collective planning and implementation, which will inform follow-up projects, ease the realization of future participatory schemes, and over time, build up a body of practical knowledge related to direct democracy.

Finally, Holzmarkt represents the most advanced form of community involvement and accordingly the strongest position of lay stakeholders. In fact, this example is a largely self-organized project, in which professional planners have assumed the role of consultants. The cooperative continues to strive to pool the implicit knowledge of participants and the professional know-how of various consultants in order to ensure a well-informed and equal planning environment. The collaborative approach envisages urban planning—and even urban life—as an *open source process*. This vision of sharing resources and benefits refers to and partly originates in the liberal mindset of Berlin during the early 1990s and the alternative programs that have managed to establish themselves in the surroundings of the site ever since. Notably, in comparison to the two other schemes, the power relations between planners and users have been reversed. Previously, residents and users were employed as local informants in order to achieve a result that was closer to the demands of the population and would make them support the planning decisions. Within these schemes, planners still had the position of the knowledgeable authority. With regard to Holzmarkt, however, users themselves define the extent of knowledge they acquire externally. They employ planners depending on necessity. In conclusion, the regeneration schemes of Raval, Corvin, and even Magdolna can to some extent be counted as *top-down* approaches while Holzmarkt truly reflects a *bottom-up* ideology.

Whether improving the visibility of local groups, achieving their political empowerment, or constructing an open source process—the common underlying motif is a discontent with present societal conditions and modes of planning. As a result, the schemes are characterized by a high level of imagination of how to alleviate these disparities, in particular on the part of those who are most affected by them. The local population is envisaged as both the key informant and the relevant agent regarding the transformation of the neighborhood. Considering success and longevity of the outcomes, it is therefore mandatory to achieve a long-term engagement of residents and users. Apart from certain groups, the goal of changing social, cultural, or political conditions has been shown to be connected to material space, i.e., changing the physical environment as a prerequisite of non-physical improvements. Thus, it can be stated that the visions of DIY urbanism focus on the intersection of society and built environment—not unlike the well-known examples of urban utopianism mentioned above. However, instead of planners mapping out holistic concepts by themselves, the case studies experiment with open, collaborative approaches in terms of organizing planning teams or assisting community building. They strive to create an urban space that is just, which means a space whose material, social, cultural, etc. properties are defined by and appeal to a greater diversity of people. In this light, DIY urbanism signifies a contemporary form of utopian thought in urban planning—one that can be adapted to its respective context and refrains from predetermining specific physical forms. In contrast to the detailed concepts of the modernists, which tried to construct a new homogenous city for a new homogenous society, DIY denotes a way of addressing urban matters while leaving the results initially undefined. Hence, it can be argued that utopian thought in the discipline of urban planning has evolved from product-oriented to process-oriented.

3.3.2 Success and Failure

Understandably, the visible result of an intervention is one of the first indicators for success with reference to DIY urbanism. Whether it is the collaborative staging of an event, the formation of new organizational forms on neighborhood level, or the actual physical transformation of a building or space—all these outcomes represent measurable success. They stand as results that can be perceived and assessed objectively by both participants and outsiders. The projects might diminish social and cultural barriers, provide new infrastructure, or generally account for improving the image of the neighborhood. In accordance with the formulated vision of involving and benefitting a majority of people, the level of success can also be rated on the grounds of the number of people that feel effectively addressed by the interventions and whether they trigger new ones that are conceived and realized.

Simultaneously, these achievements imply a political consequence that is of great importance for the dynamics in a particular area: the *re-subjectification* of individuals as residents and users. In fact, considering the longevity of outcomes and the possibility of future interventions, the construction and empowerment of political subjects takes precedence over the immediate result itself. As described at the end of chapter one, the traditional apparatus of urban regeneration with its actors, objectives, and methods is deemed to contribute to the desubjectification of residents and users and accordingly to their disaffection with political matters. In contrast, DIY urbanism aims at and accounts for the re-emergence of political subjects. This is best exemplified by the appearance of more institutionalized forms of political engagement within exemplary projects, such as neighborhood associations, building cooperatives, or legal frameworks established by public authorities to support alternative types of planning. In this light, the terms DIY and political subjectification are indeed synonymous.

With reference to the previous excursus into political theory, the term political subjects demarcates individuals or groups that manage to enunciate themselves and are likewise perceived as enunciating entities. Consequently, re-subjectification in the context of DIY urbanism implies that individuals or groups manage to establish and articulate their position as valid urban actors— also in opposition to existing power relations—and that they are responded to and recognized as such. It indicates that they claim the power to determine aspects of their physical and non-physical surroundings, that they claim control over physical and non-physical space. Whether or not the local population manages to establish a visibility and experiences recognition in return, must be considered the most important indicator for success with reference to DIY urbanism and one that is intertwined with the presence of public space. Indeterminate, accessible platforms of urban space—or more precisely, urban zero points—pose the opportunity to realize and visualize this kind of control.

Positive effects and follow-up projects aside, participatory schemes and self-organized initiatives reveal distinct inefficacies in the process of transforming the urban context. An indicator of such shortcomings is the rapid decline in interest and motivation once the official collaborative project has been completed. György Alföldi notes, while the prospect of a joint event or project might attract a number of people, securing the longevity of its outcomes is one of the major challenges. In the case of Mátyás Square, the growing disinterest led to a lack of maintenance. Though the local residents had enthusiastically joined the transformation process, it is increasingly difficult to motivate them to maintain the results. The lack of funding further exacerbates the situation.

> One Saturday, everybody likes to do some work but to involve them in the [long-term] maintenance of the area: no way! […] Now the money has run out and after two or three months the condition of the square went down.
>
> Alföldi 2013[119]

Alföldi claims that economic and social problems are responsible for this disaffection with the task. In his opinion, the residents have more pressing issues to worry about. Notably, Mátyás Square has always been portrayed as a successful model project. So far, a proper evaluation of the interventions and their outcomes, has not been undertaken. The example shows that it would indeed be beneficial for future efforts to assess the long-term effects.

However, shortcomings of community-based planning are not only revealed after the project is completed, they can already occur before it has actually begun. This includes, for instance, the limited variety of people engaging in the process. Given that the diversity of participants is often a prime target of collaborative planning/DIY urbanism and one that sets it apart from traditional modes of planning, it is essential to be able to relate to many different people, i.e., to know how to get in touch with them and also to be familiar with their demands and wishes. This is expressed in Kristin Faurest's comments on how the team of professional planners partially failed to involve the community in the transformation of Teleki Square. Faurest says they did not know how to communicate with the different socio-cultural groups in the neighborhood, either due to cultural differences or language barriers. Similarly, she provides another example where the intentions of involving the community and thereby improving their social conditions could not be fulfilled to the team's satisfaction due to cultural differences and a lack of understanding of the respective conditions and needs of the local population.

> I had a friend who started a very nice English-language mother-and-baby group at the Kesztyűgyár, in theory targeting Roma mothers. She got a bunch of white Hungarians eager to learn English because the Roma mothers don't do things like go to mother-and-baby groups, they're too busy with housework and taking care of their families.
>
> Faurest 2013[120]

The lack of mutual understanding and adequate tools of communication has also been responsible for the termination of the ARI Management Committee as the representative of the local population in the context of regenerating Raval. The committee could no longer address the demands of the increasingly diversified neighborhood. It lost the very basis it was supposed to represent in negotiations with PROCIVESA and the city council. Besides, the actual extent of ARI's power had not been clearly defined and was undermined by other actors during the planning process. It follows that the fragmentation of interests and representative organs positioned in a network of imbalanced power relations can cause the participatory process to go wrong. The discouragement of not being able to formulate and realize one's ideas, certainly restricts and eventually terminates any effort in engaging the community. The loss of ARI could not be compensated until different groups and self-organized initiatives recently began to re-appropriate public space. Today, small signs of soft activism, with the substantial assistance of Tot Raval, appear to be more effective than previous institutionalized forms of participation. The example of ARI indicates that if participants feel excluded from the decision-making, they will lose interest and

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119 Alföldi. Interview, page 281, section 40.
120 Faurest. Interview, page 282, section 2.

withdraw from any form of collaboration. In fact, skepticism on the part of the community as a result of the unsuccessful participatory schemes of the past can still be noted.[121] Failing to equip the local population with an organizational frame that encourages them to articulate and realize their visions, compromises the chances of re-subjectification.

The above-mentioned examples demonstrate that success and failure of DIY urbanism has to be discussed in connection with the respective project. The circumstances, individual actors, and underlying conflicts vary greatly and make comparisons and evaluations between case studies difficult. While the category of public space has functioned as a criteria of comparison for the purpose of this thesis, the project results reveal a number of additional aspects that can impede the outcome and, in return, a number of additional aspects that might encourage the emergence of political subjects beyond a one-off event. The brief assessment already adumbrates that, apart from favorable spatial settings, a large range of other preconditions is necessary to support participation and self-organization on the local level. This assumption is also supported by the evaluation of the interview data as will be discussed in the last section.

3.3.3 Preconditions

This thesis argues that the architectural and spatial parameters of urban space can have an impact on how this space is perceived and appropriated by its users. More precisely, the presence of indeterminate public space is understood as facilitating DIY urbanism. What is to be defined as an indeterminate space, how it could occur or be implemented in the urban environment, and which outcomes can be recorded, has already been discussed. The following will now focus on a range of additional factors that have proven to impede or spur self-organized initiatives. Within the scope of the case study analysis, interviewees indicated numerous aspects that had influenced the process and outcome of their respective projects. They were extracted from the interview data under the code 'issues with participation' and summarized in a coding agenda (Fig. 129). The keywords in the last column were added to further reduce the collected information and enable comparison across cases.

Notably, the keywords that have been most commonly referred to are *cultural background* and (implicit and explicit) *knowledge*. While know-how and/or soft skills appear to raise the self-confidence of local users and encourage them to become active, the context of their upbringing—in particular in highly diversified neighborhoods—can hinder this development considerably. Other aspects that have been shown to impair the process of participatory planning include the lack of funding, time, legal frameworks, or personal motivation. Some interviewees also mentioned the complexity of tasks or agents as well as fluctuating group structures as issues in the context of DIY urbanism, which can discourage people from collaborating. The following table summarizes these keywords and further describes their meaning and extent.

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121   See Gual; Santos; Terra. Interview, pages 246-256.

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment	Keywords
BCN	HJ	58	Many women have problems to interact with me because their husbands think, if they come to me, they will change. So many men say: 'if you go to Huma, don't come back home.'	cultural background
BCN	HJ	85	It is a lot of work to work with women because they are vulnerable, they are less educated, they are less intelligent. Actually, non, we are not but we need more time.	knowledge lengthy process
BCN	HJ	89	The government helps us very little, we need to come up with at least 90% of our own money and then we get the rest from the government. And to justify this money we need to write and explain, for which we need to spend more money than we get.	funding
BCN	HJ	91	you need to update yourself. If you don't, you are out of the picture.	personal motivation
BCN	HJ	93	we want them to listen to what we have to say. They do, but they don't react afterwards. They acknowledge and reply to make us comfortable, but then nothing, we are left waiting.	lengthy process
BCN	EC	8	We look for money for each project. The person responsible for the project is also responsible to look for funding.	funding
BCN	EC	32	Yes, there are many groups that it is difficult to work with. […] It is always difficult in particular with first generation immigrants. But there is a very practical issue here they are working all day—if they can.	lengthy process
BCN	EC	32	Participation is a time consuming thing and we are not really used to that. […] You don't need to look at other countries, we are not used to deciding together in Spain either.	lengthy process cultural background
BCN	EC	40	But it's difficult because you are asking people to put in an extra effort when you are asking them to work together. They each have their own problems	lengthy process personal motivation
BCN	CG	28	At that time, it was more politicized because these were all organizations formed in the last days of the dictatorship. […] Today, it changes quickly because problems are different and people are different.	unsteady group structure
BCN	CG	29	it's logical because at the beginning of the 80s the problems were very big. They needed really basic things. It was easy to be together in a project. But now the question is: 'Why do you do this? Don't do anything!'	trust personal motivation
BCN	CG	59	Pakistani don't interact.	cultural background
BCN	CG	63	Last year, they had no budget for doing that so the meeting of all the associations was: oh, that's a bad thing, this year we will not be able …	funding
BCN	CG	104	the problem with citizens is that these projects are long-term actions. It takes years for them to be finished and that makes people say: please don't do any more.	lengthy process
BCN	CG	235	the owners' community never meets. They are not used to do that. So, it is a problem when they have to make decisions about some kind of intervention. Many people don't care. They don't pay and the work cannot be done. Usually, this happens in mixed communities but in the Spanish society, this is also a problem.	cultural background personal motivation
BUD	GA	2	This movement is still not very mature in Hungary because we are a very young democracy. We have to learn, not only the tools, but also the type of decision-making.	knowledge
BUD	GA	4	There was no law about the involvement and decision-making together with the people […]. And on the other hand, people have a long tradition of living with hierarchies, without democracy.	legal framework knowledge
BUD	GA	6	I try to explain to my students that this is the first time to learn how we can work together with the locals.	knowledge

Fig. 129 Code 'issues with participation' indicating impediments and preconditions of DIY urbanism.

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment	Keywords
BUD	GA	18	When we did Mátyás ter, we were very young we did not have so sophisticated skills in terms of what you mentioned. The municipality did not accept the decision of the people.	legal framework knowledge
BUD	GA	20	The implemented plan was accepted but the process was not accepted.	legal framework
BUD	GA	22	Before, there were mainly Social Democrats in the council and then it was mainly conservative with a lot of new people. I think the political risk is the key element in the long-term process. In Hungary, every new council wants to decide everything and in opposition to the former council. […] every fourth year we have to start over again.	legal framework lengthy process
BUD	GA	26	The EU paper said, if you want EU money, you have to prepare the all the plans and designs beforehand. But if we prepare the whole plan in advance, what do we talk about with the people when we have the money? The municipality in Hungary thinks, we only work if the money is on the table.	legal framework lengthy process
BUD	GA	36	I think the main problem in public space is the two-tier system, the lack of legislative background, and the privatization of flats […] And also the lack of knowledge or skills to organize this process [of participatory planning].	legal framework knowledge
BUD	GA	38	But the intellectual way of thinking is different to our people in Magdolna Quarter. […] I think we have to prepare our own tools for working with people.	knowledge
BUD	GA	40	One Saturday, everybody likes to do some work but to involve them in the [long-term] maintenance of the area: no way!	personal motivation
BUD	GA	40	Now the money has run out and after two or three months the condition of the square went down.	funding
BUD	GA	44	They have no money, they have no job. They are mainly Roma, mainly young. And they don't have any role models.	personal motivation knowledge
BUD	GA	46	They have bigger problems. They have no cultural background of working together. They don't like the place because they are poor. They want to escape from this territory. They don't like to live there.	cultural background personal motivation
BUD	GA	48	there has been a recession since 2008. And these people are the losers of the changes. A lot of people live in the quarter but only 10 or 15 percent have been living there for more than 10 years.	unsteady group structure
BUD	GA	50	Give us some money, we would implement it. But at the moment, there is none.	funding
BUD	GA	54	In Hungary, there is a big fight between the traditional [way of] thinking and the new [way of] thinking.	cultural background legal framework
BUD	IS	16	But in Magdolna I think it does not work that easily because if the people do not have the financial strength to renew their houses, you can even cover the street with granite and nothing would happen.	funding
BUD	IS	18	not every city part has the financial strength to renew houses once the public areas are renewed.	funding
BUD	ZV	30	The rehabilitation of Magdolna and the sustainability of the results can only be provided by the [simultaneous] creation of a safe living environment.	complexity
BUD	KF	2	We did have some difficulty getting ethnic groups involved, […] it would have been better if we regularly had had several Roma and also if we had had some of the immigrant groups of the neighborhood. It would have better reflected the neighborhood.	cultural background
BUD	KF	2	It's not enough to just be friendly and open in theory, you have to know how to communicate and engage with different groups, which don't all think and communicate the same way we do.	cultural background
BUD	KF	2	We have all these other immigrant groups in the neighborhood that we did not know how to communicate with. It would have been great to have more diversity.	cultural background

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment	Keywords
BUD	KF	4	It is possible that some of the immigrant groups were in fact excluded by virtue of the fact that they don't communicate much in Hungarian.	cultural background knowledge
BUD	KF	8	so often the problem in the participatory process is the lack of consistency in attendance, which hinders progress in the decision-making process.	lengthy process
BUD	KF	10	I think having the funding already available and having a design team with an established record for creating community spaces, helped establish a sense of trust and mutual commitment.	trust personal motivation
BUD	KF	26	We included a strong educational element in the process. […] to give people concrete visions of what could be there.	knowledge
BER	SC	2	Of course, the project has a scale […] which went completely beyond their scope and exceeded their imagination at the time.	knowledge
BER	SC	26	They had an option contract [for the Holzmarkt site] in advance. They could have bought this thing the whole time if they had managed to get the purchase price together. But for three years, they have failed to do so.	knowledge
BER	SC	38	you have to give people time to develop. […] We did a lot of participatory projects: you have to give people time. They are not able to realize the extent. And Eckwerk simply has a huge scale.	funding knowledge
BER	SC	40	They are currently constructing their club as a temporary facility. They left Kater Holzig and now they need something to earn a living. They do not make any money right now. And this will not change until they re-open an economically viable business. There is no capital, no financial backup. The capital are creative power and ideas.	funding
BER	SC	40	They always need time to develop and understand these dimensions.	lengthy process knowledge
BER	SC	50	You have to find your place. It is not a given that you go there, get a position, and keep it.	unsteady group structure
BER	SC	50	It also requires a certain ability to bear risks, to enter a hierarchically not perfectly organized but rather moderate chaos.	unsteady group structure
BER	SC	54	They move within this structure, responsibilities change and that's certainly not for everyone. […] well, regarding their participants, they have a relatively high level of fluctuation anyway.	unsteady group structure
BER	SC	60	what is public and what is not, what's this discussion anyway. The group of initiators only realized the relevance of this matter when we started dealing with the [village structure of huts]. […] They wanted to do this village. Initially, we as architects rebeled against it … well, rebeled … wanting to do a village just seemed rather strange to us.	knowledge
BER	SC	64	it is rather difficult to work with such a heterogeneous group that does a thousand things as a client	complexity
BER	SC	66	the usage changed as well, they were substantiated throughout the process, with the workshop, the event space.	complexity
BER	SC	68	There is already a large pool of potential tenants. It has been tried to accomodate them. How could it work and who goes where—simultaneously with the design. That's how it grows even though you only want small units.	complexity
BER	SC	68	we called it business village, that's how it is defined in the building application […] I could not write 'village' in the title blocks. That's not a building typology.	knowledge
BER	SC	114	the main reference for a positive decision in such a project is based on getting the impression: They are doing it and what they are doing is right or good or we believe in it.	trust
BER	SC	122	You have to get the money for the lease, nothing is for free. Everytings costs money and it has to be earned.	funding

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment	Keywords
BER	LN	4	You have to make it accessible, you have to maintain it. These are the points of intersection, which might also lead to extended debates, maybe some legal issues haven't been clarified either. In any case, it is a process, in which you realize that it isn't that easy to say: Hey everyone, come and join us	legal framework
BER	LN	6	everywhere, whether it's the neighbors or people in the administration, you have someone who is disruptive.	lengthy process
BER	LN	8	Nowadays, if we do events, of course, we try to inform the neighbors as much as possible with flyers, handouts.	knowledge
BER	LN	30	We also notice that the team is continuously expanded in order to tackle any issue that might appear. Whether planning issues, construction issues, we as laypersons—no one claims to be an urban planner—cannot understand it, we need specialists.	knowledge
BER	LN	40	the group is relatively heterogeneous and firstly, everyone from outside has to come to terms with that […] I think there isn't really a boundary. It is developed together and coming from outside as a planner or professional in your trade, you firstly have to learn how to handle it—this way to live and work. […] Basically, a great deal happens in the process.	unsteady group structure cultural background
BER	LN	53	UG: These different entities that you were talking about, are represented by different people within the group? LN: Yes. Although constantly new ones have joined. Which is why it is difficult to answer how large the team really is.	unsteady group structure
BER	LN	58	the project requires the division of certain areas […] And this is how the team is expanded due to necessity	knowledge
BER	AH	46	it strongly depends on whether they can be reached somehow. It depends on whether they deal with the issue […] the question remains to what extent one comes to terms with certain structures or whether one is interested in changing these structures and access new offers. […] Nevertheless, eventually, it strongly depends on the individual to what extent you tend to these things.	personal motivation
BER	AH	64	A well-established network. A high level of social capital on the part of the operators. And not only that, but also a high ideological claim to get active at this location.	cultural background knowledge
BER	AH	64	The managers of Oststrand, for instance, who could have achieved much more, did not get as active politically. They did their temporary use and disappeared more or less quietly. Whereas Yaam, for example, which is also an association, is more prominent in public and claims an attitude of protest against the expulsion, […] Well, this means these are very different groups.	cultural background knowledge

knowledge	role models, experience, education, language skills, know-how
cultural background	traditions, socialization, networks, way of thinking, way of communicating
lengthy process	administrative barriers, learning process, lack of consistency, lack of time
personal motivation	relevance, identification, interests, commitment, more important issues
unsteady group structure	demographic change, open organizational structures
legal framework	lack of guidance on administrative level
funding	
complexity	of tasks and agents
trust/skepticism	

Reviewing the quotations of interviewees, the preponderance of aspects like knowledge, cultural background, or personal motivation indicates that a high level of *cultural capital* is an essential precondition for DIY approaches. The term *cultural capital* was coined by Pierre Bourdieu in an effort to conceptualize kinds of capital beyond the mere economic understanding of the word.[122] In his essay "The Forms of Capital," he proposes distinguishing between economic (money, property), social (relations, status),[123] and cultural (cultivation, education) forms, while also noting their interdependencies. According to Bourdieu, the way in which these forms of capital are distributed represents the social structure at a certain moment in time. In his view, "[i]t is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory."[124] Likewise, his model of *social space* is based on the allocation of different positions in society according to the varying degrees of economic and cultural capital that individuals might possess.[125] The graphic representation of his theory demonstrates that cultural capital informs specific tastes, opinions, and social relations, or as Bourdieu calls it, the personal *habitus*. He argues that affinities with regard to these characteristics and thus a proximity in the model of social space make an actual interaction in physical space all the more likely, whereas more widely separated positions in this diagram render sympathy or even encounter between different groups unlikely. It follows that cultural capital is a decisive factor in any social construct insofar that it predetermines the likelihood of interaction (Fig. 130).
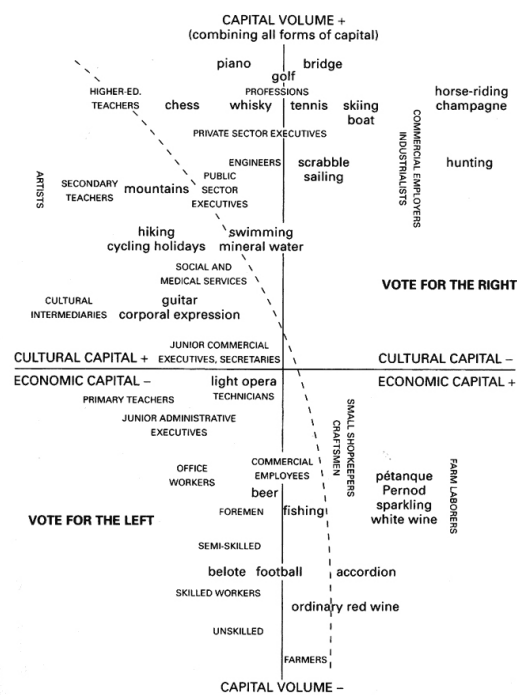
Fig. 130 Pierre Bourdieu, the model of social space.

122 Bourdieu developed this concept in order to explain the varying achievements of school children. See Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital" in: *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* edited by J. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986) 241-258. Retrieved from: https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm (accessed January 4, 2015).

123 Social capital is understood as a network of acquaintances including the actual or potential benefits from this network. Being part of a particular network, however, is never completely independent from economic and cultural capital.

124 Bourdieu. "The Forms of Capital."

125 The 'coordinate system' of social space makes it possible to determine each person's position with reference to, for example, occupation, hobbies, or preferred beverages. These positions relative to each other form the basis for distinction, e.g., claiming a certain social status. See Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* translated by Richard Nice (Harvard University Press, 1984).

Consequently, Bourdieu provides further detail on what cultural capital means. Overall, the term includes the total of all accumulated cultural aspects of an individual. Bourdieu notes that it can exist in three different forms: the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state. The embodied state of cultural capital refers to a process of gaining knowledge over a long period of time. "[It] can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore quite unconsciously."[126] In this theoretical context, knowledge has a wider meaning: It refers to socialization and immanent practices as much as education.[127] Cultural capital in its embodied state is inextricably linked to a person, forming a quintessential part of his/her habitus. It can therefore be neither measured nor easily transmitted to other people or converted into material value. In contrast, objectified cultural capital allows for the expression of a certain status in the form of goods of cultural value like books and paintings. Likewise, the institutionalized state can be measured objectively through the validation of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications, a legally guaranteed certificate of one's cultural competence.[128]

Bourdieu's understanding of society as constructed on the basis of unevenly distributed forms of capital and thus containing inequality in terms of capabilities and opportunities, resonates in the experiences of all three case studies. It becomes apparent that varying levels of cultural capital translate into different positions in planning, or define whether individuals or groups enter a participatory process at all. With regard to collaborating in socio-cultural activities on a neighborhood level, Huma Jamshed says, "you need to update yourself. If you don't, you are out of the picture."[129] The individual's interest in engaging and ability to become active depend on cultural traditions, suitable role models, and effective ways of communicating with each other. Elisa Covelo from Tot Raval argues that participation is a type of interaction that locals "are not really used to." In her view, this fact does not only apply to the immigrant population in Raval. She states that the Spanish residents "are not used to deciding together […] either."[130] On a similar note, in the context of the Magdolna Program, György Alföldi notes that those who are most likely to benefit from the interventions and participatory schemes "have no cultural background of working together."[131] He continues that in general, "[t]his movement is still not very mature in Hungary because [it is] a very young democracy. [People] have to learn not only the tools, but also the type of decision-making."[132] This learning process requires the systematic involvement of different socio-cultural groups as a form of institutionalized education, which, at times, does not work out to planners' expectations. As Kristin Faurest recognizes, "[i]t's not enough to just be friendly and open in theory." Instead, planners "have to know how to communicate and engage with different groups."[133]

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126 Bourdieu. "The Forms of Capital."

127 Apart from the duration and level of schooling, the embodied state of cultural capital refers also to the level of education of the parents. Children from higher social strata who benefit from a well-educated environment and enjoy a better education from a young age are prone to have more options in life in comparison to children from working class backgrounds. According to Bourdieu, these relations are largely prepositioned and only adjustable to a small extent.

128 Both the objectified and the institutionalized state enable comparison between different individuals and can be converted to economic capital, i.e., paintings as well as academic titles can be given a price tag.

129 Jamshed. Interview, page 267, section 91.

130 Covelo. Interview, page 258, section 32.

131 Alföldi. Interview, page 281, section 46.

132 Ibid., page 277, section 2.

133 Faurest. Interview, page 282, section 2.

The above-mentioned examples aside, the issue of cultural capital is best reflected in the case of Holzmarkt where the idea of DIY appears most advanced. The precondition of cultural capital can be related to the initiators, supporters, and users of the project alike. Whether participating in designing and appropriating this new urban space or assisting the group in realizing its dream—the capability to do so relies on access to information, creative power, and a significant level of self-confidence. Otherwise, the lengthy and tedious process of interacting in a non-hierarchical group just proves too demanding. Finding one's place within unsteady group structures is certainly not suited for everyone. Besides, the extent of transformations is enormous and has caused the initiators to repeatedly meet and overcome their limits. According to Carpaneto, "the project has a scale […] which went completely beyond their scope and exceeded their imagination at the time."[134] Nevertheless, the cooperative grew steadily in terms of both the number of participants and the scope of work. Aljoscha Hoffman defines extensive networks and "a high ideological claim to become active at this location"[135] as prerequisites for this development. He is skeptical of how much the cooperative itself can contribute to further the involvement of different actors of the community. He believes that a sense of belonging and feeling addressed largely depends on personal motivation. Thus, what is offered by Holzmarkt as an innovative process and a new space will only appeal to those who are "interested in changing [certain] structures and accessing new offers."[136] Hofmann concludes that the level of participation or motivation to become active is based on whether the individual has an affinity to these kinds of topics and is capable of perceiving the possibilities within.

> You only become what you appear to be—whether urban planner or urban developer or whatever—through the things that you are doing. That's what you will be judged by. […] no one is qualified to do urban development.
>
> Noack 2013[137]

Though DIY urbanism is sometimes dismissed as 'hipster gentrification' indicating the colonization of urban space through cultural capital,[138] the case studies—in particular the example of Holzmarkt—demonstrate that linking the variety of political and artistic forms of claiming urban space only to the hipster movement seems rather one-dimensional. Instead, the group of participants is more diverse and has also achieved benefits beyond temporary use scenarios. Accordingly, it is gaining increasing acceptance on the local government level, e.g., in terms of more institutionalized forms of engagement.

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134   Carpaneto. Interview, page 286, section 2: "Das Projekt hat natürlich eine Dimension, […] die völlig ihren Rahmen, ihre Vorstellungskraft zu dem Zeitpunkt gesprengt hat." (translation by author).

135   Hofmann. Interview, page 304, section 64: "einen hohen ideologischen Anspruch, an der Stelle aktiv zu werden." (translation by author).

136   Ibid., page 303, section 46: "daran interessiert, [bestimmte] Strukturen zu verändern und sich andere Angebote zu erschließen" (translation by author).

137   Noack. Interview, page 297, section 32: "Man wird erst zu dem, was man zu sein scheint—sei es Stadtplaner oder Stadtentwickler oder was auch immer—durch die Sachen, die man macht. Daran wird man gemessen. Von der Qualifikation her, vom Lebenslauf her, ist keiner qualifiziert Stadtentwicklung zu machen." (translation by author).

138   The hipster movement is generally associated with a high level of cultural, if not economic, capital. Though the link between DIY urbanism and hipsters must be questioned, the noted high level of cultural and textual literacy is certainly an advantage when negotiating power relations. See Deslandes, Ann. "Exemplary Amateurism: Thoughts on DIY Urbanism" in: *Cultural Studies Review* 19:1 (March 2013) 216–27. Retrieved from: http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/csrj/index (accessed October 5, 2013).

At the same time, this kind of approach to shaping the built environment triggers concern. If cultural capital is an asset that is required of agents in order to engage in participatory or self-organized schemes, this requirement also means the exclusion of those who do not possess it. In this light, Bourdieu notes that those who possess large cultural capital can secure material and symbolic profits on the grounds of the logic of distinction, meaning the occupation and representation of a specific position in social space. The more scarce the cultural capital is, the greater are the benefits for its bearer with regard to money or prestige. Distinction in the Holzmarkt context leads to a striking dichotomy of cooperative living and pluralist urban society, partially further aggravated by the cooperative itself as discussed above.

The project suggests two possible paths for future development: It can either evolve into a well-integrated yet alternative society and place or it might well turn into an island of self-governance. Cooperative structures give an impetus to reconsidering and reforming traditional modes of planning. They are important in terms of creating much-needed affordable housing or spurring cultural activities. They succeed in reclaiming responsibilities in defining urban environments. Yet, does this new group of city makers that presents itself as new form of urban development account for a much needed alternative to the repetitive schemes of urban regeneration by the hands of project developers?

> Well, I think that it is almost certainly a different way, a new way. Whether it is better I cannot say at this stage […]. What these projects clearly demonstrated: how you can do urban development, how you can create spaces that do not simply submit to expectations of financial return.
>
> Hofmann 2013[139]

Holzmarkt exemplifies that the civil society as a new—or recently more empowered—actor establishes itself as a legitimate urban agent next to private companies and public authorities, yet the appeal and success of such projects also contains the danger that the effects of exclusion are not adequately considered. Romanticizing the informal, ignores that DIY approaches, due to their dependency on cultural capital, generate rather homogeneous user groups—a phenomenon that denies any idea of urbanity. In the end, the outcomes of such developments, despite their quirky aesthetics, might show similar social and cultural limitations as the ideology of urban regeneration, which the initiators were criticizing in the first place.

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139   Hofmann. Interview, page 304, section 56: "Also ich denke, es ist mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit ein anderer Weg, ein neuer Weg. Ob er besser ist, will ich zu dem jetzigen Zeitpunkt gar nicht sagen, […]. Was solche Projekte ganz klar aufzeigen: wie kann man Stadt entwickeln, wie kann man Orte schaffen, die nicht nur nach Renditeerwartungen funktionieren." (translation by author).

Conclusion and Prospect

This thesis has delineated the hypothesis of urban zero points: indeterminate public space which manages to activate civil society in the context of urban regeneration. Zero points are understood as vacant, functionally not predefined yet physically clearly framed places in the city. The concreteness and perceptible presence of zero points—whether implemented in the urban fabric through planning or emerging as a consequence of other modifications of the city—is understood as a prerequisite for new ways of appropriation and interaction amongst different urban actors. The lack of authority and hierarchic structure in urban zero points facilitates the empowerment of individuals or groups vis-à-vis traditional decision-makers such as public authorities or private investors. This 'becoming active' marks the emergence of political subjects insofar as they succeed in claiming visibility and defining aspects of their physical and non-physical surroundings. Such increased levels of self-organization and self-responsibility in urban matters fall under the term DIY urbanism. It follows that the notion of zero points unites distinct architectural-spatial and socio-political parameters. These properties can be summarized as follows:

the architectural-spatial properties of urban zero points

- Urban zero points are not abstract reverberations of public space but rather concrete physical settings in the city.
- Urban zero points are nodal points in the urban grid. They connect important places in the city or are important places themselves.
- Urban zero points are easy to read. They are clearly delineated by their built or infrastructural frame and can be grasped in their extent.
- Urban zero points are determined by their indeterminacy. They are characterized by an absence of functions, buildings, ownership structures, and historical or political overlays, which might impair their appropriation.
- Urban zero points can be implemented through design interventions or occur in response to other (physical, economic, political) modifications of the city.

the socio-political properties of urban zero points

- Urban zero points, in their architectural-spatial articulation of an indeterminacy, can only be meaningful in a socio-political way if there is a local need for negotiation and interaction .
- Urban zero points are by definition open to all kinds of appropriation.
- Urban zero points, if occurring in an as found condition as vacant, presumably dysfunctional sites, represent a space of possibility for that very reason.
- Urban zero points offer the environment for new forms of social practice and the emergence of political subjects. They facilitate the re-positioning of the self in the sense of DIY urbanism.
- Urban zero points encourage the alteration of physical and non-physical characteristics of a specific urban environment. They oppose the understanding of the city as a stable entity and instead reflect its transformative nature.

After evaluating the case studies, it can be stated that Rambla del Raval as the result of an intervention by urban planners, and Mátyás Square, Teleki Square, and Holzmarkt as degenerated, underutilized, or leftover spaces before their regeneration, best exemplify both the architectural-spatial and the socio-political characteristics outlined above. In all these examples, the regeneration of public space was employed as a starting point of urban restructuring, rather than a mere beautification of empty space. The phenomena of soft activism that can appear following this kind of restructuring can be a first step towards re-appropriating the political realm. Although the respective urban initiatives and interventions might not be intentionally political at first, they attain a political dimension once the people involved gain visibility in the neighborhood. If the neighborhood is the workers' union of contemporary society, the political objectives are no longer framed by social (in)equality but determined by more complex parameters like mutual traditions, values, or goals. The process of establishing these parameters amongst individuals or groups as being either in alignment or in opposition, indicates the emergence of political subjects and their claim to the city.

Recalling Rancière's comments that *the political* can never exist outside of *the police* as its very essence is to challenge established power relations, suggests that there cannot be an absolutely independent political space. Likewise, there cannot be an absolutely indefinite physical space either. Eventually, even the most marginalized places fall under some form of restriction and control. Therefore, the concept of zero points does not present an ideal blueprint for future developments. It rather displays spatial qualities such as maintaining a sense of 'no authority' by preventing space from being overly designed or framed by specific functions and users in order to encourage the formation of political subjects. Understanding zero points as spaces on the periphery of ownership inscribed in a reduced architectural articulation could give the impetus to arrive at meaningful urban regeneration in physical and political terms.

As indicated in the preface, this thesis is not meant to conceive of a theory for the mere benefit of theoretical knowledge. It rather attempts to establish a *practical theory*—one that derives from the experiences of existing spatial conditions and practices and in turn, shows the potential to inform future planning. The investigation demonstrates that the contemporary challenges of urban planning are manifold. They include economic globalization, the diversification of social and cultural groups, spatial fragmentation, and social segregation. The classic tools and standardized responses offered by the discipline of urban planning in form of, for example, master plans and elitist planning teams, largely persist even though the demands on the city, the status of the urban form, and the way of life have changed dramatically. The tools and methods have been criticized for losing their credibility in view of these issues. In fact, the status of the urban planner himself—as an empowered individual—is questioned by the growing demand for community-based planning initiatives.

Ever since industrialization and the triumph of the rational plan, defining the physical and non-physical features of the city fell to the supremacy of planners and administrators. The skilled professional and the administrative authority with its legal frameworks worked hand in hand on implementing their version of the respective society and times. More often than not, this way of seeing and formatting the city as one entity denied really existing plurality and heterogeneity.

With new interest groups in local communities getting more powerful—manifest in the great appeal of cooperative developments, joint building ventures, or urban gardening initiatives—the change in actors is accompanied by a change in process. In the attempt to incorporate a large range of people, the leading paradigm of professional competitions is being abandoned in favor of a multitude of shared approaches and planning workshops. It is understood that every urban dweller has a tacit knowledge of urban life and as such can intervene in the urban sphere in a proficient manner. Thus, everyone becomes a potential planner. This form of radical planning (parallel to radical democracy) contains a utopian aspect insofar as it represents a societal vision. DIY urbanism strives to foster spontaneity, creativity, and heterogeneity. It relies on multiple user groups and informal acts of place-making that are carried out with limited means. Thus, DIY urbanism can be understood as a new form of urban utopianism revolving around the idea of community-building and politically relevant public space. While modernist utopian concepts typically liberated themselves from any historical, geographical, or cultural context in order to construct the ideal of a brighter future on a *tabula rasa*, the utopia of DIY strives to include as many aspects of urban reality as possible. It establishes new means of participation, which try to leave the shortcomings of participatory planning of the 1960s and 70s such as the lack of information or the elitist structures of advocacy planning behind. Today, the disaffection with traditional top-down processes results in understanding the culture of planning as a culture of communication.

However, the response to the shortcomings of the comprehensive plan cannot be the creation of a romanticized idea of DIY (just like the response to the shortcomings of representative democracy cannot be a call for direct democracy). Instead, it is necessary to improve its procedures. The question is not how professional knowledge can reconfirm its value in urban planning. In my opinion, this stands undisputed. The concern must instead be how it could better integrate with the tacit knowledge of users in order to generate benefits and acceptance on the local level. Finding common ground between professional planning and local activism is a critical issue in today's urban environments in order to prevent DIY urbanism from becoming yet another exclusive form of urban planning.

Appendix

Coding Agendas
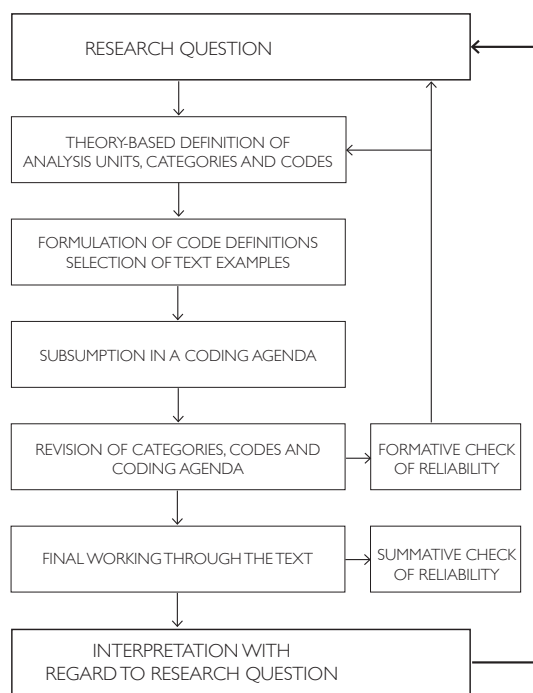
Fig. 131 Step model of Deductive Category Application according to Philipp Mayring.

Employing the method of Deductive Category Application by Philipp Mayring, facilitated the qualitative analysis of the key informant interviews conducted for this thesis. Mayring's method is based on pre-defined, theoretically derived categories and codes, which become the template of observation when reading the text. They allow to traceably reduce the raw data and to extract the relevant information with regard to the research question.

In accordance with the thematic structure and theoretical framework of the thesis, three main categories have been defined: *professional planning*, *(in)determinate public space*, and *DIY urbanism*. A set of codes has been allocated to each of these categories, as illustrated below. The codes are further explained by code definitions. Eventually, the categories, codes, and relevant text segments are compiled in coding agendas. They represent a condensed level of information relevant to the thesis while also indicating the respective section in the text and thus allowing a reference back to the original context of each interview.

The categories and coding agendas are assigned different colors. The structure of coding agendas is explained below.

Case　refers to the Case Study
BCN - Barcelona | BUD - Budapest | BER - Berlin

Int.　refers to the name of the interviewee (exception: The interview CG was conducted with three persons. The actual name of the respondent is indicated in the transcript.)

Sect.　refers to the section in the transcript

Segment displays the original quotation of the interviewee. In the case of Berlin, all interviews have been conducted in German. The relevant text segments have been translated and included in the agenda. The original German quotation is listed next to the agenda and can be traced back to the interview transcript.

Fig. 132 Categories and Codes defined for the qualitative content analysis of this thesis.

Category	Code
professional planning	improve conditions and image community involvement skepticism on the part of the community facilitate community-initiated planning process
(in)determinate public space	institutionalized control identity accessibility design/furnishings/materiality distinct built frame program dominant user groups
DIY urbanism	impact on physical adjustments patterns of self-organization appropriation community building issues with participation

Fig. 133 Example of a Coding Agenda for the Category *(in)determinate public space*.

Code Code Definition			identity spatial identity with impact on public space usage
Case	**Int.**	**Sect.**	**Segment**
BCN	EC	56	we always do it in Rambla del Raval because that is their natural space. It's the only place in the neighborhood where you can actually do something like that. Besides MACBA, but that's not a local space.
BER	AH	44	And they create places where they can express their interests. This means spaces of a certain identity are formed that are no longer interesting to other groups.

Original Quotation

Und sie schaffen sich Orte, an denen sie ihre Interessen ausleben. Das bedeutet, dass damit sofort Räume entstehen, die eine bestimmte Färbung haben und dadurch für andere Gruppen nicht mehr interessant sind.

Code	improve conditions and image
Code Definition	physical, social, etc. improvements, re-imaging the neighborhood

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	CG	82	UG: In Raval South, the touristic sights are located along the edges, which means, as opposed to the northern part, the inner neighborhood has not been that much affected by the changes. CG: That's why the Filmoteca is being built there. The idea is to change the neighborhood.
BCN	CG	84	With the Museum of Modern Art being installed, Raval North became very easily a fashionable neighborhood with galleries, restaurants. There was a change of atmosphere. […] With this philosophy, the City Council decided to undertake this big operation of Rambla del Raval, to create a new central area and to concentrate more things in the area such as the Filmoteca because this was the most degraded part
BCN	CG	87	the City Council drew up a strategic plan for 2015. The specific goals for *ciutat vella* are public spaces, security, and mobility. This means that we do not need more tourists. We took care of that. The idea of the plan is to spread the tourists, to make them go to other places.
BCN	CG	119	Yes, the idea of the plans was to provide the same level [of public services] in every part. Every neighborhood should have a library, a school for kids, a school for teenagers, a civic center … more or less, it is very balanced.
BCN	CG	119	The idea was to [introduce] some new uses to attract a new population and to balance the social life of the neighborhood.
BCN	CG	191	In the beginning, the operation was basically an urban operation but now the [transformation] is more or less finished and we must concentrate on social issues and the quality of life.
BCN	CG	198	UG: What is the main ambition of these projects that you are doing in Raval Sud? CG: To create the same situation in the southern part of Raval as in the northern part […] AT: Yes, because the North has changed more quickly than the South
BUD	GA	10	In Berlin, we visited the Kiez around Helmholtzplatz and we learned a lot. We saw that the main goal is anti-segregation, job seeking, and fighting against disadvantaged situations, inside the family and outside.
BUD	GA	32	The new district mayor said [the high rate of homeless people] is not only our problem and we tried to move these people into the institution, into the homeless centers and out of the streets. We fought against the municipal policy of building a new homeless center very close to our neighborhood.
BUD	GA	50	Our district is the worst brand in the city. The 8th district is a nickname for poverty, crime, gipsy, and prostitution. But we cleared that to a large extent, only a few continue to work in the area.
BUD	IS	20	the rehabilitation itself, as in Ferencváros, was very important to keep the people in the city. It was the biggest challenge after the system change. [Suburbanization] caused a lot of problems in public transport, individual transport, and air pollution. It was a great problem for Józsefváros too because a lot of poor people moved to Józsefváros after the system change.
BUD	IS	20	Before I quit the job as chief architect, I proposed to start the program 'Heart of Budapest'. It is a program especially for public space rehabilitation […] we thought we could oppose this process of people moving outward if we renew the inner parts of the city, especially public areas.
BUD	IS	20	We saw the shopping centers and housing estates, mainly on the edge of the city, and we knew: if we want to do something, we have to renew the public areas in the city.

BUD	ZK	4	The same actually with the Corvin-Szigony project. It is a real-estate-upgrade type of regeneration. Like all around the world. Old buildings get knocked down, long-term residents get pushed out, many of them Roma, and new up-market offices, business and housing developments are realized.
BUD	ZK	4	And Magdolna was, in my opinion, the most successful one. It was seen as a model project, a flagship project. There were subprograms of the main project dealing with security, social cohesion, public participation, upgrading the buildings, upgrading the public space. There were so many targets in this project.
BUD	ZV	7	The aim of Magdolna's rehabilitation—launching Magdolna District program II. and III.—is the reversal of this social deterioration.

| Code | | | skepticism on the part of the community |
| Code Definition | | | local residents/users show skepticism toward collaboration with public authorities/professional planners |

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	HJ	14	in every important task the government, the institutions, and different NGOs forget to invite us or just ignore us.
BCN	HJ	14	If we don't do anything, nobody will think of us.
BCN	HJ	14	But for the state, we don't exist. Why? When it comes to recognition, we don't exist.
BCN	HJ	89	It is more theoretical, written policies. They never implement anything. They have a lot of money to write.
BCN	EC	34	In most cases, I believe they are pretty happy with the work we are doing but there is a … not only because we get money from the government—all the social entities do. But yes, I guess some people might think that we are related to power. But we are really not because we have a lot of cut backs and we don't know how to finish the year.
BCN	CG	213	AT: Well, there are people interested in the program and there are neighbors that are very against it. MS: *Barri* people. AT: Yes, *barri* people.
BCN	CG	216	MS: You must know that all of this operation started in 1988 and there are people that are having problems since 1988. This means … CG: They have no patience anymore. 'What? They are asking me now? Now it is me that has to solve it?' MS: No trust at all in the City Council. Everything that comes from the City Council is shit. CG: 'You haven't solved it in 20 years and now it is me that has to solve it?'
BUD	GA	4	When the local people think about Rév8, they think we work with the municipality—we are the official side.
BUD	GA	6	The Hungarian people think about the municipality as a place of power. So they considered Rév8 and the municipality as the political side and that they just do whatever they want.
BUD	GA	6	We had a lot of conflicts with the locals because they think we are the municipality,
BUD	GA	26	The basic diagram is: local and civil are on one side, and according to the civil, Rév8 and the municipality are on the other side.
BUD	GA	28	The people fight the association who fight against us, not the maintenance company or the municipality. They fight against us.

Code			community involvement
Code Definition			participatory approach of public authorities/professional planners

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	HJ	30	The government is not bad, they are good. They want to interact with everybody. I believe that. And not only believe—they proved it.
BCN	EC	14	I ask all the agents in the territory who want to participate. I ask them, how do you want to do this or what do you want to do this year. […] we tell everyone to come to a meeting.
BCN	EC	16	So it is not us saying, this is the project we are going to promote. It is the people in the project saying, this is what we want to do.
BCN	EC	20	We organize the people, get them together, and decide what the topic was going to be, what they were going to do.
BCN	EC	32	We have that kind of relationship that we could call them and they would come. They trust us because we have done many things for them and with them.
BCN	EC	34	We have a very personal relationship with a lot of people so that is always bigger than any institution or whatever the name behind the work is. We have a personal relationship with them even when we are not doing direct assistance in anything.
BCN	CG	25	Basically, in Raval South, there are still people drug dealing. Prostitution is still there but that cannot be just eliminated. Then the people would be somewhere else. […] In fact, it's a question of where do they go if they are not here. They exist. We want to try to eliminate as much as possible this situation. This is a question for the municipality but also for the citizens and neighbors.
BCN	CG	25	That means we do urban planning, we do urban works, but we also include social approaches. For example, we get the neighbors together to discuss what's going on in the square.
BCN	CG	27	The idea is not only to work on making new public spaces, making better facades, putting lifts on buildings, and things like that. There is a big part of the money used for participation, social participation. Get citizens to decide what they want for the future of the area.
BCN	CG	27	Now all the new approaches to urban planning have this social aspect. But it's really a new approach, we are learning how to do it.
BCN	CG	28	at the beginning of this century, there was a social demand: we want to know what we are going to do with our city. The municipality decided on a new approach in the neighborhoods, to allow some kind of participation.
BCN	CG	44	That's why the City Council is now trying to help the citizens who live here to stay here. So right now the municipality's idea is: work for the citizens, not for the tourists.
BCN	CG	97	Here, the problem is that we still try to keep both neighbors and tourists. […] It is a decision by the City Council to keep the neighborhood for neighbors. So, if someone says, this project is just for driving out the old people—that's false.
BCN	CG	197	The idea is that if you have specific actions in the neighborhood, you have to have an office in Raval Sud. It is a reference for the neighbors, to be present and open the doors.
BCN	CG	197	the idea is that everybody can go there and ask for anything. So it is a reference for the citizens of Raval Sud.
BCN	CG	200	The social programs have to complete the urbanistic actions. It is an integral program and all the things have to come together.
BCN	CG	201	*Pla de barris* specifically joins the urban and the social.

BCN	CG	208	And now we are doing a selection of seven people from this zone: a neighbor or probably a sex worker or a policeman, and they will be agents for the community. They will list all the conflicts that are existing in the area.
BUD	GA	2	For me, the main importance is the involvement [in the neighborhood]
BUD	GA	4	But when we think about our role, we think that we are positioned with the locals.
BUD	GA	6	But the involvement [of people in the project] is a type of sharing decisions and this is a type of direct democracy.
BUD	GA	8	Yes, in my opinion, the main aim is learning democracy, learning how to work together.
BUD	GA	10	And across these programs we tried to understand how people live. We chose the most disadvantaged families and we tried to get to know their conflicts.
BUD	GA	10	And within this square renewal program, there were involvement forums and participatory planning. And in the other official program—the public housing renewal—we tried to involve the people in the physical work, in the implementation.
BUD	GA	12	We organized a Saturday morning meeting with the locals and showed them a lot of materials: brick, stone elements, concrete elements. We asked the people what they wanted, we asked them to choose, which one was the best, which one they wanted to see on the square.
BUD	GA	12	My opinion was that the decision is very important and I prefer the decision of locals to the decision of professionals.
BUD	GA	26	We asked the civil organizations to prepare subprograms and the rules of the game
BUD	GA	28	And we know that the sustainability of the programs needs civil organizations who try to play between the municipality and the local people. So we tried to [assist] the civil organizations and got a lawyer to prepare the association documents, e.g. the tenant association who are important because there are a lot of tenants in the flats.
BUD	GA	28	We tried to manage the process and teach the people how to fight for their interest against the maintenance company. There are a lot of problems with the utilities of the buildings and the maintenance company made a big cost schedule. We taught the civil organizations how to control this process.
BUD	GA	38	I think not only teaching is important for us, we also have to understand them.
BUD	GA	40	We have to enable a lot of people to think together […]. We worked with the people, the implementation is very easy.
BUD	GA	50	We know that if we had gotten another type of empowerment by the municipality from the start we would have prepared a better one, if we had gotten more money and time to understand the people, their interests and demands. If we had a guarantee from the municipality and the EU, we would prepare the program with the people.
BUD	GA	50	We received a third fund this year. Very similar to the second one but we concentrate very much on communication this time. I pushed the municipality but only on one program they allowed us to work with the people and agreed to accept their decisions. That is Teleki Square.
BUD	ZK	4	This was designed according to the 'Soziale Stadt.' It aimed at improving the residential environment while at the same time, as a benchmark, keeping at least 75% of the long-term residents on the site.

BUD	ZK	8	Józsefváros was different. They regarded the social aspect very seriously as part of future urban regeneration.
BUD	ZK	10	So they were not against converting a neighborhood of poverty into a cosmopolitan, globalized business-residential-neighborhood but they said, aside that, we also have to look after our poor. That was not just a slogan as often employed by politicians so that they cannot be accused of being a pro-gentrification politician. They took it seriously
BUD	ZV	2	Maneszota (Magdolna District Neighborhood Council) was established as part of the Magdolna District Program II., involving the local community and promoting neighborhood co-living.
BUD	ZV	4	The Neighborhood Council […] initiates cooperation with its partners, makes relevant suggestions and opinions concerning the public and its environment. It has a bottom-up organization depending on local residents who partake in individual working groups.
BUD	ZV	4	Experienced professionals conducted the forums and meetings. In case of a certain topic or discussion, governmental representatives were present guaranteeing that the suggestions of the locals reached the competent person. The active participation of the local civil organizations was expected and encouraged.
BUD	KF	8	We had 10 meetings and they were encouraged to attend each meeting, or at least, as many as they could
BUD	KF	8	but it became increasingly interactive. We also had on-site modeling with fun activities to keep people excited. This included doing small installations of posters with 'wish lists' written on them, as well as modeling things like the height of the stage and its seating, and figuring out where to place the benches to make people happy.
BUD	KF	20	Dominika and her team operated this facebook page and I think it was fantastic. And, surprisingly, even some of the pensioners were on facebook regularly. So, it was much more inclusive than you might have thought. It was a great way to exchange ideas and post current information about the project's status.
BUD	KF	26	We as designers were trying to influence them in what we considered to be the right direction. […] We focused on naturalistic plantings, on simple pavings and lighting features that were modern and not fake-historical, which perhaps some of them might have chosen if they were on their own. But I would call that education and persuasion—it certainly was the farthest thing possible from manipulation.
BUD	KF	26	They liked our ideas and we were successful in winning them over in some instances where what they wanted was not the most economical or sustainable or aesthetically suitable choice

Code			facilitate community-initiated planning process
Code Definition			public authorities/professional planners assist residents/users in efforts of DIY urbanism (ranging from appropriation to urban planning)

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment	Original Quotation
BER	SC	2	And we joined the team because the initiators sought our advice.	Und wir sind dazu gestoßen, weil wir von den Initiatoren um Rat gefragt wurden.
BER	SC	10	That is the part developed by Mario Husten. Within four weeks, he solidly managed to establish the cooperative, which is also an accomplishment considering how long it takes to found a cooperative. Thus, it was the concentration of know-how, which eventually turned it into something consistent, i.e. that it was not just a vague idea but rather putting a believable construct into place.	Das ist der Teil, den Mario Husten entwickelt hat. Er hat innerhalb von vier Wochen die Genossenschaft reell auf die Beine gestellt, was auch eine Leistung ist wenn man weiß, wie lange es dauert eine Genossenschaft zu gründen. Also es war schon ein gebündeltes Know-How, was dazu geführt hat, dass es konsistent wurde, also dass es eben nicht nur eine Wolke war, sondern dass man eine glaubwürdige Konstruktion auf die Beine gestellt hat.
BER	SC	26	the pragmatic aspect of realization is the part we contributed—but not as architects rather as supporters of the project in general because we liked the people. Of course, we are professionals but we were not approached as professionals rather as supporters.	der pragmatische Zug der Umsetzung, das ist das, was wir beigesteuert haben—aber auch nicht als Architektinnen und Architekten, sondern erstmal als Förderer des Projektes per se, weil wir die Leute gut fanden. Wir sind natürlich Professionelle aber wir sind nicht als Professionelle angesprochen worden, sondern wir sind als Unterstützer angesprochen worden.
BER	SC	28	The group that was formed here and completed this work, was a very diverse team, also assisted by top-class lawyers. It was a very large group, also journalists. Simply people who arose from the context. It cannot be said that a team was set up, it rather evolved as it is always case with such projects.	Die Gruppe, die da zustande kam und dieses Werk hier fertig gemacht hat, war ein ganz bunt gemischtes Team, wo auch ganz hochkarätige Rechtsanwälte mitgewirkt haben. Es war ein sehr große Runde, auch Journalisten. Einfach Leute, die sich aus dem Umfeld ergeben haben. Man kann nicht sagen, es ist ein Team zusammengestellt worden, sondern es ist mehr so entstanden wie das bei solchen Projekten aber auch immer ist.
BER	SC	28	These are projects that are based on a large amount of commitment and on a relatively low level of professional … of course, the kind of commitment is professional but it is not like that a team was set up and thereby earns a living. It can be said that this just happens within the scope of civil commitment.	Das sind Projekte die viel mit Engagement zu tun hatten und relativ wenig mit professioneller … klar, die Art des Engagements ist professionell aber es ist nicht so, dass man als Team zusammengerufen wird und damit sein Leben verdient. Man kann sagen, das ist einfach im Rahmen des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements.
BER	SC	30	This part—the Eckwerk—with the start-up center and the student housing originates more in the, let's say, group of supporters, also regarding the content. This has only just been developed within the last two weeks [before the first bid] with the firm belief that this is a concept that could work. And then we talked to partners and received immediate support.	Dieser Teil—das Eckwerk—mit dem Gründerzentrum und dem studentischen Wohnen, der kommt, sagen wir mal, eher aus der Unterstützergruppe, auch die Inhalte dafür. Der ist auch erst wirklich in diesen letzten zwei Wochen [vor dem ersten Gebot] dazugekommen, mit der Überzeugung, das ist ein Konzept was funktionieren kann. Und wir haben dann auch mit Partnern gesprochen und sofortige Unterstützung bekommen.
BER	SC	34	We developed a concept and consulted with the group.	Wir haben ein Konzept entwickelt und mit der Gruppe abgestimmt.
BER	SC	38	Well, for the village part we did the planning application and received the construction permit last week.	Also für den Teil Dorf haben wir die Genehmigungsplanung gemacht und haben letzte Woche die Baugenehmigung bekommen.
BER	SC	50	You can join, just like we did. And you can get out again.	Man kann mitmachen, so wie auch wir mitgemacht haben. Und man kann auch wieder aussteigen.
BER	SC	64	Then we tried to structure it and proposed this idea of the halls and huts. That you start based on the processual, i.e. the offer of a pre-developed part, which can be realized very quickly and the development of the rest can happen over time.	Dann haben wir versucht, das zu strukturieren und diesen Vorschlag mit den Hallen und Hütten gemacht. Dass man anfängt, aus dem Prozesshaften heraus, also ein Angebot, dass es einen Vorentwicklungsteil gibt, der ganz schnell geht und das andere hat Zeit sich zu entwickeln.
BER	SC	114	The crucial point which differentiates the collaboration with an investor from a foundation is that an investor is solely focused on numbers. And institutions like Abendrot Stiftung are interested in the people. That is the big difference. Of course, they also consider the numbers but whether you believe that a project will evolve into something is pivotal for a positive statement because they are interested in long-term results, not short-term.	Der entscheidende Punkt was eine Zusammenarbeit mit einem Investor von einer Stiftung unterscheidet, ist dass der Investor ausschließlich auf die Zahlen guckt. Und solche Institutionen wie die Abendrot Stiftung, die gucken auf die Menschen. Das ist einfach der große Unterschied. Selbstverständlich gucken die auch auf die Zahlen aber entscheidend für eine positive Stellungnahme, ist ob man daran glaubt, dass ein Projekt etwas werden kann, weil sie sich langfristig für Ergebnisse interessieren und nicht kurzfristig.

Code			institutionalized control
Code Definition			administrative measures (legislations, land use plan, zoning plan) or security services with impact on public space usage

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	HJ	54	We never got a permission to stay at Rambla, we never got a permission to stay at MACBA
BCN	EC	68	EC: It is also a government policy because they want to have … UG: … they want to sell the licenses. EC: Yes, and it's also very tourist orientated. But in that sense, it has not so much to do with the people in Rambla del Raval, but rather with the city government.
BCN	CG	145	if you have some kind of control, they will see that [there are the same rules] as in their country.
BUD	GA	32	We have a subprogram—a civil patrol—that asks every person in the street that seems to be homeless, what they are doing, whether they live in the area, or if they are going somewhere.
BUD	GA	36	I think the main problem in public space is the two-tier system, the lack of legislative background, and the privatization of flats
BUD	ZV	30	The public safety of Józsefváros has significantly improved in the last decade due to the crime prevention [program], law enforcing actions of the police, and the gradual building of the 'Complex Public Safety System' by the local council and the district police. The main focus of the system are surveillance cameras, an independent public area supervising service, and the district watch.

Code			identity
Code Definition			spatial identity with impact on public space usage

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	EC	56	we always do it in Rambla del Raval because that is their natural space. It's the only place in the neighborhood where you can actually do something like that. Besides MACBA, but that's not a local space.
BCN	EC	100	On the main Rambla, you have the big book shops selling bestsellers. We don't have that. We have the small organizations that maybe edited a book about one of their projects. You can't find bestsellers on Rambla del Raval but there are a lot of activities going on.
BUD	IS	4	And when you step out behind the mall, you find yourself in a nowhere land, which could be anywhere in the world. This is not Józsefváros, of course.
BUD	ZK	4	Actually living in the neighborhood, they develop a special kind of identity. [Planners and administrative officials] decided to strengthen that through this glove factory brownfield regeneration project. This is good for the whole community. [People] feel attached to the neighborhood.
BUD	KF	24	Teleki, as it is, is so functionless and sort of lawless, there's no owner. The fact that it's in a high crime neighborhood adds to the problem. Here, people are afraid of places that are dark and empty.

BER	SC	62	Yes, what is a village and what does it consist of? Which image do you associate it with? Is it a village or rather a fortress?	Ja, was ist ein Dorf und worin besteht das Dorf? Was ist das Bild, das man damit assoziiert? Ist es ein Dorf oder ist es eher eine Burg?
BER	SC	68	Thus, a reversal of perception: not the village and the rest [of the city] but rather an area on which this … business village	Also eine Umkehrung der Wahrnehmung: nicht das Dorf und der Rest, sondern ein Gelände auf dem dieses … Gewerbedorf
BER	SC	102	I think the decisive aspects are the following: waterfront, evening sun, and in the middle of the city. These are the unique features that not many sites have.	ich denke, das Entscheidende sind die Faktoren: am Wasser, mit Abendsonne und mitten in der Stadt. Das sind eigentlich die Alleinstellungsmerkmale, die nicht viele Grundstücke haben.
BER	SC	102	In particular, the unhospitable environment benefits uses that are not compatible with residential space.	Gerade dass es so unwirtlich in der Umgebung ist, ist förderlich für Nutzungen, die nicht wohnverträglich sind.
BER	SC	104	this entire strip—well, if I look further, what's there? There is cosy wash, there is Lidl. Well, directly at Jannowitzbrücke station, there is Lidl or whatever the name is, some discounter. [Holzmarkt] is not a foreign body, rather this strip, this entire riparian strip, is a foreign body in the end.	dieser ganze Streifen—also wenn ich weiter gucke, was ist da? Da ist cosy wash, da ist Lidl. Also direkt am Bahnhof Jannowitzbrücke ist Lidl oder keine Ahnung wie die heißen, also so ein Discounter. [Holzmarkt] ist nicht ein Fremdkörper, sondern dieser Streifen, dieser ganze Uferstreifen ist letztendlich ein einziger Fremdkörper.
BER	SC	106	In a way, nothing has developed there either. Well, it has developed but it just is something else. It's industrial, basically, it's like an industrial area and that's why it was a waste land.	Da ist auch nichts in dem Sinne gewachsen. Also es ist gewachsen aber es ist einfach was anderes. Es ist Industrie, eigentlich ist es wie ein Industriegebiet und deswegen war das ja auch so eine Brache.
BER	SC	108	And this is the step, which has not been realized yet: to let this develop into an urban space, meaning that it somehow is equipped with a promenade or a path along the river, that it is open to the public.	Und das ist ja der Schritt, der immer noch nicht umgesetzt ist: das zur Stadt werden zu lassen. Also dass es irgendwie eine Promenade oder einen Uferweg gibt, dass es der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich ist.
BER	AH	28	if it's turning into a liberal and freedom-orientated place, maybe accompanied by background music from the electronic music scene, then it's just not an appropriate environment for everybody.	wenn es ein Ort wird, der eher liberal und freiheitsdenkend ist und vielleicht mit entsprechender musikalischer Untermalung aus der elektronischen Musikszene, dann ist das eben vielleicht nicht für jedermann das entsprechende Umfeld.
BER	AH	34	I think it will develop nicely but it will certainly remain a rather limited circle of people.	Ich denke da wird sich vieles entwickeln aber es wird sicherlich eher ein beschränkter Personenkreis bleiben.
BER	AH	36	In fact, certain groups of people, even if they found an offer, would not—let's say—give it a chance due to what they expect and see. If you start targeting them through advertisement, they might not come at all.	Faktisch ist es eben so, dass bestimmte Personengruppen auch wenn sie ein Angebot vorfinden würden aufgrund dessen, was sie davon erwarten und sehen, es gar nicht—sozusagen—ausprobieren. Also wenn man sie jetzt ganz gezielt anfangen würde zu bewerben dann würden sie vielleicht gar nicht hinkommen.
BER	AH	40	As I said, I think a large part of this exclusion is self-inflicted, meaning it is not always directly enforced but often based on a lacking sense of belonging.	Wie gesagt, ich glaube ein Großteil dieser Exklusion ist oftmals selbstgewählt. Also [das passiert] nicht immer nur direkt, sondern oftmals aufgrund von einem fehlenden Zugehörigkeitsgefühl.
BER	AH	40	and therefore, they automatically say, this is not my clientele, they will give me a weird look and thereby exclude themselves. You don't know it though. Many people are afraid to give it a chance. And I believe that's exactly how these processes happen there as well.	und damit sagen sie automatisch, das ist nicht mein Publikum, die werden mich alle komisch angucken und schließen sich damit selber aus. Man weiß es aber nicht. Viele scheuen dann auch den Schritt, das auszuprobieren. Und ich glaube, dass solche Prozesse dort genauso stattfinden.
BER	AH	44	And they create places where they can express their interests. This means spaces of a certain identity are formed that are no longer interesting to other groups.	Und sie schaffen sich Orte, an denen sie ihre Interessen ausleben. Das bedeutet, dass damit sofort Räume entstehen, die eine bestimmte Färbung haben und dadurch für andere Gruppen nicht mehr interessant sind.
BER	AH	44	Basically, in my opinion, this means that there are criteria of exclusion, which are not malicious in any way but which will always be effective.	Das heißt also einfach, es gibt Ausschlusskriterien aus meiner Sicht, die nicht in irgendeiner Weise böswillig sind, die aber immer greifen, immer wirken werden.
BER	AH	64	And with the Spreefeld development, it was clear that this was not a normal development but also an alternative developer. It goes to show that the environment is relatively favorable. The adjacent Radialsystem with a creative user.	Und mit dem Spreefeld war auch klar, dass ist jetzt keine normale Entwicklung, sondern das ist so ein alternativer Entwickler. Das bedeutet, das Umfeld ist relativ günstig. Nebenan das Radialsystem mit einem kreativen Betreiber.
BER	AH	70	a good site to open a club, of course, because it is an isolated and rather noisy location.	natürlich auch ein gutes Grundstück, um einen Club aufzumachen, weil es ein abgelegener und tendenziell lauter Standort ist.
BER	AH	72	already since the 90s, the entire area was utilized as a stronghold of temporary use, especially in the existing buildings […] thousands of clubs that utilized a building and thereby developed this location. Thus, I believe it was self-evident that on this side … there, temporary use was much more prominent. This large wasteland offered development opportunities, more than the Kreuzberg side where there were relatively few clubs.	der gesamte Bereich schon seit den 90ern als Zwischennutzungshochburg bespielt wurde, und zwar vor allem in den bestehenden Gebäuden, […] tausende von Clubs, die ein Gebäude genutzt haben und dadurch diesen Standort entwickelt haben. Ich glaube insofern war es ja auch durchaus naheliegend sozusagen auf der Seite … dort war die Zwischennutzung viel stärker. Stärker als auf der Kreuzberger Seite, wo es verhältnismäßig weniger Clubs gab, war es dieser große brachgefallene Bereich, der Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten offenbart hat.

Code			accessibility
Code Definition			open or limites access, direct or indirect exclusion, existing ownership structure … with impact on public space usage

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	EC	94	If we have to call the cops—and we had to on occasion for little things, nothing big—they will come. They know we are doing it. We have the permission to be in the street. But they are not there all day and we would not want that.
BCN	CG	39	MS: It is a special place in the city. In a way, it's the center. CG: Yes, everybody comes here.
BUD	GA	12	This part is for people with dogs, homeless people, and everybody. And the other part will be closed and used by families with young children. We will close it at night.
BUD	GA	32	In 2010, the conservative party won the elections in all the municipalities and in the government. They thought, and our mayor as well, that homeless people do not [belong] in the streets and the public space. They prepared a plan to clear the public space of the homeless problem. And the people of our municipality prepared for a new homeless center in a different street, a new homeless support point. We tried to suck people to that point.
BUD	IS	4	They call it Corvin Promenade but if you visit it you can see that at the beginning of the promenade there is a shopping mall. You can access the promenade through a shopping mall—that is a crazy idea. And the shopping mall cuts the streets behind.
BUD	IS	4	It is not a promenade, it is a shopping mall which is enclosed.
BUD	ZK	28	The square got fenced, which is not privatization. I don't know how seriously they close the gates of the park at night but, of course, all around Europe parks are closed for the night. It is normal. If the park is nicely upgraded, a playground constructed, plants, trees, and bushes put in, then you try to protect it. You don't just leave it for homeless people or I don't know whom.
BUD	ZV	22	As part of an action plan against social exclusion different programs have been launched to make public spaces and transport more accessible,
BUD	KF	24	You can call some of the planning in Teleki Square defensible-space-style planning because we tried to create a series of spaces with clear functions for clear groups that will be easy for people to claim ownership of.

BER	SC	60	there was always very vague information on what is public and what is not, what's this discussion anyway.	es war immer eine sehr diffuse Auskunft zum Thema, was ist öffentlich und was ist nicht öffentlich, was ist überhaupt diese Diskussion.
BER	SC	64	Actually, their idea is something like this […] an accumulation of huts, which then is self-contained and not public at all but rather introvert. This ides of the mountain village is what we extracted as their wish. And this just does not have great level of publicness. It is rather a very enclosed arrangement.	Und deren Vorstellung ist eigentlich sowas hier […] eine Hüttenansammlung, die dann aber in sich auch geschlossen ist, die gar nicht öffentlich ist, sondern sehr in sich gekehrt. Das mit dem Bergdorf ist das, was wir rausgefiltert haben, was eigentlich gewünscht ist. Und das hat eben nicht die starke Öffentlichkeit, sondern es ist eigentlich eine sehr in sich gekehrte Anlage.
BER	SC	68	we had a long debate during the planning process and it resulted in leaving the entire area publicly accessible, meaning that there are virtually no fences […] that it has been said, ok, we acknowledge that the site will remain public	wir haben einen sehr langen Diskurs im Planungsprozess gehabt und es hat sich dann dahin entwickelt, dass das ganze Gelände öffentlich ist, also dass es im Grunde keine Zäune gibt […] dass man gesagt hat, ok, wir bekennen uns dazu, dass das ganze Grundstück öffentlich bleibt
BER	SC	108	that it is open to the public. That's not the case anywhere on this strip.	dass es der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich ist. Das ist ja auf dem ganzen Streifen nicht der Fall
BER	SC	108	This is not really a public promenade along the river.	Das ist nicht wirklich eine öffentliche Uferpromenade.
BER	LN	2	when I joined, it was clear the site will be publicly accessed via the riverside path on the one hand but also via a publicly accessible street to the other side of the bridge.	als ich dazu kam, war klar, dass Gelände ist öffentlich erschlossen durch den Uferwanderweg zum einen aber auch über eine öffentlich zugängliche Straße bis zur anderen Seite der Brücke.
BER	LN	2	You can access the water whenever you want to and you can also stay as long as you want to.	Man kommt ans Wasser wann man will und man kann auch solang bleiben wie man will.
BER	LN	2	that is a private site now, which has been made publicly accessible, not only as an idea but including everything that comes with it, it entails a slew of issues. That's exactly the problem we have right now with the riverside path, which you can see here. It is still closed because it is a question of public liability.	das ist jetzt ein privater Grund, den man öffentlich zugänglich machen muss aber nicht nur als Begriff, sondern mit allem was dazu gehört, also der ganze Rattenschwanz. Und genau das Thema haben wir jetzt gerade an dem Uferweg, den Du hier vorn siehst. Der ist bisher weiter zu, weil da geht es einfach um die Haftungsfrage.
BER	LN	4	In principle, this is not a problem. The adjacent owners are asked to open the path but they will only do it as long as the liability issues have been clarified. If a person breaks an arm or falls into the water, someone needs to be responsible.	An sich ist das kein Problem. Die Anlieger sind dazu angehalten, den Weg aufzumachen aber die machen das eben nur solang die Haftung geklärt ist. Wenn sich jetzt jemand den Arm bricht oder ins Wasser fällt, muss halt jemand dafür aufkommen.
BER	LN	18	It is evident that we can open every area only as far as we can access and use it. Of course, everything that belongs to the construction site must be secured. We have to guarantee that nobody can access it. Eventually, when the Holzmarkt village is completed, as defined by all major buildings have been constructed and substantial excavation work is no longer necessary, it will be opened peu à peu.	Es ist klar, jeden Bereich können wir soweit öffnen, wie wir ihn erschließen können, wie wir ihn nutzen können. Es ist klar, alles was Baustelle ist, müssen wir sichern. Da müssen wir gewährleisten, dass niemand rauf kann. Wenn am Ende das Holzmarkt Dorf gebaut ist, in dem Sinne, dass die großen Bauwerke alle stehen, wird das peu à peu aufgemacht, sobald keine große Baugrube mehr ausgehoben werden muss.
BER	AH	28	In principle—I also spoke to the initiators on several occasions over the last years—following what they say, I would assess this to become a public space. It is a private space, of course, but it will be publicly accessible. Thus, not like Bar25 at a certain time and with access control but rather, as far as I understood, around the clock.	Also vom Prinzip—ich habe ja auch mit den Betreibern mehrfach gesprochen in den vergangenen Jahren—würde ich zunächst einschätzen, dass es, wenn man dem folgt, was sie sagen, ein öffentlicher Raum wird. Es ist natürlich ein privater Raum aber er wird öffentlich zugänglich sein. Also nicht wie die Bar25 zu bestimmten Zeiten und mit Zugangskontrolle, sondern, so wie ich das verstanden habe, rund um die Uhr.
BER	AH	28	Over the years, in the case of vandalism or the like, which you cannt control, I could imagine that there might be a closure during the night nonetheless	Ich könnte mir vorstellen, dass im Laufe der Jahre da vielleicht doch eine nächtliche Schließung für Bereiche passiert wenn sich, ich sage mal, Vandalismus oder ähnliches einstellt, der sich nicht kontrollieren läßt
BER	AH	28	Thus, I do not expect the area to be controlled or restricted in terms of its accessibility.	Also insofern gehe ich nicht davon aus, dass der Bereich wirklich von der Zugänglichkeit her kontrolliert oder beschränkt wird.
BER	AH	42	It is and will remain a private site, which potentially includes a public right of way to a certain extent.	Es ist und bleibt aber ein privates Grundstück, was evt. bis zu einem gewissen Grad ein öffentliches Geh- und Wegerecht beinhaltet.
BER	AH	68	It's always a question of who the owners are, can you get a contract for temporary use at all. Maybe it was not possible to get that on the south side, which is why activation occurred more on the north side.	Ist ja immer eine Frage, wer sind die Grundstückseigentümer, kriegt man überhaupt einen Vertrag zur Zwischennutzung. Vielleicht hat man das auf der Südseite so nicht bekommen. Dadurch gab es eben eher eine Belebung der Nordseite.

Code			design/furnishings/materiality
Code Definition			architectural articulation of public space and impact on its usage

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	EC	57	UG: The perception is totally different. MACBA is … EC: … cool. UG: It's the building that is occupying the space. Rambla is more open in that sense. EC: Yes, it's the people.
BCN	CG	148	These places like Rambla del Raval where thought of and designed as *plaza duras*—a very big place to do everything. The plan was [developed] at the same time but works were carried out in the 90s and at the beginning of this century.
BCN	CG	158	Today, they have to eliminate any possibility of danger for the kids. [The space must be] well-designed, well-kept. A sunny place for old people. A place for exercise.
BUD	GA	12	they wanted to design a lot of things and prepared a lot of different proposals. I think that their main keyword was 'professional'. […] And people chose asphalt.
BUD	GA	12	I asked our professionals to choose a very good asphalt which does not get uneven and rugged in the hot sun.
BUD	IS	4	They gained leadership in the district and got universities from the United States to do competitions on [the design of] public space. They tried to hide this robbery with the help of architecture, fountains, and green spaces.

Code			distinct built frame
Code Definition			architectural articulation of the built frame and impact on public space usage

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	CG	103	Then the idea for Rambla del Raval was that the rambla was the central public space and everything depending on it. The idea was to build a new heart in Raval and locate facilities around it to build a new center. Destroy buildings and build a new big space [surrounded] by new housing, new facilities.
BUD	IS	4	[The Corvin plan] was approved with a 3.0 floor area ratio. They sold it to an investor on that condition. […] After approving the plan, the district sold the area to an investor who tried to increase the floor area ratio and he was successful because of his good connections to the political leaders. I tried to count once and I believe he gained more than 1 billion forints with that measure. I cannot tell you exactly but close to the boulevard the ratio is up to 4.5 now, and behind it around 4.
BUD	IS	4	I think Corvin is a very bad development. You can see the housing estate behind it. This was one of the first inner-city housing estates […] and it is very similar to the Corvin buildings. Of course, Corvin has better materials, balconies and colors but it is very similar to a housing estate in my opinion.
BUD	IS	6	They are very similar if you compare the massing.
BUD	IS	12	There are some very interesting examples where a historic building is joined to a new one.
BER	SC	102	Well, it developed on this wasteland. Holzmarkt street cuts of this entire strip lengthwise from the rest of the city.
BER	LN	28	And then it was obvious that there are two partial plots of land: here, the southern part and beyond the overpass, the northern part.

Original Quotation

Also das ist ja auf dieser Brache da entstanden. Die Holzmarktstraße schneidet diesen Streifen ja die ganze Länge entlang total ab vom Rest der Stadt.

Und dann war klar, dass das zwei Teilgrundstücke sind: hier der Südteil und auf der anderen Seite des Viadukts der Nordteil.

Code Code Definition			program program in buildings or open space with impact on public space usage
Case	**Int.**	**Sect.**	**Segment**
BCN	CG	35	The basic idea of Bohigas included two things: to recuperate these little places for the convenience of the people—the *plazas duras*. […] The city needs some place for convenience. Convenience means some place very abstract, where you have the possibility to do all kinds of things: to walk, to talk, to meet, a little market—that means *plazas duras*.
BCN	CG	38	in fact, it's a way of thinking about public space. There is nothing there but anything can happen … except a daily life
BCN	CG	41	The idea was, we are going to locate more representative facilities like the Museum of Modern Art, the Cultural Centre, the National Library. […] But then again, there are people living here. It means there must be a place for them, for the kids to play, for the old people to sit. And this is very difficult to mix. A big demand for a small place.
BCN	CG	103	Then the idea for Rambla del Raval was that the rambla was the central public space and everything depending on it. The idea was to build a new heart in Raval and locate facilities around it to build a new center. Destroy buildings and build a new big space [surrounded] by new housing, new facilities.
BCN	CG	158	The demand on public space is higher than our demand 20 years ago or the immigrant demand. At that time, we only needed a place for the birth of the new European or Catalan society. [Today], the public space must be more thought about. […] if you go to a public place, it is because there is a special use [envisaged for them]. […] Our demand of public space is more specific.
BCN	CG	230	MS: There was a new building with offices. The idea was to create one of the most important syndicates of workers. CG: And then there is the five star hotel. A very strange mixture.
BUD	ZK	4	Like the 'glove factory', the Kesztyűgyár project, which functions as a community center. The Roma and the poor who are living in the quarter can use it as a community space, where they can have their festivities, their public hearings, etc.
BUD	ZV	28	As far as I know, there is a communal kitchen that is used by adults in Magdolna street thus the older generation may be there more frequently. Mátyás Square is, however, a public space that is used more by families and children.
BUD	KF	24	Teleki, as it is, is so functionless and sort of lawless, there's no owner. […] The new plan will make it into a series of 'rooms' so to speak that will attract groups of people who will feel a sense of ownership
BER	SC	102	In particular, the unhospitable environment benefits uses that are not compatible with residential space.
BER	LN	38	We do not have to fill it all and use as much space as possible. We can create the kind of space where people can sit in the hammock.
BER	AH	28	They also advertise that they want to be public space, especially Mörchenpark as urban gradening and community project.
BER	AH	28	I rather think that it will develop into a relatively self-inflicted restriction of who is using the space, simply based on the interests that are negotiated in this space respectively based on what is offered.
BER	AH	38	I believe such things as Mörchenpark tend to be an educational facility, at least that is the claim as far as I understood it. […] I think that such places attract people with a higher level of education as well as people who just want to relax there. […] I believe that something like the club is much more restrictive.
BER	AH	44	Or the Mörchenpark offer, it might interpellate families with children because it is an offer for education and leisure, which you can do during the day.

Original Quotation

Gerade dass es so unwirtlich in der Umgebung ist, ist förderlich für Nutzungen, die nicht wohnverträglich sind.

Wir müssen das gar nicht alles zustellen und soviel Platz wie möglich nutzen. Wir können Raum schaffen, wo die Leute in der Hängematte sitzen.

Sie werben ja auch damit, dass sie öffentlicher Raum sein wollen, gerade der Mörchenpark als urban gardening und Begegnungsprojekt.

Ich glaube vielmehr, dass es sich zu einer relativ selbsttragenden Einschränkung entwickeln wird, wer den Raum nutzt, einfach aufgrund der Interessen, die dort im Raum verhandelt werden bzw. aufgrund der Angebote.

Ich glaube sowas wie der Mörchenpark ist tendenziell eine Bildungseinrichtung, zumindest ist das der Anspruch, so wie ich es verstanden habe. […] Ich denke, dass solche Orte dann durchaus sowohl ein Bildungsschichtpublikum anspricht wie auch Leute, die da vielleicht nur entspannen wollen. […] Ich glaube, dass sowas wie der Club viel fokussierter ist.

Oder das Mörchenpark-Angebot, das spricht vielleicht Familien mit Kindern an, weil es ein Bildungs- und Freizeitangebot ist, was man am Tag machen kann.

Code			dominant user group
Code Definition			presence of social/cultural groups with impact on public space usage

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment	
BCN	HJ	37	UG: How do you see public space like Rambla del Raval used here by the people? HJ: It is political, there are no equal opportunities.[…] in the beginning it was an open place but every day it seems to be more difficult.	
BCN	HJ	54	They always give this place to religious people from Pakistan.	
BCN	HJ	56	Elections are quantitative and they have more numbers because at least 10 000 people go to the mosque to pray, only men. So the government thinks the imam, the organizer of the mosque, should also be given all the privileges to organize social events, which is not correct. [...] I never thought that they are important, the mosque people. But my transformation is that now it makes me believe that they are important. This is my transformation done by the governmental authorities.	
BCN	HJ	60	They use religion as power to make women invisible.	
BCN	HJ	72	UG: The photo you were showing before, the festivities on Plaça dels Àngels, is there no option of doing it together? HJ: We did when we paid for it, but they were so angry. That was in 2008. They didn't repeat it. Have a look at the images, how angry they were. You can see it. These are the mafia people. UG: And you had to pay them? HJ: Yes, and they only allowed us ten minutes. Instead of improving the visibility of women we are going in descending order.	
BCN	CG	36	Let's take Plaça dels Àngels in front of MACBA, it is not useful for people living there because children cannot go there. Basically, if you don't give them a helmet, they will probably get a skateboard on their head.	
BCN	CG	119	There was a lot of prostitution in some parts, the City Council decided to build a new university and because of that they disappeared. It was not convenient for them to have the students around.	
BUD	GA	32	all the city's and municipalities' homeless problems concentrated on our district. There are a lot of homeless service centers and settlements concentrated in and around our territory.	
BER	SC	48	There aren't any theorists among them. Overall, these are pragmatic people who are ready to 'get their hands dirty.'	Da sind keine Theoretiker bei. Das sind im Großen und Ganzen pragmatisch veranlagte Leute, die bereit sind anzufassen.
BER	SC	50	It also requires a certain ability to bear risks, to enter a hierarchically not perfectly organized but rather moderate chaos. Not everyone is suited to finding one's place. There are responsibilities but yes—what can you say—it is in flux.	Es bedarf auch einiger Risikobereitschaft, sich in ein hierarchisch nicht perfekt organisiertes, sondern mittelmäßiges Chaos zu begeben. Das liegt nicht jedem, seinen Platz zu finden. Es gibt Zuständigkeiten aber ja—wie soll man sagen—es ist im Fluss.
BER	SC	54	That's a criterion, which defines the set-up of the team: whether you can live with that or not. […] people are not kicked out or excluded but this kind of fluctuating structure is certainly a particular matter	Das ist ein Kriterium, nach dem sich die Gruppe zusammenstellt: ob man damit leben kann oder eben nicht. […] es werden nicht Leute rausgeschmissen oder ausgeschlossen aber solch eine fluktuierende Struktur ist schon eine Spezialität
BER	AH	28	that this is a clientele, which does a 24-hour usage so that you can expect that there will be a certain level of social control.	dass es eine Klientel ist, die eine 24h-Nutzung macht, sodass man davon ausgehen kann, dass eine gewisse soziale Kontrolle vorhanden sein wird.
BER	AH	28	I rather think that it will develop into a relatively self-inflicted restriction of who is using the space, simply based on the interests that are negotiated in this space respectively based on what is offered.	Ich glaube vielmehr, dass es sich zu einer relativ selbsttragenden Einschränkung entwickeln wird, wer den Raum nutzt, einfach aufgrund der Interessen, die dort im Raum verhandelt werden bzw. aufgrund der Angebote.
BER	AH	30	Well, I would not necessarily say that it is one-sided. I know many people […] who might also be a potential clientele for Mörchenpark and the new Bar25 […]	Also ich würde jetzt nicht unbedingt sagen, dass es einseitig ist. Ich kenne sehr viele Leute […] die wahrscheinlich auch potentielle Klientel für Mörchenpark und die neue Bar25 […] sein werden.
BER	AH	44	And then there might be people who say, 'well, screaming kids are totally getting on my nerves' and won't go there.	Und da werden evt. auch Leute sagen: „Also Kindergeschrei geht mir sowas von auf die Nerven" und nicht dort hingehen.

Original Quotation

Code			impact on physical adjustments
Code Definition			residents/users influence physical transformation of the neighborhood

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	HJ	113	Raval used to be very dark and we participated in the illumination of the streets—to have more lights and more live in Raval.
BCN	EC	16	So usually what happens is not that somebody has a new idea but that it develops during a process, it transforms into different things depending on how many people are involved, what the interests are, how much money we have.
BCN	CG	147	People asked for that, the neighbors. Last year, in all *ciutat vella* they installed I think 10 or 12 playgrounds because a lot of people where asking: where do our children play?
BUD	GA	12	Another conflict with the locals was the little hill in the middle of Mátyás Square. They said the height of the hill should only be 1.4 m and when we designed the implementation plan, my colleagues and I thought this is too small for tobogganing in winter and we designed a bigger hill: 2.5m. The tenants went on strike and formed a petition against the 2.5m hill. I said: Yes, I was wrong. We demolished the excess height and it is now smaller.
BUD	GA	12	One wise old lady said, if we close the square at night, the homeless people will go into the courtyards and staircases of the houses. Because of that we decided with the people that one third of the square will remain empty [and unfenced].
BUD	GA	12	where will be the public toilet? We planned it in one place and people living in the house across said No. So we moved it to another corner and people living there said No. And at one corner, there was an empty plot [no residents] so we put it in that part of the square and people said Yes.
BUD	GA	14	In the third phase, we now try to design another square: Teleki ter. […] A lot of people meet every Thursday evening […] and prepare the plan with Dominika Tihanyi from Újirány Csoport.
BUD	GA	18	we have an agreement if the people together with Dominika prepare a plan, the municipality will accept this plan. […] the municipality formed an agreement on sharing decision about this square. They agreed to accept everything the local people want.
BUD	ZK	29	UG: I believe the residents were involved in refurbishing the square. ZK: Yes, they actively participated. Planting trees, designing the space, where should we put the playground? Which functions do we need?
BER	SC	26	well, there were preliminary studies and ideas, which then were integrated
BER	SC	30	This part is called village, with the hotel. The hotel was an idea they always had in order to finance the park. That is the part, where the content entirely originates in the group of initiators.
BER	SC	58	And the restaurant by the water was also a huge struggle. But this is an absolute must. […] The two variations from the development plan are the restaurant and the club by the water. These were the key aspects, where it was clear from the beginning that that's what they want and that it is essential.
BER	SC	60	Well, right from the start they had this notion of the village. They wanted to do this village.
BER	AH	20	The citizens' referendum has a legally binding effect; it is comparable to a resolution of the district government (BVV) on local level. […] The legal binding on existing planning schemes was very limited. […] On the other hand, the citizens' referendum helped where, for example, construction permits ran out and had to be extended. In fact, that's a point at which you can intervene very well and put additional demands forward […] that he could use the protest and the citizens' referendum as an argument and determine certain adjustments in the construction permits at least. […] In these cases, a citizens' referendum does help.

Original Quotation

also es gab Vorarbeiten und Vorstellungen, die sind dann mit integriert worden

Dieser Teil heißt Dorf, mit dem Hotel. Das Hotel war immer schon ein Gedanke, den sie hatten, um den Park gegen zu finanzieren. Das ist der Teil, bei dem der Inhalt komplett aus der Gruppe der Initiatoren kommt.

Und das Restaurant am Wasser durchzusetzen war auch ein ganz großer Kampf. Aber das ist ein absolutes Muss. […] Die beiden Abweichungen zum B-Plan waren das Restaurant und der Club am Wasser. Das waren die Schlüsselpunkte, wo von Anfang an klar war, dass man das da haben will und das es sein muss.

Sie haben ja von Anfang an den Begriff vom Dorf gehabt. Sie wollten dieses Dorf machen.

Der Bürgerentscheid hat eine rechtlich bindende Wirkung; er gilt wie ein Beschluss der Bezirksverordnetenversammlung (BVV) auf der lokalen Ebene. […] Die rechtliche Verbindlichkeit auf bestehende Planung war sehr gering. […] Gleichzeitig hat der Bürgerentscheid aber dort geholfen, wo z.B. eine Baugenehmigung ausgelaufen ist und verlängert werden musste. Das ist nämlich ein Punkt, wo man sehr gut einhaken und Forderungen stellen kann, […] dass er mit dem Protest und mit dem Bürgerbegehren argumentieren konnte und so zumindest gewisse Anpassungen in den Baugenehmigungen festlegen konnte. […] Bei solchen Fällen hilft dann ein Bürgerentscheid schon.

Code Code Definition			patterns of self-organization residents/users develop visions and organizational structures in order to impact on the urban environment
Case	**Int.**	**Sect.**	**Segment**
BCN	HJ	8	I myself started participating and learning about the process. After two years, when I had sufficient knowledge, I started to bring people in, to invite Pakistani women to participate. That wasn't a problem with Tot Raval because they are very nice and humble people
BCN	EC	26	there is a lot of youth that we work with in these projects. They organize their concerts or whatever they are doing and they are from all over. So they are not organized as a cultural group, they are organized as youth.
BCN	EC	30	There was a group of people very attached to the neighborhood, which saw that there were a lot of initiatives: social entities, NGOs, all kinds of volunteer work, which was good but could be very chaotic. […] The idea was to form some sort of network that would make us all stronger. In the beginning, there were only a few people, maybe around ten, and then they kept adding new members. It was a whole process. The projects got bigger and they got more funding.
BCN	EC	44	We used to organize it with them but we don't anymore because the association of the small shops in the street evolved into their own organization. It is still going on.
BCN	EC	64	The bars and restaurants along the rambla became an organization and they asked for these *terrazas*. […] some of them had huge *terrazas*, some of them didn't have any. So they had to sit down and say, 'wait, what's going on here' and they talked to the city hall.
BCN	EC	88	We organize a festival that lasts for three days with just 9,000 Euros. That's not money. We do it with nothing. People do everything for free because they want to do it. It comes out like a whole big thing but it's small.
BCN	EC	98	we don't do the market. But the association of people involved in the market is also part of Raval and we are in contact with them.
BCN	CG	63	You know who decided to make that party and said, I will go shop by shop and ask for money? Who? Huma! She, as a Pakistani! […] And a lot of the other associations—Catalan people—said: ok, if Huma says so.
BCN	CG	65	Raval has a very specific atmosphere. I don't know why, but these kind of associations do not happen in Casc Antic.
BCN	CG	66	Well, Raval has always had this kind of peculiarity because it has always been a workers' neighborhood […] In the twentieth century, all the revolutions were made here. From the anarchistic revolution … all of the fights against the different governments and policies … always in Raval. […] It is this kind of symbol of revolution of the twentieth century and the start of the civil war
BCN	CG	177	It was interesting because [there] was some kind of organization, non-controlled organization. The people from Morocco controlled the football playing and the people from … I don't remember … controlled the basketball playing. It was some kind of self-organization.
BCN	CG	209	The idea is that people from the neighborhood will have some kind of training to help solving problems in their own community.
BUD	ZV	10	Self-helping groups can be organized with the active participation of people who frequent the [community] center. This is important because autonomous support can provide large backup that can strongly support children.
BUD	KF	16	what is exceptional here is that the residents formed their own association to help look out for the park. It's called the TTT, which translates roughly as Friends of Teleki Square. They set up membership and a facebook page […] In theory, this group would function as a go-between for the residents and the municipality, as an advocacy organization for keeping Teleki Square vibrant.

BER	SC	2	For a long time, they had tried to find a structure, some kind of organization and they weren't that successful at the time. Toward the end—I would say, luckily—they engaged some more experienced supporters […] Well, they engaged many people or consulted their broad networks.	Sie hatten lange versucht eine Struktur, eine Organisation zu finden und waren zu dem Zeitpunkt noch nicht so erfolgreich. Sie haben sich dann zum Ende hin—ich sage mal glücklicherweise—ein paar erfahrenere Unterstützer mit dazu geholt […] Also sie haben sich ganz viele Leute dazu geholt oder in ihren weiten Netzwerken angefragt.
BER	SC	23	UG: To what extent did the group […] include any professional planners? SC: Except for us, no one. Well, actually no one.	UG: Inwiefern beinhaltet die Gruppe […] auch professionelle Planer? SC: Außer uns niemand. Also eigentlich niemand.
BER	SC	26	Well, it was a long process. […] They invested enormously into the building. […] They went to the point of exhaustion and from that expereince they drew the strength and confidence to contribute to that.	Also es war ein langer Prozess. […] Sie haben enorm investiert in den Bau. […] Sie haben sich unheimlich darin verausgabt und aus der Erfahrung heraus auch Kräfte und Zuversicht geschöpft, dass sie da doch mitmachen.
BER	SC	40	And they made an incredible progress considering that they come from a trailer and had this shack thing. Then they managed Kater Holzig. That is a solid building, which they filled completely. It was bursting at the seams with cinema, theater, and exhibitions.	Und sie haben ja eine irrsinnige Entwicklung gemacht wenn man bedenkt, dass sie aus dem Bauwagen kommen und da ein Budending hatten. Dann haben sie den Kater Holzig bewirtschaftet. Das ist ein festes Haus, das sie komplett gefüllt haben. Das platzte aus allen Nähten mit Kino, mit Theater, mit Ausstellungen.
BER	SC	42	And offices, they had their own administration department. They had 100 employees there. Well, that is an incredible progress within a very short time for such a heterogeneous group. And now, the next step is a new construction. To construct someting new with solid buildings from nothing. You have to imagine what that means. That is a very big step.	Und Büros, sie hatten eine eigene Verwaltungsetage. Sie hatten da 100 Angestellte. Also das ist eine irrsinnige Entwicklung innerhalb so kurzer Zeit für eine solche Gruppe, die sehr heterogen ist. Und der nächste Schritt ist jetzt das neu bauen. Aus dem nichts was Neues bauen mit festen Häusern. Man muss sich mental vorstellen, was das bedeutet. Das ist ein ganz großer Schritt.
BER	SC	51	UG: The organizational chart seems to clearly define who is taking which position. Are the borders blurred? SC: The individuals behind that are different and they also wander from one to the other.	UG: Im Organigramm scheint erstmal klar definiert zu sein, wer welche Position einnimmt. Verschwimmen die Grenzen? SC: Die Personen dahinter sind verschieden und die wandern auch von einem zum anderen.
BER	SC	70	That is the Mörchenpark Association, which essentially is supposed to be a connecting element between the Holzmarkt crew and the rest of the world, well, the neighborhoods	Das ist der Mörchenpark Verein, der soll im Grunde ein Bindeglied sein zwischen der Crew vom Holzmarkt und dem Rest der Welt, also den Nachbarschaften
BER	SC	72	the Mörchenpark Association is basically a kind of pool and connecting element, well, a kind of institutionalized …	der Mörchenpark Verein ist im Grunde eine Art Pool und Bindeglied, also ein Art institutionalisiertes …
BER	LN	32	You only become what you appear to be—whether urban planner or urban developer or whatever—through the things that you are doing. That's what you will be judged by. Regarding qualification or CV, no one is qualified to do urban development.	Man wird erst zu dem, was man zu sein scheint—sei es Stadtplaner oder Stadtentwickler oder was auch immer—durch die Sachen, die man macht. Daran wird man gemessen. Von der Qualifikation her, vom Lebenslauf her, ist keiner qualifiziert Stadtentwicklung zu machen.
BER	LN	34	we are all very capable to learn.	wir sind alle sehr lernfähig.
BER	LN	34	We have some clever guys: […] who have a lot of experience and know what they are talking about. If they get together, it is a group of quick and 'outside-the-box' thinkers.	Wir haben sehr kluge Köpfe: […], die lange Erfahrung haben und genau wissen, wovon sie reden. Wenn die zusammenkommen, ist das schon eine ziemlich schnelle und um die Ecke denkende Gruppe.
BER	LN	52	Managing the quarter is the responsibility of the Holzmarkt Plus Cooperative and, of course, we also have different operating companies. You cannot do everything with just one company. If something happens, you have to be so independent that it doesn't knock you over. […] These are all separate companies, which organize that and manage it themselves. And in case the club doesn't work once it's finished, it doesn't mean that the whole project is lost, we will simply look for a new tenant because the property values are in our hands.	Das Quartiers Management ist Aufgabe der Holzmarkt Plus Genossenschaft und dann haben wir natürlich verschiedene Betreibergesellschaften. Du kannst nicht mir einer Gesellschaft alles machen. Wenn etwas passiert, musst Du so unabhängig sein, dass es Dir nicht die Füße wegreißt. […] Das sind alles eigene Gesellschaften, die das organisieren und selbst verwalten. Und gesetzt den Fall, der Club funktioniert nicht wenn er fertig ist, dann wird nicht das ganze Projekt zugrunde gehen, sondern dann wird einfach ein neuer Mieter für den Club gesucht, weil die Immobilienwerte in unserer Hand liegen.
BER	LN	58	And this is how the team is expanded due to necessity, where you realize: ok, we need help with this. It follows the demand.	Und so wird das Team durch die Notwendigkeit erweitert, wo man merkt: ok, da brauchen wir Hilfe. Es kommt mit dem Bedarf.
BER	LN	66	Since last year, we have to pay rent. That's all financed by the temporary uses	Wir müssen seit letztem Jahr Miete zahlen. Das erwirtschaftet sich alles über die Zwischennutzung
BER	AH	16	And then in 2005, there is a growing publicness. […] a citizens' initiative is formed, which says for the first time, we don't want this project.	Und 2005 ist dann der Punkt an dem sich eine verstärkte Öffentlichkeit bildet. […] es gründet sich eine Bürgerinitiative, die das erste Mal sagt, wir wollen diese Planung nicht.
BER	AH	56	Well, I think that it is almost certainly a different way, a new way. Whether it is better I cannot say at this stage […]. What these projects clearly demonstrated: how you can do urban development, how you can create spaces that do not only adhere to assumptions of financial return.	Also ich denke, es ist mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit ein anderer Weg, ein neuer Weg. Ob er besser ist, will ich zu dem jetzigen Zeitpunkt gar nicht sagen, […]. Was solche Projekte ganz klar aufzeigen: wie kann man Stadt entwickeln, wie kann man Orte schaffen, die nicht nur nach Renditeerwartungen funktionieren.

Code			community building
Code Definition			interactions between different social or cultural groups

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	HJ	8	Pakistani women are meant to be invisible because of the culture. I personally, and [our association] generally want to break this cultural binding. […] So we defined different parameters and schemes to practice and make our brain stronger every day. And […] because of Tot Raval we have managed to stay visible in Raval.
BCN	HJ	10	we are members because Tot Raval is the total of associations living in Raval
BCN	HJ	14	[Tot Raval] invites us to contribute to the policy-making, the participatory process, and the completion. We are an important segment: like the flower, we are one petal of the flower.
BCN	HJ	18	We collaborate with many other NGOs and foundations. […] we are connected to many important institutions, not only in Barcelona. We want dialog in terms of interreligious and intercultural issues, and sessions in gender equivalence.
BCN	HJ	19	UG: […] Focusing on the dynamics in the neighborhood, is there a difference between the north and the south? HJ: In Raval? Yes, it is different because of ethnic segregation. UG: Where are the different groups located? HJ: Well, they are spread over the different areas in Raval but we connect to everybody independent of patterns of segregation.
BCN	HJ	24	We accept segregation as natural but within a good context, with interaction. Then there is no problem, we don't mind it. But segregation *and* isolation, we don't like.
BCN	HJ	28	within ethnic groups there are different religious groups. And then there is isolation. It is not a problem of religion, it is an economic problem, it is poverty.
BCN	HJ	43	UG: So is the neighborhood more like different people next to each other, not interacting? HJ: In the presence of Tot Raval, it is more interactive. In their absence, nobody knows each other.
BCN	HJ	48	The younger generation is very good and loyal to both sides, the countries of origin and the host country. They do not have a language barrier so it is easy for them. They have friends, they have an education. They are not necessarily mixing but the separation is not that strict. They can mix if somebody does a workshop etc. It is easier and less work to involve the younger generation.
BCN	HJ	107	In all these initiatives they are trying to make the right-winged people happy. This is unpleasant for me and other immigrants. But it is their country, their place, they have the right to think that way. If they want to make it more dignified, more respectable by imposing their own culture [on us] then it is their right to do so but without disturbing us, without making us invisible, without snatching our rights.
BCN	EC	18	People are related to the projects in different ways and they have been participating in different things for many years.
BCN	EC	22	you could have the director of MACBA sitting next to a school teacher and they have exactly the same power in that meeting because they are deciding together.
BCN	EC	24	They are all participating at the same level so that kind of empowers the other people too.
BCN	EC	26	There are over 70 nationalities in this neighborhood but participating more stably … Pakistanis—the women's group, people from the Philippines, certain places in Latin America, Sikhs […] Moroccans, obviously. With some of them it's hard for me to think of them as cultural groups … the interesting part is not so much that they are participating as a cultural group, they are participating as neighbors in Raval. Sometimes they are not participating within their group.

BCN	EC	28	cultural background in that respect is not so important and it is also second generation. It's not that important anymore. 'We are all immigrants, right? Get over it!'
BCN	EC	42	There are a lot of contrasts and dramatic situations going on. And the only way locals can get over this is to work together and help each other because there are not many other resources that they are going to get.
BCN	EC	60	Actually, they did not let the kids do the concert. […] they did not want the hip hop because it's Moroccan kids, its African kids, its stuff they don't want to see. […] But the nice part of what happened in that year when we had to come here [to MACBA] was that all the organizations said: 'if you don't want [the kids], then we are leaving as well. We are all together.'
BCN	EC	88	We had difficulties with people from other neighborhoods coming to Raval. Now it's a bit easier with all the cool bars but it's hard still.
BCN	EC	94	Everyone that participates is from the neighborhood. It is not perceived as an external event.
BCN	EC	108	I haven't seen the results of all this nationalism yet. I don't know if it's because the people who we work with have other priorities or we haven't seen what happens with that yet. In my perception, it does not affect this neighborhood that much.
BCN	EC	116	I wouldn't say there are tensions but there is not really a relationship either. So there is a co-existence. There have been some very specific points but I would not say that there is tension in the streets. There is a coexistence of 'we are not in touch, we don't mix, we don't relate, we don't interact.'
BCN	EC	118	If you go to the park, you will see that all the groups are separated including the Spanish, except for the teenagers who are mixing up and driving their parents crazy. He might be from Pakistan and has a Filipino girlfriend … but I would say there is not a lot of mixture in general.
BCN	CG	16	MS: There are three populations: these old people, the immigrant population, which is new, happened very fast and is a little problem, and the third population are rather young people from the [rest of the] city and from [other countries in] Europe who decided that this is a new fashionable place to live. But the communication between the three groups is not really … CG: It depends on the zone. MS: … but it works really well, more or less.
BCN	CG	21	there is a mixture of very different associations but they work together.
BCN	CG	45	In fact, it is some kind of balance that still works but maybe one day will not work anymore. That's why the City Council is now trying to help the citizens who live here to stay here.
BCN	CG	53	The only community that may have problems in the future is the Pakistanis because most of them are men without women, without children. The other communities come with their children; they go to school. They really are Barcelona citizens. The children speak Catalan, their friends are from Barcelona.
BCN	CG	55	This process of people coming [to Barcelona] stopped. It helps to keep the balance because there are no more people coming in. […] In fact, the crisis helped us to stop the process of more and more people coming to the city center and to the rest of Barcelona.
BCN	CG	57	in fact, it was the immigrants who ran little shops for daily shopping at a time when all around Barcelona and also here, the little shops disappeared. […] In the beginning, it probably was a problem to have these people around but now everyone goes to buy there.

BCN	CG	61	With Pakistani it is very difficult. With the rest of the communities, yes, I think they mix up; it is no problem. But I think with the Pakistani, there are the most problems.
BCN	CG	63	And it was just great that a Pakistani woman is defending our right to do our tradition, a Catalan tradition. It was great. It was a very good [sign] of what should be in the future.
BCN	CG	66	The old people who are living here feel more comfortable with the immigrants because they are more like them than the tourists or people from higher [class] neighborhoods in Barcelona.
BCN	CG	184	Some people say, the prostitutes were our friends. We knew each other all our lives. We were neighbors. But the ones that are coming now do not care about the rest. They don't speak Spanish or Catalan. It is very different.
BUD	GA	38	In Hungary, a lot of migrants come from the Hungarian plain and the Northeastern part of Hungary. The cultural and social backgrounds are very different. You can see that there are a lot of different habits that come together in public space.
BUD	ZK	4	That's good for the whole community. They feel attached to the neighborhood. They appreciate the environment more; they look after the environment, not destroying the benches or the park. Like the regeneration of Mátyás tér, which was also very successful.
BUD	ZK	20	The cohesion within the district is not as strong as compared to some peripheral districts of Budapest […] This is an inner-city district with some peripheral zones, very complex and very diverse.
BUD	ZK	20	I don't think that people living in Dankó utca in the Magdolna Quarter, would often go to the very inner part with the nice pubs near the National Museum. They live in the same district but I don't think there should be a close relationship.
BUD	ZK	21	UG: But in comparison, these outer regions with a stronger local identity do not have the same ethnic diversity as Józsefváros. ZK: No, they are not diversified in that respect.
BUD	ZK	30	If the local residents are involved in the planning and construction from the very beginning, they appreciate it much more. They look after it much better. They keep it in better shape.
BUD	ZV	4	The council is an open organization because the meetings of its working groups are open to the public.
BUD	ZV	6	By creating a unique identity of its own, Magdolna district became an independent but integrated area of Budapest.
BUD	ZV	10	The Community Center is more than a facility helping the rehabilitation of Magdolna district, it has a unique identity and program structure that is able to involve local groups of any age and background.
BUD	ZV	10	Kesztyűgyár Community Center is a facility that can provide space for alternative cultural and learning programs to embrace people from the neighborhood. […] The aims of these programs are community development, the strengthening of local identity, and the involvement of the district in the cultural life of Budapest. The complex programs facilitate social cohesion.
BUD	ZV	18	People do not only come from the neighborhood but even from the small cities around Budapest.
BUD	ZV	22	different programs have been launched to make public spaces and transport more accessible, to reduce inequality in education, and to promote schools in the demarcated parts of the district.
BUD	KF	2	Our design team was quite diverse in terms of education, age, interests, etc, which was great. And ultimately, we did have one Roma girl who was a regular part of the team.
BUD	KF	6	At the meetings, I saw people from very different backgrounds communicating very well with each other. At the same time, when you walk down Népszínház utca […] you see all these different, very insular ethnic groups who are really not interacting much with the Hungarians, except perhaps in terms of commerce
BUD	KF	6	There is, of course, a huge rift between at least some of the Roma and the non-Roma, but that is the case all over Europe.

BER	SC	48	I could never claim that people face exclusion there. […] affinities are not based on age or social background but rather creative power. Based on the idea of implementing projects and 'rolling up your sleeves.' There aren't any theorists among them. Overall, these are pragmatic people who are ready to 'get their hands dirty.' Therefore, socially, this results in a larger diversity than the one you might find in the clientel of joint building ventures.	Dass Leute ausgeschlossen werden, würde ich nie behaupten können. […] die Affinitäten bestehen im dem Fall eben nicht aus der Alterskategorie oder der sozialen Herkunft, sondern eher aus der Schaffenskraft. Aus dem Gedanken Projekte umzusetzen und selber anzufassen. Da sind keine Theoretiker bei. Das sind im Großen und Ganzen pragmatisch veranlagte Leute, die bereit sind anzufassen. Dadurch ergibt sich sozial eine viel größere Mischung, als es vielleicht in der Bauherrenschaft einer Baugruppe der Fall ist.
BER	SC	50	You can join, just like we did. And you can get out again. You have to find your place.	Man kann mitmachen, so wie auch wir mitgemacht haben. Und man kann auch wieder aussteigen. Man muss seinen Platz finden.
BER	SC	54	They move within this structure, responsibilities change and that's certainly not for everyone. That's a criterion, which defines the set-up of the team: whether you can live with that or not.	Sie bewegen sich in dieser Struktur, die Zuständigkeiten ändern sich und das ist eben das, was wirklich nicht jedem liegt. Das ist ein Kriterium, nach dem sich die Gruppe zusammenstellt: ob man damit leben kann oder eben nicht.
BER	SC	68	The project is very well received. There are many people who want to go there. Already, there is a large pool of potential tenants.	Das Projekt findet Riesen-Zuspruch. Es gibt viele Leute, die da hin wollen. Es gibt schon einen Riesen-Mieterpool, von denen, die da hinwollen.
BER	SC	70	Well, you have to realize that the initiators are all in the generation that is having children right now. If they invite to parties, it is one single kindergarten. There are hundreds of children. That's not the party scene presented by the press but rather a very colorful event.	Also man muss einfach sehen, dass die Macher alle in der Generation sind, die gerade Kinder kriegen. Wenn die zu den Partys einladen, ist das ein einziger Kindergarten. Da sind hunderte von Kindern. Das ist nicht die Partywelt, die man in der Presse sieht, sondern es ist eine total bunte Geschichte.
BER	SC	76	Everyone can become a member. There are no admission procedures or tests. And then you can join the planting team. You can also participate without becoming a member.	Jeder kann Mitglied werden. Es gibt keine Aufnahmeverfahren, wo irgendetwas überprüft wird. Und dann kann man mitpflanzen. Man kann auch mitmachen ohne Mitglied zu sein.
BER	SC	84	The people are from Kreuzberg. There are a lot of them coming to the site, hundreds and thousands. Last year, on May 1, there was the opening party. It was a huge party, there were thousands of people.	Die Leute kommen aus Kreuzberg. Da kommen ganz viele, also hunderte und tausende. Letztes Jahr war ja am 1. Mai Eröffnungsparty. Das war eine Riesenparty, da waren tausende.
BER	LN	6	Before, the area certainly was a point of attraction for younger people due to the club. The first event, for which we re-opened the entire site, was the groundbreaking ceremony. And everyone was here: […] Well, really all age groups were present	Früher war das Gelände sicherlich ein Anziehungspunkt für junge Leute durch die Nutzung mit dem Club. Das erste Event, bei dem wir das ganze Grundstück jetzt wieder auf hatten, war der Spatenstich. Und es waren wirklich alle hier: […] Also wirklich alle Altersschichten waren vertreten
BER	LN	8	we did these info meetings and noticed that a lot of people from the neighborhood came by and said, we think it's cool and we are looking forward to the project in our neighborhood.	da haben wir auch mal Infoveranstaltungen gemacht und gemerkt, da kommen auch viele Leute aus der Nachbarschaft vorbei und sagen, wir finden es cool und freuen uns auf das Projekt in unserer Nachbarschaft.
BER	LN	12	That's when you got to know people who came back again and again and who are from the immediate surroundings or the wider neighborhood.	Da hat man Leute kennengelernt, die immer wieder hier waren und die entweder aus der direkten Umgebung oder aus der weiteren Nachbarschaft kommen.
BER	LN	38	There are always tensions. The decisions of the project group are not dictated but develop through a discussion process. This may take time. Every question is controversially discussed, which is good in my opinion. You don't blindly trust someone's judgement even if he knows his stuff. Instead, everything is questioned.	Spannungen gibt es immer. Die Entscheidungen der Projektgruppe werden nicht gesetzt, sondern sie entwickeln sich durch den Diskussionsprozess. Der dauert mitunter. Da wird jede Frage kontrovers diskutiert, was auch gut ist, glaube ich. Da wird sich nicht blindlinks auf ein Urteil von jemandem verlassen, der sich auskennen mag, sondern da wird alles hinterfragt.
BER	LN	38	Everyone can assess himself/herself really well. If they say, that is a question I cannot answer or reason on my own—that's what the group is for.	Es können sich alle sehr gut einschätzen. Wenn sie sagen, dass ist eine Frage, die kann ich gar nicht allein beantworten oder erörtern—dafür ist die Gruppe dann halt auch da.
BER	LN	56	Also, we always speak of us in plural because it's not that anyone has done anything on his/her own.	Wir sprechen auch immer in der „wir" Form, weil es ist nicht so, dass hier irgendjemand irgendwas allein gemacht hat.
BER	AH	38	it will certainly spark interest among families with children beyond the local context	der wird sicherlich auch über den lokalen Kontext hinaus für Familien mit Kindern interessant sein.
BER	AH	44	I believe you will always come across people with a certain view of life who become aware of this offer or are interested in it […] What I mean is that there are different realities of life, which is good. And consequently, these groups generally don't interact becaue they have different interests.	Man wird aber glaube ich immer tendenziell Leute mit einer gewissen Lebensauffassung finden, die dieses Angebot überhaupt wahrnehmen oder sich dafür interessieren […] Was ich meine, es gibt einfach unterschiedliche Lebensrealitäten, was ja auch gut ist. Und diese Gruppen haben zwangsläufig nicht viel miteinander zu tun, weil sie unterschiedliche Interessen haben.

Code			appropriation
Code Definition			social, cultural, etc. patterns of public space appropriation

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	HJ	14	We want to stay in [the process], not in everything, but why not in everything? […] So we gave a gift to the authorities: eggs! It is very humiliating […] We don't know what else to do, so we embarrass them and make them realize our existence.
BCN	HJ	18	We participate in the carnival of Raval with a big group of women—at least 50—every year for eight years consistently. But not only the carnival, also *San Jordi* and *La Mercè*.
BCN	EC	18	In the beginning, the cultural field was very important in the sense of doing things together in public space, to visualize that you could be proud of being from this neighborhood and show off what you are doing during the year. I am thinking of these grandmothers who have this dance class. During the year, they are always practicing and then they have this whole show for a day. It is about giving them a platform to show what they are doing and what the neighborhood is like.
BCN	EC	20	One of the cultural initiatives is Raval's Festival and that was a great excuse for us to get in touch with lots of people. What we did, basically, is to provide the structure for whatever you want to do (music, dance, etc.). […] In the first year, there were about 12 organizations participating, and now there is like 180. That's how it grows.
	EC	59	One of the youth concerts is in the neighborhood. It is important to them that they have a hip hop festival. It is a whole night on a Saturday and we give them a huge stage with lights and everything and there is a big crowd. And we always do it in Rambla del Raval because that is their natural space.
BCN	EC	62	we actually all came here to MACBA that year, to Plaça dels Àngels. So that was a special moment. First of all, we claimed public space and then next year we went back. […] So we kind of recuperated that space.
BCN	EC	96	it's a very nice day when we do it. On Rambla del Raval, there are a lot of things going on, there are a lot of different people. It is a very sweet feeling. You don't feel unsafe at all.
BCN	EC	98	There is *San Jordi*—the day of the rose and the book. […] it's like a religious thing but it kind of transformed into a cultural thing. […] everyone is in the streets so it's a very nice day. It's full of Catalan flags and on Rambla del Raval the social organizations sell books and roses. It is important for Raval because it is one of those days when people actually come [into the neighborhood]. The main activity of *San Jordi* is on the main Rambla and if we are doing something on Rambla del Raval, it is very easy for people to cut in.
BCN	CG	30	Rambla was the big public space for the citizens of Barcelona but now it is a territory for tourists. None of us go to walk along Rambla.
BCN	CG	57	25 years ago people used to sit outside in the street and just talk with their neighbors. […] It disappeared and now the only ones who do it are the immigrants. They recover things that we did before. Why is it so strange? I mean, we say that it is a cultural thing but in fact, they are doing things we used to do not so long ago.
BCN	CG	63	You can go there and buy books and roses and things like that. There are a lot of people, very colorful, very nice party.
BCN	CG	74	every day you see a lot of people in the streets. There is a concentration of everything here and at night people get drunk and make a lot of noise.
BCN	CG	156	MS: And the immigrants have a culture of using public space. The kids go there to play football and the people go there to sit and talk. But the Catalan society or the Spanish society is not used to that … CG: … anymore.

				Original Quotation
BCN	CG	162	One thing I was very surprised with regarding the new foreign people that came here, was that they made a party with their kids in the park instead of at home. To have a party with kids in the middle of *ciutat vella*, to use a public place for private purposes. But it's a normal thing to do. And the immigrants always do it.	
BCN	CG	162	they use public spaces for their spare time to talk, to play cricket, to watch the others. We must recuperate the public space as our public space because [that's the way it is meant to be].	
BCN	CG	174	And then there is a part in Raval Sud where the Pakistani play cricket.	
BCN	CG	176	The Moroccans play football. They used to do it in front of MACBA on Plaça dels Àngels but they did it at 12 o'clock in the evening so the neighbors complained about that.	
BCN	CG	177	It was very difficult to remove these lines because the people were the owners of these fields.	
BUD	ZK	28	I know there is a community garden movement. There are, I think, three areas. […] So there is a gardening movement. The local people cultivated the land and use it for community purposes. […] it is a positive example of how local people can strengthen the cohesion within the community and use otherwise empty, vacant plots for some useful purpose.	
BUD	KF	10	They were so eager to finally get something done there.	
BER	SC	26	The people from Bar25 also did Kater Holzig across the river and were still in sight, so to speak. They invested enormously into the building. They had a license agreement of two years and they made this thing livable or inhabitable in the first place.	Die Leute von der Bar25 haben ja gegenüber das Kater Holzig gemacht und waren dann sozusagen noch in Sichtweite. Sie haben enorm investiert in den Bau. Sie hatten einen Nutzungsvertrag von zwei Jahren und sie haben das ganze Ding überhaupt erst bewohnbar oder belebbar gemacht. Das war ja eine Ruine.
BER	SC	58	Mörchenpark has been constructed with boxes and the like, meaning it has been set up as movable green space because the construction work is ongoing.	Der Mörchenpark ist mit Kästen und so gebaut, also als mobiles Grün angelegt weil ja nach und nach gebaut wird.
BER	SC	76	Well, the idea is that the association cultivates the area, which is going to turn into a park.	Die Idee ist halt, dass der Verein die Fläche bewirtschaftet, die dann Park werden soll.
BER	LN	28	the plan was to preserve the area culturally. […] continue using this site culturally in whatever form, at least not only as a club on principle.	der Plan war, dieses Gelände kulturell zu erhalten. […] dieses Grundstück kulturell weiter zu nutzen, in welcher Form auch immer, jedenfalls nicht prinzipiell nur als Club.
BER	LN	62	We still receive enquiries, meanwhile, we just don't have any space left. In particular, the northern part is full; here [on the southern part], it's now also quite well used. And thinking of the village, we have been receiving concepts for two years.	Da haben wir immer noch Anfragen, wir haben mittlerweile einfach keinen Platz mehr. Gerade auf dem Nordteil geht gar nichts mehr; hier [auf dem Südteil] ist es jetzt auch schon relativ gut genutzt. Und wenn ich ans Dorf denke, da haben wir seit zwei Jahren immer wieder Konzepte reinfliegen.
BER	AH	28	They also advertise that they want to be public space, especially Mörchenpark as urban gradening and community project.	Sie werben ja auch damit, dass sie öffentlicher Raum sein wollen, gerade der Mörchenpark als urban gardening und Begegnungsprojekt.
BER	AH	28	certain groups will avoid respectively frequent the space as is the case at many places in the city	bestimmte Gruppen werden den Raum meiden oder eben aufsuchen, wie das an vielen Orten der Stadt ist
BER	AH	30	It must be noted that Bar25 happened a few years back. Thus, the clientele has aged but it hasn't necessarily lost interest in these ideals and the way of life. […] Therefore, the processes of utilizing space and the offers that go with it, change.	Wobei man sagen muss, die Bar25 ist ja auch ein paar Jahre her. Also die Klientel ist mitgealtert, hat aber nicht unbedingt das Interesse an den Idealen und an der Lebensart verloren. […] Sodass sich die Prozesse, wie man selbst die Orte bespielt und damit auch deren Angebote, verändern.
BER	AH	38	I think that such places attract people with a higher level of education as well as people who just want to relax there.	Ich denke, dass solche Orte dann durchaus sowohl ein Bildungsschichtpublikum anspricht wie auch Leute, die da vielleicht nur entspannen wollen.
BER	AH	64	There was an active group, which utilized and designed this space, which rendered it accessible to many people	Es gab eine aktive Gruppe, die diesen Raum bespielt und gestaltet hat, die ihn vielen Leuten zugänglich gemacht hat
BER	AH	64	a high ideological claim to get active at this location	einen hohen ideologischen Anspruch, an der Stelle aktiv zu werden
BER	AH	68	Then there was this whole strip of beach bars, which primarily occupied the area of the former wall whereby the northern part was revitalized.	Dann gab es die ganze Reihe der Strandbars, die vor allem auf dem Mauerstreifen waren wodurch die Nordseite stärker belebt wurde.

Code			issues with participation
Code Definition			problems in relation to community-based urban interventions

Case	Int.	Sect.	Segment
BCN	HJ	58	Many women have problems to interact with me because their husbands think, if they come to me, they will change. So many men say: 'if you go to Huma, don't come back home.'
BCN	HJ	85	It is a lot of work to work with women because they are vulnerable, they are less educated, they are less intelligent. Actually, non, we are not but we need more time.
BCN	HJ	89	The government helps us very little, we need to come up with at least 90% of our own money and then we get the rest from the government. And to justify this money we need to write and explain, for which we need to spend more money than we get.
BCN	HJ	91	you need to update yourself. If you don't, you are out of the picture.
BCN	HJ	93	we want them to listen to what we have to say. They do, but they don't react afterwards. They acknowledge and reply to make us comfortable, but then nothing, we are left waiting.
BCN	EC	8	We look for money for each project. The person responsible for the project is also responsible to look for funding.
BCN	EC	32	Yes, there are many groups that it is difficult to work with. […] It is always difficult in particular with first generation immigrants. But there is a very practical issue here they are working all day—if they can.
BCN	EC	32	Participation is a time consuming thing and we are not really used to that. […] You don't need to look at other countries, we are not used to deciding together in Spain either.
BCN	EC	40	But it's difficult because you are asking people to put in an extra effort when you are asking them to work together. They each have their own problems
BCN	CG	28	At that time, it was more politicized because these were all organizations formed in the last days of the dictatorship. […] Today, it changes quickly because problems are different and people are different.
BCN	CG	29	it's logical because at the beginning of the 80s the problems were very big. They needed really basic things. It was easy to be together in a project. But now the question is: 'Why do you do this? Don't do anything!'
BCN	CG	59	Pakistani don't interact.
BCN	CG	63	Last year, they had no budget for doing that so the meeting of all the associations was: oh, that's a bad thing, this year we will not be able …
BCN	CG	104	the problem with citizens is that these projects are long-term actions. It takes years for them to be finished and that makes people say: please don't do any more.
BCN	CG	235	the owners' community never meets. They are not used to do that. So, it is a problem when they have to make decisions about some kind of intervention. Many people don't care. They don't pay and the work cannot be done. Usually, this happens in mixed communities but in the Spanish society, this is also a problem.
BUD	GA	2	This movement is still not very mature in Hungary because we are a very young democracy. We have to learn, not only the tools, but also the type of decision-making.
BUD	GA	4	There was no law about the involvement and decision-making together with the people […]. And on the other hand, people have a long tradition of living with hierarchies, without democracy.
BUD	GA	6	I try to explain to my students that this is the first time to learn how we can work together with the locals.
BUD	GA	18	When we did Mátyás ter, we were very young we did not have so sophisticated skills in terms of what you mentioned. The municipality did not accept the decision of the people.
BUD	GA	20	The implemented plan was accepted but the process was not accepted.

BUD	GA	22	Before, there were mainly Social Democrats in the council and then it was mainly conservative with a lot of new people. I think the political risk is the key element in the long-term process. In Hungary, every new council wants to decide everything and in opposition to the former council. […] every fourth year we have to start over again.
BUD	GA	26	The EU paper said, if you want EU money, you have to prepare the all the plans and designs beforehand. But if we prepare the whole plan in advance, what do we talk about with the people when we have the money? The municipality in Hungary thinks, we only work if the money is on the table.
BUD	GA	36	I think the main problem in public space is the two-tier system, the lack of legislative background, and the privatization of flats […] And also the lack of knowledge or skills to organize this process [of participatory planning].
BUD	GA	38	But the intellectual way of thinking is different to our people in Magdolna Quarter. […] I think we have to prepare our own tools for working with people.
BUD	GA	40	One Saturday, everybody likes to do some work but to involve them in the [long-term] maintenance of the area: no way!
BUD	GA	40	Now the money has run out and after two or three months the condition of the square went down.
BUD	GA	44	They have no money, they have no job. They are mainly Roma, mainly young. And they don't have any role models.
BUD	GA	46	They have bigger problems. They have no cultural background of working together. They don't like the place because they are poor. They want to escape from this territory. They don't like to live there.
BUD	GA	48	there has been a recession since 2008. And these people are the losers of the changes. A lot of people live in the quarter but only 10 or 15 percent have been living there for more than 10 years.
BUD	GA	50	Give us some money, we would implement it. But at the moment, there is none.
BUD	GA	54	In Hungary, there is a big fight between the traditional [way of] thinking and the new [way of] thinking.
BUD	IS	16	But in Magdolna I think it does not work that easily because if the people do not have the financial strength to renew their houses, you can even cover the street with granite and nothing would happen.
BUD	IS	18	not every city part has the financial strength to renew houses once the public areas are renewed.
BUD	ZV	30	The rehabilitation of Magdolna and the sustainability of the results can only be provided by the [simultaneous] creation of a safe living environment.
BUD	KF	2	We did have some difficulty getting ethnic groups involved, […] it would have been better if we regularly had had several Roma and also if we had had some of the immigrant groups of the neighborhood. It would have better reflected the neighborhood.
BUD	KF	2	It's not enough to just be friendly and open in theory, you have to know how to communicate and engage with different groups, which don't all think and communicate the same way we do.
BUD	KF	2	We have all these other immigrant groups in the neighborhood that we did not know how to communicate with. It would have been great to have more diversity.
BUD	KF	4	It is possible that some of the immigrant groups were in fact excluded by virtue of the fact that they don't communicate much in Hungarian.
BUD	KF	8	so often the problem in the participatory process is the lack of consistency in attendance, which hinders progress in the decision-making process.
BUD	KF	10	I think having the funding already available and having a design team with an established record for creating community spaces, helped establish a sense of trust and mutual commitment.
BUD	KF	26	We included a strong educational element in the process. […] to give people concrete visions of what could be there.

			English	German
BER	SC	2	Of course, the project has a scale [...] which went completely beyond their scope and exceeded their imagination at the time.	Das Projekt hat natürlich eine Dimension, [...] die völlig ihren Rahmen, ihre Vorstellungskraft zu dem Zeitpunkt gesprengt hat.
BER	SC	26	They had an option contract [for the Holzmarkt site] in advance. They could have bought this thing the whole time if they had managed to get the purchase price together. But for three years, they have failed to do so.	Sie hatten vorweg schon einen Optionsvertrag [für das Holzmarkt Grundstück]. Sie hätten das Ding die ganze Zeit kaufen können wenn sie es denn zustande gebracht hätten, den Kaufpreis zusammenzukriegen. Sie haben es aber drei Jahre lang nicht geschafft.
BER	SC	38	you have to give people time to develop. [...] We did a lot of participatory projects: you have to give people time. They are not able to realize the extent. And Eckwerk simply has a huge scale.	man muss den Leuten Zeit lassen, sich zu entwickeln. [...] Wir haben viel mit partizipativer Planung gemacht: man muss den Leuten Zeit lassen. Sie sind nicht in der Lage, diese Dimensionen überhaupt zu erfassen. Und das Eckwerk hat einfach eine Wahnsinns-Dimension.
BER	SC	40	They are currently constructing their club as a temporary facility. They left Kater Holzig and now they need something to earn a living. They do not make any money right now. And this will not change until they re-open an economically viable business. There is no capital, no financial backup. The capital are creative power and ideas.	Sie bauen jetzt als temporäre Einrichtung ihren Club. Sie sind aus dem Kater Holzig raus und brauchen was, wovon sie leben können. Sie verdienen jetzt nix. Und solang sie nicht wieder einen wirtschaftlich tragfähigen Betrieb haben, passiert da auch nix. Da ist kein Kapital, kein Geld hinter. Das Kapital sind die Schaffenskraft und die Ideen.
BER	SC	40	They always need time to develop and understand these dimensions.	Sie brauchen immer Zeit, um sich zu entwickeln und diese Dimensionen zu begreifen.
BER	SC	50	You have to find your place. It is not a given that you go there, get a position, and keep it.	Man muss seinen Platz finden. Es ist nicht gegeben, dass man da hinkommt, eine Position erhält und dann hat man die.
BER	SC	50	It also requires a certain ability to bear risks, to enter a hierarchically not perfectly organized but rather moderate chaos.	Es bedarf auch einiger Risikobereitschaft, sich in ein hierarchisch nicht perfekt organisiertes, sondern mittelmäßiges Chaos zu begeben.
BER	SC	54	They move within this structure, responsibilities change and that's certainly not for everyone. [...] well, regarding their participants, they have a relatively high level of fluctuation anyway.	die Leute wandern. Sie bewegen sich in dieser Struktur, die Zuständigkeiten ändern sich und das ist eben das, was wirklich nicht jedem liegt. [...] also sie haben sowieso bei den Mitarbeitern eine relativ hohe Fluktuation.
BER	SC	60	what is public and what is not, what's this discussion anyway. The group of initiators only realized the relevance of this matter when we started dealing with the [village structure of huts]. [...] They wanted to do this village. Initially, we as architects rebeled against it … well, rebeled … wanting to do a village just seemed rather strange to us.	was ist öffentlich und was ist nicht öffentlich, was ist überhaupt diese Diskussion. Die Relevanz dieser Thematik hat die Initiatorengruppe erst richtig erfasst, als wir uns mit der [Dorfstruktur der Hütten] befasst haben. [...] Sie wollten dieses Dorf machen. Da haben wir als Architekten auch erst gegen rebelliert … was heißt rebelliert … uns kam es einfach befremdlich vor, ein Dorf machen zu wollen.
BER	SC	64	it is rather difficult to work with such a heterogeneous group that does a thousand things as a client	es ist relativ schwer mit so einer heterogenen Gruppe, die tausend Sachen macht, als Bauherrin zu arbeiten
BER	SC	66	the usage changed as well, they were substantiated throughout the process, with the workshop, the event space.	also auch die Nutzungen haben sich verändert, die sind im Laufe des Prozesses konkretisiert worden, mit der Werkstatt, der Eventhalle.
BER	SC	68	There is already a large pool of potential tenants. It has been tried to accomodate them. How could it work and who goes where—simultaneously with the design. That's how it grows even though you only want small units.	Es gibt schon einen Riesen-Mieterpool, von denen, die da hinwollen. Die wurden dann immer versucht zu platzieren. Also wie könnte das gehen und wer wohin—gleichzeitig mit dem Entwurf. So schwillt das an obwohl man eigentlich nur kleine Einheiten will.
BER	SC	68	we called it business village, that's how it is defined in the building application [...] I could not write 'village' in the title blocks. That's not a building typology.	Gewerbedorf haben wir es genannt, so heißt das im Bauantrag [...] ich konnte nicht „Dorf" auf die Planköpfe schreiben. Das ist keine Gebäudekategorie.
BER	SC	114	the main reference for a positive decision in such a project is based on getting the impression: They are doing it and what they are doing is right or good or we believe in it.	die Hauptreferenz für die positive Entscheidung bei einem solchen Projekt ist, dass der Glaube entsteht: Die machen das und das, was sie machen ist richtig oder gut oder wir glauben daran.
BER	SC	122	You have to get the money for the lease, nothing is for free. Everytings costs money and it has to be earned.	Es muss Pacht reinkommen, es ist alles nicht geschenkt. Es kostet alles Geld und man muss es erwirtschaften.
BER	LN	4	You have to make it accessible, you have to maintain it. These are the points of intersection, which might also lead to extended debates, maybe some legal issues haven't been clarified either. In any case, it is a process, in which you realize that it isn't that easy to say: Hey everyone, come and join us	Man muss es begehbar machen, man muss es pflegen. Das sind die Schnittmengen, wo es manchmal auch zu längeren Kontroversen kommt, weil da auch rechtlich vielleicht Fragen nicht geklärt sind. Es ist auf jeden Fall ein Prozess, bei dem man merkt, es ist nicht so einfach, zu sagen: Leute kommt alle her
BER	LN	6	everywhere, whether it's the neighbors or people in the administration, you have someone who is disruptive.	an allen Stellen, ob das Nachbarn sind oder die Leute im Amt, hat man jemand, der quer schießt.
BER	LN	8	Nowadays, if we do events, of course, we try to inform the neighbors as much as possible with flyers, handouts.	Wenn wir jetzt Veranstaltungen haben, versuchen wir natürlich auch so viel wie möglich die Nachbarn darüber zu informieren per Flugblätter, Informationsblätter.
BER	LN	30	We also notice that the team is continuously expanded in order to tackle any issue that might appear. Whether planning issues, construction issues, we as laypersons—no one claims to be an urban planner—cannot understand it, we need specialists.	Wir merken auch, dass sich das Team immer weiter erweitert, um jegliche Fragestellung, die auftritt abdecken zu können. Sei es Genehmigungsfragen, Baufragen, die können wir als Laien—niemand sagt von sich, dass er ein Stadtplaner ist—gar nicht überblicken, da brauchen wir Spezialisten.

BER	LN	40	the group is relatively heterogeneous and firstly, everyone from outside has to come to terms with that […] I think there isn't really a boundary. It is developed together and coming from outside as a planner or professional in your trade, you firstly have to learn how to handle it—this way to live and work. […] Basically, a great deal happens in the process.	die Gruppe ist relativ heterogen und damit muss auch erstmal jeder von außen klarkommen. […] Ich denke, an sich gibt es nicht wirklich eine Grenze. Es wird zusammen entwickelt und wenn man von außen als Planer oder Profi in seinem Gewerk dazukommt, muss man erstmal lernen damit umzugehen—mit dieser Lebens- und Arbeitsweise. […] Es passiert einfach super viel im Prozess.
BER	LN	53	UG: These different entities that you were talking about, are represented by different people within the group? LN: Yes. Although constantly new ones have joined. Which is why it is difficult to answer how large the team really is.	UG: Diese unterschiedlichen Einheiten, die Du beschrieben hast, sind innerhalb der Gruppe vertreten durch unterschiedliche Köpfe? LN: Ja. Wobei da auch immer wieder neue dazugekommen sind. Deswegen ist es schwierig zu beantworten, wie groß das Team wirklich ist.
BER	LN	58	the project requires the division of certain areas […] And this is how the team is expanded due to necessity	das Projekt macht es notwendig, dass sich gewisse Bereiche einfach aufteilen, […] Und so wird das Team durch die Notwendigkeit erweitert
BER	AH	46	it strongly depends on whether they can be reached somehow. It depends on whether they deal with the issue […] the question remains to what extent one comes to terms with certain structures or whether one is interested in changing these structures and access new offers. […] Nevertheless, eventually, it strongly depends on the individual to what extent you tend to these things.	das kommt dann sehr darauf an, ob sie durch irgendetwas erreicht werden. Es kommt darauf an, ob sie sich mit dem Problem auseinandersetzen […] bleibt halt die Frage, inwieweit richtet [man] sich in bestimmten Strukturen ein oder ist daran interessiert, diese Strukturen zu verändern und sich andere Angebote zu erschließen. […] Trotzdem hängt es am Ende sehr stark vom Einzelnen ab, wieweit man sich um sowas kümmert.
BER	AH	64	A well-established network. A high level of social capital on the part of the operators. And not only that, but also a high ideological claim to get active at this location.	Eine gute Vernetzung. Ein hohes soziales Kapital seitens der Betreiber. Und nicht nur das, sondern eben auch einen hohen ideologischen Anspruch, an der Stelle aktiv zu werden.
BER	AH	64	The managers of Oststrand, for instance, who could have achieved much more, did not get as active politically. They did their temporary use and disappeared more or less quietly. Whereas Yaam, for example, which is also an association, is more prominent in public and claims an attitude of protest against the expulsion, […] Well, this means these are very different groups.	Die Betreiber vom Oststrand, zum Beispiel, die tendenziell auch viel mehr hätten machen können, sind politisch nicht so aktiv geworden. Sie haben ihre Zwischennutzung gemacht und sind mehr oder weniger stillschweigend abgezogen. Während z.B. das Yaam, was ja auch ein Verein ist, viel stärker die Öffentlichkeit sucht und eine Protesthaltung gegen die Verdrängung einnimmt, […] Das bedeutet also, das sind schon sehr unterschiedliche Gruppen.

Interview Transcripts

[…]

8   **MS:** The urbanistic proposition [for Raval] has a long history starting in the nineteenth century with Cerdà's plan for Barcelona. This plan included three very clever interventions in the old city center. It was developed because the city was enclosed by the medieval city wall and the city was very occupied. There was a military reserve for the canons, a protected area. Outside there were little villages like Gràcia. The city was very degraded because there was no place and buildings were built higher every day. It was forbidden to build elsewhere. The plan of Cerdà was simple. He decided to make a grid and special connection roads like [Avinguda de] Gran Via. And he included three streets [cutting through the old city]. The idea was to connect easily to the harbor. These ideas were kept in the General Plan of 1976 and the urbanistic plans for the remodeling of the old city. They, more or less, use these ideas to redefine the central areas. […] Beginning of 1985, City Council introduced special plans for Raval and Gotic. The ideas were very simple: to have more public spaces, to have more quality of life, more sun, more facilities like libraries, schools, civic centers, and more public housing. And also renovate services—gas, telephone, electricity, garbage system. This was the idea in the 80s. And the plan was to work in the worst kept neighborhoods, especially in Raval, which was the most degraded, then in Casc Antic and in Barceloneta. And Gotic was a little bit strange because Gotic kept the central office of the government and the city council, a very commercial part, especially in the North, a strong organization of shops. This part was not very degraded, but Raval was, especially in the South because this area was related to the harbor. During the time of the dictatorship there was a lot of delinquency, drug dealing, and prostitution—all of the normal degradation of an uncontrolled part of the city. Between 1985 and 1988, the municipality approved the plans for Raval, Casc Antic, and Barceloneta. They decided on a special operation to concentrate money and activities for a very short period [in the area]. Because of that they created the company Promoció de Ciutat Vella (PROCIVESA). The idea was to concentrate investments for a very short period, I think it was 14 years in the beginning. The company included representatives of the municipality, of the neighborhood association, and companies like the telephone company and banks. The plan was to share money and make this big operation because they are going to get it back. Because the economic system is going to grow, the rehabilitation is going to grow. It was a kind of economic operation: we are going to use very much money in the beginning but we are going to get it back in a short period because this part of the city is going to turn from a kind of ghetto, a place of delinquency, to a normal part of the city. Except for Rambla. Rambla was a kind of public place to go to and for the people to communicate. Via Laietana was the only operation from the Plan of Cerdà [that was carried out in the historic center] in 1917. […]

9   **UG:** Part of the renewal idea was to boost the economy, especially tourism and the real estate industry. Do you think that has worked? Considering the large range of small shops run by immigrants, is there really an economic benefit for those large companies that were investing here?

10   **MS:** That is new, it was not there in the 80s.

11   **CG:** You see, in 1991 the immigrant rate was 6%. Now El Raval has 47 %. So in 10 years, 15 years, it has changed a lot. The situation in the 90s was different, it only changed after 2000. Before, many people did not want to come to this neighborhood; the citizens of Barcelona thought this was the last place to live. The immigrants did not think like that. The rent was low so they decided to come here. That's why so many immigrants came here. But the idea is that there is a mixture between immigrants and people who decided to come to *ciutat vella* [Old City], citizens of Barcelona. So that finally, there is a mixture between people who think it's a great place to be and people who had no other place to go.

12   **MS:** Socially, there are three groups that are living here. Firstly, the old people who were living here for all of their life …

13   **CG:** And it's very important to say that in all the projects the idea was to keep them here. So all of

them are still here. All of them, basically.

14   **UG:** Even with the construction of the new Rambla and the subsequent demolition of many housing blocks?

15   **CG:** Yes, they are on the upper side, on the lower side. There is new housing. The citizens that were living [in the new Rambla area] are now living [in other areas of Raval]. And they kept their conditions. They paid very small rent and they still pay very small rent, but they have a lift in their building. They really have a better life in the new housing. Of course, in the beginning, there were some problems because people did not want to leave their home but later they really appreciated the change. But the problem is between them and the immigrants.

16   **MS:** Well, there are three populations: these old people, the immigrant population, which is new, happened very fast and is a little problem, and the third population are rather young people from the [rest of the] city and from [other countries in] Europe who decided that this is a new fashionable place to live. But the communication between the three groups is not really …

17   **CG:** It depends on the zone.

18   **MS:** … but it works really well, more or less. For example, there was a social study in the 90s, something very interesting, that all these old people had better relations with the immigrants than with the new young people. For [the old people] the higher prices were because of the young people who have a lot of money … this kind of stress. But I think this mixture of three populations is very interesting.

19   **CG:** And in fact, Raval is where the mixture is bigger. I think it's a very nice place to be and to see the quality of [neighborhood] associations. Do you know Tot Raval?

20   **UG:** Yes, I went to talk to them.

21   **CG:** So there is a mixture of very different associations but they work together.

22   **UG:** How do people actually live together? Is it just a kind of coexistence or are they actually interacting? As far as I know, there have been some conflicts with the new people coming in.

23   **CG:** Not really. Well, if you see what happened in London … something like that never happened here.

24   **UG:** No violent outbursts.

25   **CG:** No, not at all. Basically, in Raval South, there are still people drug dealing. Prostitution is still there but that cannot be just eliminated. Then the people would be somewhere else. I mean, we have to deal with this problem and we have to make it as easy as possible. In fact, it's a question of where do they go if they are not here. They exist. We want to try to eliminate as much as possible this situation. This is a question for the municipality but also for the citizens and neighbors. In Raval Sud, there is now a specific plan and it works in a holistic way. That means we do urban planning, we do urban works, but we also include social approaches. For example, we get the neighbors together to discuss what's going on in the square. There is an important project with prostitutes, trying to make them leave the streets.

26   **UG:** The people involved in this plan, are they social workers?

27   **CG:** Yes, you should talk to Anna Terra. She works for Foment de Ciutat Vella but she is in charge of *Pla de Barris*. In 2004, the Generalitat de Catalunya—the autonomous government—decided to pass a law, which allows to give money to cities that have specific problems in problematic neighborhoods. The idea was to get 50% from the Generalitat de Catalunya and the other half from the city. In *ciutat vella*, we have been working in three special neighborhoods. In Casc Antic, Sta Caterina. Then it was Barceloneta. This year it is beginning in Raval South. The idea is not only to work on making new public spaces, making better facades, putting lifts on buildings, and things like that. There is a big part of the money used for participation, social participation. Get citizens to decide what they want for the future of the area. Because it's true that we, as a public company, have been working a lot over the last 20 years, first as PROCIVESA and then as FOCIVESA, basically in physics, you know concrete, not so much social aspects. Not always putting both aspects together. Now all the new approaches to urban planning have this social aspect. But it's really a new approach, we are learning how to do it.

28   **MS:** The idea from the beginning in the 80s was, we must decide on the future of the city together with the neighborhood. But the neighborhood organizations were very different back then. At that time, it was more politicized because these were all organizations formed in the last days of the dictatorship. Very politicized organization, very strong, which wanted to work with the municipality. Today, it changes quickly because problems are different and people are different. There is another type of problem. Because of that, at the beginning of this century, there was a social demand: we want to know what we are going to do with our city. The municipality decided on a new approach in the neighborhoods, to allow some kind of participation.

29 **CG:** If you think about it, it's logical. At the beginning of the 80s, the problems were very big. They needed really basic things. It was easy to be together in a project. But now the question is: 'Why do you do this? Don't do anything!'

30 **MS:** The quality of life is different. The touristic success of Barcelona because of the Olympics has been a big problem in the center because the people hate this kind of strong demand of the tourists. Rambla was the big public space for the citizens of Barcelona but now it is a territory for tourists. None of us go to walk along Rambla. It is a typical thing: touristic cities destroy the normal neighborhood. It is a problem because having tourists also means having income.

31 **UG:** The concept of the PERI documents and *plazas duras*, which Oriol Bohigas was focusing on in order to strengthen the idea of democracy after the dictatorship, soon changed toward a more economically driven scheme, especially in preparation for the Olympic Games. These initiatives were undertaken to increase tourism and economic activities in Raval. These were bigger interventions as opposed to the earlier small-scale ones.

32 **CG:** There were two tracks: the little places, that was always the idea and just focused on the neighborhoods, and then the big actions …

33 **UG:** But was that developed in parallel?

34 **CG:** It was in parallel, always in parallel. They never forgot about the little actions, the micro-surgery. It has always been like that.

35 **MS:** The basic idea of Bohigas included two things: to recuperate these little places for the convenience of the people—the *plazas duras*. The model was public space in Italy, like Siena. There is the idea of nature and the idea of city. The city needs some place for convenience. Convenience means some place very abstract, where you have the possibility to do all kinds of things: to walk, to talk, to meet, a little market—that means *plazas duras*. The other idea was the one of metastasis. The idea was: it is a big city with a clear center but we must form other little centers to balance the use of the city, [create] new centralities so that people do not have to travel around too much. It also tried to improve traffic functions and clear the ring roads. But sensibilities change, people have been demanding more trees, green areas, special places for kids to play, and more spaces for daily use.

36 **CG:** Let's take Plaça dels Àngels in front of MACBA, it is not useful for people living there because children cannot go there. Basically, if you don't give them a helmet, they will probably get a skateboard on their head. So that's the place where you cannot have …

37 **UG:** It is the scale as well though, isn't it?

38 **CG:** Yes, it's also the scale, but in fact, it's a way of thinking about public space. There is nothing there but anything can happen … except a daily life, a mother just playing with her children.

39 **MS:** [Plaça dels Àngels] is a special place in the city. In a way, it's the center.

40 **CG:** Yes, everybody comes here.

41 **MS:** The idea was, we are going to locate more representative facilities like the Museum of Modern Art, the Cultural Centre, the National Library. Barcelona is the capital of Catalunya so we must put these facilities in central locations. Now, the Filmoteca. But then again, there are people living here. It means there must be a place for them, for the kids to play, for the old people to sit. And this is very difficult to mix. A big demand for a small place.

42 **CG:** Last year, they did a study. [In Raval] there are a lot of tourists walking around so there are a lot of shops for tourists. People who live here have a hard time to buy cheap things.

43 **UG:** Then it seems to be a good thing that immigrant groups moved here because the sociocultural demographic is regulating itself in a way. It discourages gentrification. Low-income immigrants will not cause the prices to rise as much as a Spanish middle class might. It seems more balanced.

44 **CG:** Yes, that's what we were telling you. In fact, it is some kind of balance that still works but maybe one day will not work anymore. That's why the City Council is now trying to help the citizens who live here to stay here. So right now the municipality's idea is: work for the citizens, not for the tourists.

45 **UG:** This is an outcome of the planning scheme one could not expect. One could not expect the arrival of immigrants, but it works?

46 **CG:** Yes, now it works.

47 **MS:** Another example of social aspects that I think the City Council has been very clever in: they try to avoid a possible ghetto. It is dangerous that the immigrants try to move together.

[…]

54   **UG:** So it is easier to integrate them?

55   **CG:** It will be easier in the future. With the parents, it is still difficult but the children will have no problem. But also in the last 10 years three big things happened in Barcelona and in other places: tourism, immigration (let's say this could be globalization), but now there is the crisis. This process of people coming [to Barcelona] stopped. It helps to keep the balance because there are no more people coming in. We stopped this process so it helps to make [integration] easier in the future. In fact, the crisis helped us to stop the process of more and more people coming to the city center and to the rest of Barcelona. It was really scary to see the process because it was impossible to stop.

56   **UG:** With all the immigrants moving to Raval in the 1990s, how did the people that were already living there, the existing residents, react? Were there any conflicts?

57   **CG:** I think in the beginning, there were probably some kind of difficulties but in fact, it was the immigrants who ran little shops for daily shopping at a time when all around Barcelona and also here, the little shops disappeared. Most of them disappeared. And immigrants came and opened these kind of shops. In the beginning, it probably was a problem to have these people around but now everyone goes to buy there. It is something to think about that 25 years ago people used to sit outside in the street and just talk with their neighbors. We never did that again. People don't do that. It disappeared and now the only ones who do it are the immigrants. They recover things that we did before. Why is it so strange? I mean, we say that it is a cultural thing but in fact, they are doing things we used to do not so long ago.

58   **UG:** Do people from different groups interact in public space?

59   **CG:** Pakistani don't interact.

60   **MS:** It depends on the community.

61   **CG:** With Pakistani it is very difficult. With the rest of the communities, yes, I think they mix up; there is no problem. But I think with the Pakistani, there are the most problems.

62   **UG:** Is there anything initiated by the government or the neighborhood associations, which tries to encourage that?

63   **CG:** Yes, Tot Raval is making a lot of things and then … Huma, she is a great woman, a Pakistani woman who runs an association. […] For us it is very important to celebrate *San Jordi.* It is the day of the rose and the book. So if you come here on April 23, it is beautiful. All around you can see books and flowers. And Tot Raval used to make a party in Rambla del Raval on that day with immigrant associations. You can go there and buy books and roses and things like that. There are a lot of people, very colorful, very nice party. Last year, they had no budget for doing that so the meeting of all the associations was: oh, that's a bad thing, this year we will not be able … You know who decided to make that party and said, I will go shop by shop and ask for money? Who? Huma! She as a Pakistani! She said this is impossible; we cannot stop the celebration. This is a celebration that we must do. And a lot of the other associations—Catalan people—said: ok, if Huma says so. I saw that; I was there. And it was just great that a Pakistani woman is defending our right to do our tradition, a Catalan tradition. It was great. It was a very good [sign] of what should be in the future.

64   **UG:** It is not her cultural background but she has taken the initiative anyway?

65   **CG:** And she only speaks Spanish, she does not speak Catalan. But she really believes in Raval. Raval has a very specific atmosphere. I don't know why, but these kind of associations do not happen in Casc Antic.

66   **MS:** Well, Raval has always had this kind of peculiarity because it has always been a workers' neighborhood when we think about the history of Barcelona. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was the war between the Spanish people and the Catalan people because of the succession problem. We were punished and the king constructed a big citadel for the army and people had to move. Raval was always a place with fields and agriculture. But during the industrial revolution, Barcelona needed space for factories and Raval was the only empty place and was built at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was full of factories and housing for the workers. It was always a proletarian neighborhood. This was some kind of peculiarity because the rest [of the city] was more mixed. In the twentieth century, all the revolutions were made here. The anarchistic revolution, all of the fights against the different governments and policies … always in Raval. All of the workers were born in Raval. It is this kind of symbol of revolution of the twentieth century and the start of the civil war. The old people who are living here feel more comfortable with the immigrants because they are more like them than the tourists or people from higher [class] neighborhoods in Barcelona. For the old people, those are more like enemies than the immigrants because the immigrants are workers.

[…]

73 **UG:** The established residents obviously consider themselves as living in Raval, but what about the newcomers? Do they accept Raval as their neighborhood? Do they identify themselves with the neighborhood?

74 **CG:** I think the problem is that the people who came here had high expectations. They thought this would be a great place without any problems. And now they are facing big problems. For example, the people who came here without kids and now have kids … a lot of them decide to leave. My daughter lives nearby and has a child. In the beginning, it was difficult for her because every day you see a lot of people in the streets. There is a concentration of everything here and at night people get drunk and make a lot of noise.

75 **UG:** Would you say it is not dangerous but uncomfortable?

76 **CG:** Yes, it is uncomfortable.

77 **MS:** Last year, a big problem was the tourist apartments. They are so fashionable and a lot of people decided to rent out their apartments to tourists for two or three nights. This means in a normal community there are one or two flats with different people every week and these people are here to party. This is very uncomfortable because people have to get up early and go to work even if there was a party till 5 o'clock in the morning. This has been a big problem and the City Council has been very strict to control these things.

78 **UG:** But that's more affecting the northern part of Raval, isn't it?

79 **CG:** And the Gotic Quarter and Casc Antic.

80 **UG:** But not so much Raval South?

81 **CG:** No.

82 **UG:** In Raval South, the touristic sights are located along the edges, which means, as opposed to the northern part, the inner neighborhood has not been that much affected by the changes.

83 **CG:** That's why the Filmoteca is being built there. The idea is to change the neighborhood.

84 **MS:** […] With the Museum of Modern Art being installed, Raval North became very easily a fashionable neighborhood with galleries, restaurants. There was a change of atmosphere. […] With this philosophy, the City Council decided to undertake this big operation of Rambla del Raval, to create a new central area and to concentrate more things in the area such as the Filmoteca because this was the most degraded part …

85 **CG:** … and still is, in fact.

86 **MS:** It was some kind of test of what is going to happen. It is not easy because the society has been changing very quickly in 20, 30 years. For example, the problem of immigration … at the time, nobody thought of immigration. There was no immigration at all. This is a new thing. Or the success of the Olympic Games and the touristic importance of Barcelona, that was not on anybody's mind [either].

87 **CG:** With regard to the problem of tourism in *ciutat vella*, the City Council drew up a strategic plan for 2015. The specific goals for *ciutat vella* are public spaces, security, and mobility. This means that we do not need more tourists. We took care of that. The idea of the plan is to spread the tourists, to make them go to other places.

88 **MS:** The problem of gentrification can be seen in major cities all over Europe and the idea is to stop that but I think it is very difficult.

89 **UG:** Especially when there is a strong real estate economy interested in central locations and thus a driving force of gentrification.

90 **MS:** During the big explosion of the housing prices 10 or 15 years ago, prices went up by about 50%. There was very strong problem of moving. The buildings were supposed to be turned into fashionable flats for new people. The people of Raval were very stressed because landlords cut electricity and telephone lines to make them leave. It was a big problem. They even put up a consultation office to help people fighting against that. Now we have the crisis.

91 **CG:** Again the crisis helped us. It stopped completely.

92 **UG:** But in a case like that, when people are personally affected, do they form groups and show their disapproval? I noticed these banners [*volem un barri digne*—We want a decent neighborhood] hanging from several balconies.

93 **CG:** Yes, but these people are the fashionable [newcomers] who came here asking for a special place

to live. And now they are facing problems that existed before. They want a decent neighborhood but it was already a decent neighborhood, and still is. It's just a question of that their expectations …

94   **UG:** … have not been fulfilled.

95   **CG:** Yes.

96   **UG:** Who started this banner campaign? As far as I know, you can get them for free.

97   **CG:** Yes, it is a strange group. You really don't know what their interest is because a lot of people, if you ask them, would say that this is a *barri digne* already. 'Why are you saying that? We have problems, we have trouble with tourism … but please do not say that because it is much better than it was 20 years ago. It is just crazy to say that it is a horrible place to live.' They had big expectations, probably, and they thought of an ideal place to live and it didn't work out. Of course, there still are a lot of things to do and […] there are a lot of questions to think about. And just to compare that to cities in other countries, the difference I think is that most of them do not care whether their citizens are living there or not. So, if the city center is for tourists, it is ok. Here, the problem is that we still try to keep both neighbors and tourists. […] It is a decision by the City Council to keep the neighborhood for neighbors. So, if someone says, this project is just for driving out the old people—that's false.

98   **UG:** It is difficult though, isn't it? Because any new project like the Filmoteca, which might make live a bit more pleasant in the neighborhood will also attract more tourists.

99   **MS:** Yes, it is very difficult to balance.

100   **CG:** Yes, but the idea is to spread tourism. Let's put some people everywhere, not all together in one part of the city.

101   **MS:** I think it is also important to note that the aesthetic sensibility changed. In the 80s, the City Council destroyed a lot of buildings to make room for public space and facilities. But in the 90s, they started to think: this is the old city, we must preserve the original architecture, the original atmosphere. That also changed the urban plans.

102   **CG:** And made them more expensive.

103   **MS:** The prices of affected buildings were very low. It was easy for the City Council to buy buildings and [relocate] people to a new flat, destroy the building, and make a new square. But this changed with the law of the conservative party at the beginning of the 90s. And it was more or less just. It said, if you have a building and want to make a square, you must buy the building at market price and you must buy some flats for all the people who are living in it and arrange for them to move, which makes the whole operation very expensive. You must pay double the price and the economic expectation is very little. That stopped [this kind of demolition]. The urban philosophy changed, the plan was more conservative but this was good because it was more or less in line with the new sensibility of the people saying: yes, we need changes but we don't need such strong changes. I would like to see the city as an old city with old facades and old shops. Nowadays, there are very little operations. The big operations like Rambla del Raval would be impossible these days because there is not enough money. […] The City Council did the university and MACBA and all these cultural institutions. It was very fashionable and working very well. Then the idea for Rambla del Raval was that the rambla was the central public space and everything depending on it. The idea was to build a new heart in Raval and locate facilities around it to build a new center. Destroy buildings and build a new big space [surrounded] by new housing, new facilities.

104   **CG:** Usually, the problem with citizens is that these projects are long-term actions. It takes years for them to be finished and that makes people say: please don't do any more. So that's something we have to think about when working on the projects: how long will it take?

105   **UG:** Do you inform the citizens about the projects?

106   **CG:** Yes, we do that but then plans sometimes do not work as they were supposed to. For example, Filmoteca, it should have been finished maybe three years ago and it is still not open. Three Years! When they began they thought it would take maybe two or three years but then they found archaeological remains. They spent one year making the archaeological site until they decided what to do. This means the project is going to be more expensive. In this part [of the neighborhood] you find the residents with the *volem un barri digne* banners […]

107   **MS:** The state gives money to help people buy an apartment.

108   **CG:** Most of them are young people with children that came here three years ago and thought it will be a great place with a nice square. They waited three years and still they have nothing.

109   **UG:** Is the problem the construction site or the prostitution that happens right next to it?

110   **CG:** They knew that there was prostitution.

111 **MS:** Once, when I was working here [at FOCIVESA] there came a couple that wanted to buy a flat there and they asked me about the plans. And they also asked whether there are any plans to throw out the immigrants from *ciutat vella*. And we said: no, the immigrants are living here; there are no plans. [...]

112 **CG:** So I think [...] people had a lot of expectations of the [regeneration] of Raval.

113 **UG:** They wanted it to be more like the northern part?

114 **CG:** Yes, they thought it would be like that in a few months. It has been three years and it is still the same.

115 **UG:** The South has traditionally been more neglected than the North.

116 **CG:** Yes, with the North, I suppose it was easier. There were more public facilities able to [locate themselves in the area].

117 **UG:** Some of the little squares in Raval North have facilities like social services and neighborhood associations. They seem to be more concentrated in the northern part.

118 **CG:** No, they are also all around Raval Sud. It is spread all over the southern part.

119 **MS:** Yes, the idea of the plans was to provide the same level [of public services] in every part. Every neighborhood should have a library, a school for kids, a school for teenagers, a civic center … more or less, it is very balanced. [...] There was a lot of prostitution in some parts, the City Council decided to build a new university and because of that they disappeared. It was not convenient for them to have the students around. The idea was to [introduce] some new uses to attract a new population and to balance the social life of the neighborhood.

120 **CG:** Before, the university was [located] on the Diagonal and [moving] it to the city center was a hard decision to make. They all decided to do that: Generalitat, City Council, and Spanish government. So it really was a strong institutional decision and belief that *ciutat vella* could recover. It was very difficult to plan changes for Raval because Rambla was really a frontier. You never went into the neighborhood.

121 **UG:** Well, it seems a bit of a strange idea, taking a university and cultural facilities and putting them right in the middle of an enclosed working-class neighborhood, alien to their surroundings.

122 **CG:** It was a brilliant idea! The problem was that the ones living here, were the ones, who could not afford an apartment outside this area. It was very cheap. So [there were] old people or people with a very small income. That's also why so many immigrants came here: there were a lot of places [without tenants]. Nobody was living there. It is a mixture of things that caused what has happened. [...]

123 **MS:** The [urban approach during the time] of the dictatorship was very [strange]: locating all the delinquencies [in Raval] and if we have any problems, we know where we will find them.

124 **UG:** Keeping them all in one place.

125 **CG:** Yes.

126 **UG:** Did the introduction of new public space have something to do with being able to better control the area? I know the first idea was to open it up and improve the environment but was it also used to control what's going on in there?

127 **CG:** No, I don't think so. Probably there was not enough police to control. In fact, until two years ago there was a lack of police.

128 **MS:** The politicians always talk about *policia de barri,* the neighborhood police. Some policemen with motorbikes but it doesn't work particularly well.

129 **CG:** Maybe now. This summer it has been more quiet than before. They joined different [police forces].

130 **MS:** It is complicated; we have different [police forces].

131 **CG:** The autonomous police and the urban police.

132 **UG:** What do you mean by: this summer it has been more quiet?

133 **CG:** There are some summers when there is a lot of trouble, noises, and drunken people. Stupid conflicts. Not with neighbors.

134 **UG:** Foreigners?

135 **CG:** Yes, basically. And this year I think it has been more quiet because the police are taking better care of it together. There is also a problem of what they can or cannot do.

136 **MS:** They have different tasks.

137   **CG:** Yes, so if you put them together they can do much more. *Guàrdia Urbana*, I think they have no gun.

138   **MS:** No.

139   **CG:** So, to some places they don't go.

140   **UG:** Do you think the neighborhood needs a police?

141   **CG:** Yes, in some places.

142   **MS:** But this has always been a problem. When we had the left party, the Socialist Party, they were always against the police. […] And the right party was very clever: security, security.

143   **CG:** Yes, but it has changed. In the last five years, the left party also saw that there was no other way than to install more police. But the [tourists], basically English, they come here on very cheap flights, they just come here to party and they think they can do anything.

144   **UG:** They are very young, I noticed.

145   **CG:** Yes, but if you have some kind of control, they will see that [there are the same rules] as in their country. […] For the citizens, for the neighbors, it is too much noise, too much problems. There has to be a balance.

146   **UG:** Walking through the area, I got the impression that there were more *plazas duras* installed in the northern part: sealed surface, a few trees but generally not much greenery—really simple spaces. Further in the South, the squares look quite new and offer more sporting equipment like table-tennis.

147   **CG:** People asked for that, the neighbors. Last year, in all *ciutat vella* they installed I think 10 or 12 playgrounds because a lot of people where asking: where do our children play?

148   **MS:** These places like Rambla del Raval where thought of and designed as *plaza duras*—a very big place to do everything. The plan was [developed] at the same time but works were carried out in the 90s and at the beginning of this century. And if you are here [in El Born], it is the opposite, the [ground cover] is sand, there [are] a lot of plants, there is a playing area for kids, there is a patch for the neighbors to plant potatoes and tomatoes—it is more soft. Even the architecture. A new sensibility of how to create a new urban place.

149   **CG:** Yes, here [in Raval], there should be a playground.

150   **MS:** Yes, they are going to [construct one] now because of the sensibility for it.

151   **UG:** Do you think the *plazas duras* don't really work? Do they need some sort of softness?

152   **MS:** Now.

153   **CG:** It depends, yes.

154   **UG:** Because the time has changed? Because the problems are different?

155   **CG:** Yes, I think so.

156   **MS:** And the immigrants have a culture of using public space. The kids go there to play football and the people go there to sit and talk. But the Catalan society or the Spanish society is not used to that …

157   **CG:** … anymore.

158   **MS:** Today, they have to eliminate any possibility of danger for the kids. [The space must be] well-designed, well-kept. A sunny place for old people. A place for exercise. The demand on public space is higher than our demand 20 years ago or the immigrant demand. At that time, we only needed a place for the birth of the new European or Catalan society. [Today], the public space must be more thought about. [There are] activities you are doing at home or at school or in the commercial center; if you go to a public place, it is because there is a special use [envisaged for them]. […] Our demand of public space is more specific.

159   **UG:** It seems like that. I wonder if that has something to do with our constant need for some sort of entertainment.

160   **CG:** … to always do something.

161   **UG:** Yes, so we have forgotten how to use plain empty spaces. We don't know what to do with them.

162   **MS:** One thing I was very surprised with regarding the new foreign people that came here, was that they made a party with their kids in the park instead of at home. To have a party with kids in the middle of *ciutat vella*, to use a public place for private purposes. But it's a normal thing to do. And the immigrants always do it. There is another reason: they have very small flats, very little place. So they use public spaces for their spare time to talk, to play cricket, to watch the others. We must recuperate

the public space as our public space because [that's the way it is meant to be].

[…]

173 **UG:** You mentioned that people asked for public sporting facilities. Were there different groups asking for it? Who in particular?

174 **CG:** Young people basically. [There were] a lot of demands for basketball and football facilities because it is forbidden in many places. So where do they play? The municipality is trying to find places that could be emptied and turned into a football facility. And then there is a part in Raval Sud where the Pakistani play cricket.

175 **UG:** So the Pakistani play cricket and other nationalities …

176 **CG:** The Moroccans play football. They used to do it in front of MACBA on Plaça dels Àngels but they did it at 12 o'clock in the evening so the neighbors complained about that.

177 **MS:** A few years ago, there was a very interesting exhibition in [front of] MACBA. They asked a few young architects to do some installations. Winy Maas planned a very successful thing drawing the outlines of different sport fields on the [square]. It was a very big success. It was interesting because [there] was some kind of organization, non-controlled organization. The people from Morocco controlled the football playing and the people from … I don't remember … controlled the basketball playing. It was some kind of self-organization. It was very difficult to remove these lines because the people were the owners of these fields. It had to be emptied to build the faculty but the idea was kept that with very little money we can provide public spaces with sporting possibilities like basketball or boccia for old people. The demand was [obvious]. We have no imagination about how to use the public space.

[…]

188 **UG:** How long do you think the restructuring is going to continue?

189 **CG:** We still have a lot of things to do. Foment is going to close in two years but they will probably establish something new to continue the process. Maybe the way of working has to be less urbanistic. It has to be more of a general approach from the City Council.

190 **UG:** Moving from physical planning to actual social issues?

191 **MS:** Yes. In the beginning, the operation was basically an urban operation but now the [transformation] is more or less finished and we must concentrate on social issues and the quality of life. […]

192 **MS:** Instead of cutting through *ciutat vella* according to the Cerdà Plan, they made a central space [Rambla del Raval]. That was the start of the plan in the 80s in the old city. And it also goes back to the plan from the 50s, 1953. All of them relate to the plan of Cerdà. And the 1953 plan is also a consequence of GATPAC: this idea of many small interventions in the old city.

193 **UG:** And Le Corbusier was involved.

194 **MS:** Le Corbusier's plan was very simple. The idea was [based on] three big towers on the waterfront to concentrate the population in and to empty the other spaces. […]

195 **CG:** Anna Terra is in charge of the plan for Raval Sud, the one that I told you about, funded by the Generalitat. So it is municipal money and autonomous government money. Half, half. They present the project and they decide which one gets the money of the Generalitat. Then it is compulsory for the municipality to contribute the other half. [There] are urbanistic projects and Plaça del Pedró is the first one that is [going to be] designed.

196 **AT:** This is the list of interventions and there are some social actions that will happen. There will be an office to manage the projects.

197 **CG:** If you have specific actions in the neighborhood, you have to have an office in Raval Sud. It is a reference for the neighbors. […] The idea is that everybody can go there and ask for anything. So it is a reference for the citizens of Raval Sud.

198 **UG:** What is the main ambition of these projects that you are doing in Raval Sud?

199 **CG:** To create the same situation in the southern part of Raval as in the northern part […]

200 **AT:** Yes, because the North has changed more quickly than the South […] It is very different here in

the North. The South is very depressing. The social programs have to complete the urbanistic actions. It is an integral program and all the things have to come together. You can't arrange all the places and …

201   **CG:** We were talking about that before that the social things sometimes have been neglected in the urban projects. *Pla de Barris* specifically joins the urban and the social.

202   **UG:** Can you give me examples of what these are?

203   **AT:** The social programs? The first program that is starting now is here in Carrer d'En Robador and Carrer de San Ramon—a particularly depressing area and there are a lot of sex workers in this zone. This is a problem because they live together with the [residents]. There is a mediation program.

204   **MS:** To connect people with problems with some specialists for these problems.

205   **UG:** So basically the idea is to bring different groups to the table?

206   **AT:** Yes, but in this zone there are a lot of conflicts, not only [prostitution]. There are drugs and …

207   **MS:** There is a very famous building here that was in all the newspapers because it was a [typical] example of mobbing. There was the owner or it was a company, a very strange company. Two or three people were living [in the building] and [the owner] was cutting the electricity and telephone lines. One of the tenants was fighting very hard and he was in the newspapers and the TV.

208   **AT:** And now we are forming a selection of seven people from this zone: a neighbor, probably a sex worker, or a policeman, and they will be the agents of the community. They will list all the conflicts that exist in the area.

209   **CG:** The idea is that people from the neighborhood will have some kind of training to help solving problems in their own community.

210   **UG:** And to pass on your idea as well so that it is not always the authority stepping in.

211   **CG:** Yes, that's right.

212   **UG:** Do you know whether people are willing to do that? Have you had a response yet?

213   **AT:** Well, some people are interested in the program and some neighbors are very against it.

214   **MS:** *Barri* people.

215   **AT:** Yes, *barri* people.

216   **MS:** You must know that all of this operation started in 1988 and there are people that are having problems since 1988. This means …

217   **CG:** They have no patience anymore. 'What? They are asking *me* now? Now *I* have to solve it?'

218   **MS:** No trust at all in the City Council. Everything that comes from the City Council is shit.

219   **CG:** 'You haven't solved it in 20 years and now it is me that has to solve it?'

220   **UG:** So is it more young people that are willing to take part?

221   **AT:** There are some young people that are very interested but there are also some … most of them in this building [behind Plaça de Salvador Seguí] …

222   **CG:** … the ones we told you about that came here three years ago because they thought it would be a great place to live.

223   **AT:** These are social flats and they have a contract that they cannot move out within the next 15 years or something like that.

224   **MS:** The City Council bought the site to build on and they support homebuyers on the condition that the flats are going to be owner-occupied. They cannot sell them.

225   **UG:** They get it for less money and if they sold it they would make a benefit.

226   **CG:** Yes.

227   **UG:** So people are kind of stuck. They don't want to be here but they can't go anywhere else.

228   **AT:** But they are young people. It's good for the neighborhood and we would like them to stay here, to agree to stay here.

229   **CG:** The *Pla de Barris* is only in its early stages now so we are going to see how it works.

230   **MS:** There was a new building with offices. The idea was to create one of the most important syndicate of workers.

231   **CG:** And then there is the five star hotel. A very strange mixture.

232   **UG:** A strange location for the hotel but obviously the site would have been fairly cheap for central Barcelona.

233   **AT:** The [*Pla de Barris*] is designated to the rehabilitation of buildings. And with the problem of rehabilitation there is also the problem of going inside the buildings, communicating with the neighbors and resolving the conflicts that might occur between old neighbors and new neighbors with immigrant background.

234   **UG:** They cannot find a way to organize themselves? Some sort of mediation?

235   **CG:** The problem is that in other countries they are not used to have this kind of relationship with the building. They don't care what's going on outside their doors so the owners' community never meets. They are not used to do that. So, it is a problem when they have to make decisions about some kind of intervention. Many people don't care. They don't pay and the work cannot be done. Usually, this happens in mixed communities but in the Spanish society, this is also a problem. It doesn't only happen with immigrants. Nobody cares about …

236   **AT:** They are people with no resources, no money. This increases the problem.

[…]

Interviewee: Elisa Covelo, community worker at Fundació Tot Raval
Date: October 2, 2013
Place: café in Carrer dels Àngels, 08001 Barcelona

1   **UG:** First, I would like to clarify your position at Tot Raval. I understand you are a mediator …

2   **EC:** I am a social psychologist but I am working in the cultural area of the foundation. We also have aspects of mediation but I wouldn't define my work as a mediator. I would probably more call it a community worker. I think mediation is when there is a conflict and there are two parts and you are right in the middle. So [my work] is broader; there are more things going on.

3   **UG:** Fundació Tot Raval is involved in a wide range of projects in the neighborhood. In your opinion, what are the most important programs or actions?

4   **EC:** It depends on the criteria you are using, e.g. there are the ones where you have more agents participating like hotels, associations, schools and maybe other cultural actions. But most important would probably be education but it depends on what you consider most important. It is a little bit hard for us to divide the work in Raval because it is generally interconnected. We divide it into different fields like education, culture, and so on but it is not that strict. We work together. Most of the projects touch each other, maybe you are inside other ones. So they are constantly interacting.

5   **UG:** Also considering the size of your office space, it would seem inevitable that projects are connected.

6   **EC:** Yes, exactly … you have seen that. We are all upstairs.

7   **UG:** Who is funding the projects respectively the foundation?

8   **EC:** Several people. We have very diverse funding sources: the local government in Barcelona, the regional government of Catalunya, and also the state of Spain. And others. We look for money for each project. The person responsible for the project is also responsible to look for funding. So it is very diverse. In some cases we also have some private companies and banks. In Spain many of the banks have a social fund, e.g. La Caixa has the *Fundació La Caixa* and they promote social projects.

9   **UG:** They are trying to do a good deed.

10   **EC:** Yes, exactly. I know … we could talk a lot about that. But that's where we get the money from. So it is a mix of public and private money.

11   **UG:** And the people working for the foundation have backgrounds relating to the projects.

12   **EC:** Yes, mostly social backgrounds but some are anthropologists, some are political scientists, sociologists, social workers. That's kind of the field.

13   **UG:** The new projects that you are developing and trying to get money for, where do they come from? Where do the ideas come from?

14   **EC:** That is one thing I enjoy very much about this job, we do not decide. I am responsible for the cultural area, I do not decide what the projects are going to be. I ask all the agents in the territory who want to participate. I ask them, how do you want to do this or what do you want to do this year. So we organize a … I can't think of the English word … we tell everyone to come to a meeting.

15   **UG:** Like a brainstorming? You meet and collect ideas?

16   **EC:** Yes, but not necessarily new ideas. We work very much with process. So usually what happens is not that somebody has a new idea but that it develops during a process, it transforms into different things depending on how many people are involved, what the interests are, how much money we have. There are many different factors. But all the decisions we make are developed that way. So it is not us saying, this is the project we are going to promote. It is the people in the project saying, this is what we want to do. I think that is the biggest quality. And it is interesting.

17   **UG:** […] How do you find participants?

18   **EC:** In many different ways. The Fundació has been here for 10 years now—so that is also something interesting to know. People are related to the projects in different ways and they have been participating in different things for many years. And there are always more people who want to add to the process but we already have many relationships with the locals. In the beginning, the cultural field was very important in the sense of doing things together in public space, to visualize that you could be proud of being from this neighborhood and show off what you are doing during the year. I am thinking of these grandmothers who have this dance class. During the year, they are always practicing and then they have this whole show for a day. It is about giving them a platform to show what they are doing and what the neighborhood is like.

UG: Do you provide space for that? Where do they do it? Outside?

EC: Yes, outside usually. One of the cultural initiatives is Raval's Festival and that was a great excuse for us to get in touch with lots of people. What we did, basically, is to provide the structure for whatever you want to do (music, dance, etc.). We organize the people, get them together, and decide what the topic was going to be, what they were going to do. In the first year, there were about 12 organizations participating, and now there is like 180. That's how it grows. First it was very small. That's how most of our projects start, not as huge, European funded incredible things that are wonderful but start big already. That's not the case with us. We usually start small and then the process just rebuilds itself. And also sometimes, some projects don't because they are not necessary or whatever. So they just disappear. It doesn't matter because we don't need to keep them running.

UG: I would assume that these projects take longer to evolve into something but they might also last longer if people actually value them as the result of their own work.

EC: That's the thing. What's very interesting to me in these phases where we all decide together is that you could have the director of MACBA sitting next to a school teacher and they have exactly the same power in that meeting because they are deciding together. And it is also very interesting for the people at MACBA because, due to their location, one of their aims is to be closer to the reality of the neighborhood.

UG: So that they are not just this satellite that landed in the neighborhood.

EC: Exactly! And that's what they still are but they are working on it. They want to do it and we are trying to see how. It is not that easy obviously but that's the intention. They are all participating at the same level so that kind of empowers the other people too.

UG: You mentioned there are 180 different groups taking part now, what kind of cultural groups are there? Which immigrant groups are represented?

EC: Many. There are over 70 nationalities in this neighborhood but participating more stably … Pakistanis—the women's group, people from the Philippines, certain places in Latin America, Sikhs […]. I am thinking of those groups that have been coming for years, not temporarily. Moroccans, obviously. With some of them it's hard for me to think of them as cultural groups … the interesting part is not so much that they are participating as a cultural group, they are participating as neighbors in Raval. Sometimes they are not participating within their group. It's just Pakistani women in another space. Or the kids, for example, there is a lot of youth that we work with in these projects. They organize their concerts or whatever they are doing and they are from all over. So they are not organized as a cultural group, they are organized as youth.

UG: So your work allows them to be drawn into different interest groups.

EC: Yes, cultural background in that respect is not so important and it is also second generation. It's not that important anymore. 'We are all immigrants, right? Get over it!'

UG: You mentioned that the foundation has been around for 10 years now. When you first started, was it initiated on government level?

EC: No, it was actually initiated by some of the people that had restaurants or small shops, also other groups that were already a social organization. There was a group of people very attached to the neighborhood, which saw that there were a lot of initiatives: social entities, NGOs, all kinds of volunteer work, which was good but could be very chaotic. So the idea was to work together because sometimes what happened was that one family would go to five different organizations but we didn't know because we didn't have that kind of communication. The idea was to form some sort of network that would make us all stronger. In the beginning, there were only a few people, maybe around ten, and then they kept adding new members. It was a whole process. The projects got bigger and they got more funding.

UG: In the work that you are doing now, can you detect any cultural or political groups that are not included in the process due to a lack of interest or other reasons?

EC: Yes, there are many groups that it is difficult to work with. I mean, considering the 70 nationalities, there are many groups that are not there, that I did not mention. It is always difficult in particular with first generation immigrants. But there is a very practical issue here: they are working all day—if they can. So it is very hard for them. Participation is a time consuming thing and we are not really used to that. Not even here. You don't need to look at other countries, we are not used to deciding together in Spain either. We did have difficulties to participate with a lot of the cultural groups. Sometimes, it's the thing that if you call them they will come but that's not the idea. The idea is that they are interested and would want to do it. We have that kind of relationship that we could call them and they would come. They trust us because we have done many things for them and with them. But I wouldn't be able say this group is more difficult than that group.

33   **UG:** How do you think your organization is perceived by the people? You get money from the city and the government, do they consider you as the authority or more like there is someone who is helping us?

34   **EC:** It depends. I think there are people that see us both ways. All these cases could be. We have a very personal relationship with a lot of people so that is always bigger than any institution or whatever the name behind the work is. We have a personal relationship with them even when we are not doing direct assistance in anything. In most cases, I believe they are pretty happy with the work we are doing but there is a … not only because we get money from the government—all the social entities do. But yes, I guess some people might think that we are related to power. But we are really not because we have a lot of cut backs and we don't know how to finish the year.

35   **UG:** On a personal level, your salary is provided by the government as well?

36   **EC:** Well, no. It's provided by all these different financers. It's not direct at all. No. For example, we have this reading project for children. We have to look for money in many different places. Maybe Caixa Catalunya gives us the money for this project. And for another project there is an institution like the Generalitat or whatever, which might give us some money. And for another one we might find a sponsor. If you add up all these things, that pays my salary. We do it little by little and we are not directly paid by the government.

37   **UG:** So this is another motivation for you to get funding.

38   **EC:** Yes, we better.

39   **UG:** What was the situation like over the past few years of economic recession?

40   **EC:** Terrible. Very difficult. First of all economically, but I think everyone is in that situation so that's not news. But it's difficult because you are asking people to put in an extra effort when you are asking them to work together. They each have their own problems and you are asking them to do something together because it's worth it and even more necessary now than ever. But that's a hard message to get across.

41   **UG:** That is something that I have heard repeatedly over the past few years when it comes to participation, people say: well, right now we have bigger things to worry about.

42   **EC:** Exactly, and they do. But it's a shame because—and this is personal, this is not Tot Raval—I believe there are moments when you have to get together, especially in a neighborhood like this one because it is pretty dramatic here. There are a lot of contrasts and dramatic situations going on. And the only way locals can get over this is to work together and help each other because there are not many other resources that they are going to get.

43   **UG:** Two years ago, on my last visit to the area, I went to see the *Mostra d'Arrossos del món*. Is that still running?

44   **EC:** It is still running. We used to organize it with them but we don't anymore because the association of the small shops in the street evolved into their own organization. It is still going on.

45   **UG:** Do people come by your office, knock on your door and say: I have got this problem and I think you should do this and that?

46   **EC:** Yes, it happens in every area that we are involved in: social, educational, etc. but I stick to cultural with the examples. If you have any specific questions about one of the other projects, I can also tell you about it. Yes, we have constantly people asking: I want to develop this project, how can I do it? Who can I talk to? How can you help me? How can we do it together? And there are also associations that come and say we lost our space because we don't have money to pay the rent. We have to leave and we have nowhere to be? What can we do? The director helps them a lot to talk to the administration. […] She has a lot of connections to the government and whatever. And not just because of that but also because it has been ten years and she has been there for the ten years. So she might make a call on behalf of the association and help them out. It is different if she calls or if they call directly.

47   **UG:** Can you give me an example of your latest project, something that you are working on right now so that I get a better idea of what it is that you are doing?

48   **EC:** Yes, there is a big project that a lot of other people are involved in. It's called *Cultural Raval.* Raval has a very big cultural potential because of all the museums, art galleries, theaters, etc. There is a lot going on in a very small space. And one of the initiatives of the big museums was to create a kind of bank of materials that they can no longer use because it doesn't have the quality a museum needs, like cameras, TVs, computers, etc. We would lend them for free to organizations that need them. It's like an exchange program. They get rid of the things they don't need anymore, we put them in one space and tell everyone that this is available. Others can use them but have to return them. It responds to the need of the museum to be closer to the needs of the people in the neighborhood. That was one

of the ways that we thought this could happen. We are starting it just now.

49   **UG:** And where is that exchange place?

50   **EC:** No, there is no physical place. It is just starting. You know how I was telling you that these projects are starting very small? We don't have a space yet. We have a personal reference in each of the museums and when we need some of the material we contact them and they know that they will meet the person. That's the idea. Hopefully, it will evolve into actually having a space and people can actually rent it. Right now it is not for anyone in the street, it is directed towards people in social organizations because there is very expensive material there.

51   **UG:** Is there a project that you can think of where public space has been crucial?

52   **EC:** Actually, we have this public space project. It has become a way of demanding public space, especially in 2010. You know Rambla del Raval, there are some luxury apartments there. And people who moved there started complaining about noises, about this and that. They call the cops if they see a homeless person. In my personal view, they came to Raval what do they want?

53   **UG:** Are they new residents?

54   **EC:** Not now, but back then they were. This was a few years ago. There was a whole campaign about how people needed to be quiet and cleaner. But you know you came to live in Raval.

55   **UG:** *Volem un barri digne*?

56   **EC:** It wasn't exactly that but yes, they are related. They follow the same ideas: I don't like what I am seeing, I want you to clean it up. One of the youth concerts is in the neighborhood. It is important to them that they have a hip hop festival. It is a whole night on a Saturday and we give them a huge stage with lights and everything and there is a big crowd. And we always do it in Rambla del Raval because that is their natural space. It's the only place in the neighborhood where you can actually do something like that. Besides MACBA, but that's not a local space.

57   **UG:** The perception is totally different. MACBA is …

58   **EC:** … cool.

59   **UG:** It's the building that is occupying the space. Rambla is more open in that sense.

60   **EC:** Yes, it's the people. So to cut a long story short: the neighbors did not want us doing the concert there and did not let us doing the concert there. Actually, they did not let the kids do the concert. They accepted everyone else because there is a whole day of music. They would let everyone else do it—the jazz, the whatever—but they did not want the hip hop because it's Moroccan kids, its African kids, its stuff they don't want to see. That was very sad and exciting at the same time. The day before the event the city hall called us and said: 'you can't do it there. We are under a lot of pressure, you can't do it there.' We said: 'what do you mean we can't do it there? Everything is organized. There is a whole bunch of people coming. Everything is done.' 'No, you can't do it there. The kids can't do it there.' So we had an emergency meeting with everyone involved in the festival, which back then was maybe like 60, 70 organizations. And they said, 'if [the kids] are not going, we are not going either.' That was very nice and we actually all came here to MACBA that year, to Plaça dels Àngels. So that was a special moment. First of all, we claimed public space and then next year we went back. They again told us we could not do it there but we said: 'no, we are doing it there or we are not doing it at all.' Finally, they said: 'ok, you can do it.' So we kind of recuperated that space. But the nice part of what happened in that year when we had to come here [to MACBA] was that all the organizations said: 'if you don't want [the kids], then we are leaving as well. We are all together. You cannot choose which concerts you want to have.'

61   **UG:** And since then, it has been back at Rambla del Raval?

62   **EC:** Yes.

63   **UG:** Rambla del Raval was extremely controversial when it was installed due to its being-out-of-placeness. However, it seems to be an important spatial resource in the district because there is really not much else. It is great to see that it is used that way. On the other hand, when I was there two nights ago, it seemed like all these bars are occupying the space. The central axis is still empty but all the other areas are occupied by *terrazas*. This is one thing that has changed over the past few years. There have been quite a few already but now there are even more.

64   **EC:** The bars and restaurants along the rambla became an organization and they asked for outdoor space. I don't know the details of this process. […] But they came to an agreement because some of them had huge *terrazas*, some of them didn't have any. So they had to sit down and say, 'wait, what's going on here' and they talked to the city hall. But yes, it is full of chairs and tables now.

65   **UG:** … and as such commercialized. But the organization is the same one that is organizing the *Mostra d'Arrossos del món*, isn't it?

66   **EC:** I am not sure if they are the main organizers, but they are participating for sure.

67   **UG:** It has taken a bit of a weird turn: they organized themselves and kind of chopped up the public area. They divided the space amongst themselves: you take that, I take that—done!

68   **EC:** It is also a government policy because they want to have …

69   **UG:** … they want to sell the licenses.

70   **EC:** Yes, and it's also very tourist orientated. But in that sense it has not so much to do with the people in Rambla del Raval, but rather with the city government. You can see that in a lot of neighborhoods that they have turned much more into a theme park.

71   **UG:** Is it that bad though at Rambla del Raval?

72   **EC:** No, I don't think it is that bad because there is still a sort of mental idea that you cannot go into Raval because it is very dangerous. That still exists. Nothing compared to what the idea was in the 90s but it still exists. And I still get that comment: how do you go there everyday to work?

73   **UG:** Is there a difference in your projects between Raval Nord and Raval Sud?

74   **EC:** Absolutely. First of all, all the cultural agents are in Raval North, now they are starting to go to Raval Sud, which is good. But it is very different.

75   **UG:** There is this program that started two years ago, *Pla de barris*. Did that have any impact?

76   **EC:** Yes, we work together. We have many meetings and try to be coordinated and work in the same direction, in many different areas actually. *Pla de barris* has also a very open framework but it is more about public space in terms of changing the streets and we focus more on the human process behind that.

77   **UG:** What do you mean by 'changing the streets'?

78   **EC:** I mean they have the money to do things like the lighting of a park. Certain things that are important for the neighborhood. They have that kind of material approach and sometimes they ask us to compliment that with social actions.

79   **UG:** Soft activism—actions in public space?

80   **EC:** Yes.

81   **UG:** I would assume the process is quite similar for them in that they get the ideas from the neighborhood.

82   **EC:** I don't know exactly how open and how participatory it is. Well, it should be.

83   **UG:** Are you connected to cultural or social organizations in other neighborhoods in Barcelona?

84   **EC:** We are but we don't maintain a regular contact. There is always someone who asks you how you did this and how you did that. We are connected but there is no space where we formally get together or formally exchange ideas.

85   **UG:** So it is more on a project basis?

86   **EC:** Yes, and because we all know each other.

87   **UG:** Can you tell what the impact is of the projects that you are doing here? Let's say you stage a big event like the festival. Do people from other neighborhoods come and visit?

88   **EC:** That's actually one of the impacts we measure. I mean we cannot measure it but we try to document it. People from other neighborhoods know that the festival exists—now, after ten years! I mean, some people know. It's not like *La Mercè* [note: a four-day festival for the patron of Barcelona], you know, it's very small. We organize a festival that lasts for three days with just 9,000 Euros. That's not money. We do it with nothing. People do everything for free because they want to do it. It comes out like a whole big thing but it's small. We had difficulties with people from other neighborhoods coming to Raval. Now it's a bit easier with all the cool bars but it's hard still. […]

89   **UG:** You just mentioned that you are trying to monitor who is coming to these events, do you have any documentation on that?

90   **EC:** Yes. I mean we don't count them but we have something, not in English though.

91   **UG:** Reading, I do understand.

92   **EC:** Well, and it's very simple too. It's a square and shows indicators on how many people came, some numbers and the impact it had, or how we try to measure it.

93   **UG:** During these events, are you assisted by the urban guards or the police?

94 **EC:** No. Everyone that participates is from the neighborhood. It is not perceived as an external event. If we have to call the cops—and we had to on occasion for little things, nothing big—they will come. They know we are doing it. We have the permission to be in the street. But they are not there all day and we would not want that.

95 **UG:** It is a different feeling, I guess, knowing that someone is watching you.

96 **EC:** Yes, it would not make any sense, really. On the contrary, it's a very nice day when we do it. On the Rambla del Raval, there are a lot of things going on, there are a lot of different people. It is a very sweet feeling. You don't feel unsafe at all.

97 **UG:** Do you have other regular events on Rambla del Raval? There is the weekend market …

98 **EC:** Yes, we don't do the market. But the association of people involved in the market is also part of Raval and we are in contact with them. There is *San Jordi*—the day of the rose and the book. We do that there too, which is also a beautiful day. It's the 23rd of April, it's a saint so it's like a religious thing but it kind of transformed into a cultural thing. [note: San Jordi is the patron of the Catalans]. And I think it actually became the international day of the book eventually. In Catalunya, historically on that day, men gave a rose to the women and women gave a book to the men. Today, if they ever only give you a rose, you have to be mad and say that you want your book? The thing is that the day is not a public holiday, people have to work. But everyone is in the streets so it's a very nice day. It's full of Catalan flags and on Rambla del Raval the social organizations sell books and roses. It is important for Raval because it is one of those days when people actually come [into the neighborhood]. The main activity of *San Jordi* is on the main Rambla and if we are doing something on Rambla del Raval, it is very easy for people to cut in.

99 **UG:** So they both work together in a way.

100 **EC:** Yes, but they are very different. On the main Rambla, you have the big book shops selling bestsellers. We don't have that. We have the small organizations that maybe edited a book about one of their projects. You can't find bestsellers on Rambla del Raval but there are a lot of activities going on.

101 **UG:** But it's an event related to the Christian religion.

102 **EC:** For people it isn't though. It's cultural. Everyone is taking part. It's not a religious event. People don't perceive it that way. It's a saint but *La Mercè* is also a religious event if you think of it that way. But it's not embedded in people's minds. It's a legend—that's what we call it.

103 **UG:** Do you think it has taken a political turn? You mentioned that there are a lot of Catalan flags on that day.

104 **EC:** No, San Jordi was always very intense. Of course, now there is a context. But I don't really see it that much in Raval. There are other neighborhoods where I see a big change and influence in that sense. But with the locals of Raval, their identities are pretty complex.

105 **UG:** Is the second generation taking on a Catalan identity?

106 **EC:** I wouldn't know what's the general feeling but I assume it's more like: I am from this neighborhood. The Catalan flags at San Jordi have always been there. I don't think it's that political. September 11 on the other hand, the Catalonian 'national' day when the battle happened, is very political. San Jordi is more like Saint Valentine's because it's for the couples that give each other the rose.

107 **UG:** The Catalan fight for independence assisted by nationalist politics has gained in importance over the past few years. You mentioned that it does not play a major role in Raval but how do people here relate to it? There are different dynamics: immigrant groups, new middle-class residents who try to fight 'indecency' in the street and thus indirectly immigrants.

108 **EC:** I wouldn't know what to answer to that. I don't know yet. I haven't seen the results of all this nationalism yet. I don't know if it's because the people who we work with have other priorities or we haven't seen what happens with that yet. In my perception, it does not affect this neighborhood that much.

[…]

115 **UG:** Can you detect tensions between different groups?

116 **EC:** I wouldn't say there are tensions but there is not really a relationship either. So there is a co-existence. There have been some very specific points but I would not say that there is tension in the streets. There is a coexistence of 'we are not in touch, we don't mix, we don't relate, we don't interact.' We would like to work with that and change that.

117   **UG:** Can you specify which groups these are?

118   **EC:** I would say all of them basically except for the kids in the schools. That's like a whole different story you have to analyze separately because they are all mixed. But other than that every group. If you go to the park, you will see that all the groups are separated including the Spanish, except for the teenagers who are mixing up and driving their parents crazy. He might be from Pakistan and has a Filipino girlfriend … but I would say there is not a lot of mixture in general.

119   **UG:** Is language still an issue with the first generation of immigrants?

120   **EC:** Not that much anymore. And there is no more new people coming to Spain. There is nothing to come here for because there is the economic crisis.

[…]

Interviewee: Huma Jamshed, founder and president of the Pakistani Women's Association
Associació Cultural Educativa i Social Operativa de Dones Pakistaneses (ACESOP)
Date: October 7, 2013
Place: office of Huma Travel, Carrer de l'Hospital, 08001 Barcelona

1   **UG:** Huma, you are leading the Pakistani Women's Association in Raval, is that correct?

2   **HJ:** Yes, I am the founder and president of the Women's Association formed by Pakistani Women in the Barcelona province, not only Barcelona city. But the focus is on Raval because the majority of Pakistani women are living here.

3   **UG:** And you live here as well?

4   **HJ:** Yes.

5   **UG:** How long have you been involved in the projects that Tot Raval is running?

6   **HJ:** Since 2004, when Tot Raval was founded, right after that.

7   **UG:** How were these first steps of participation? Was it easy or difficult to engage people?

8   **HJ:** First of all, I myself started participating and learning about the process. After two years, when I had sufficient knowledge, I started to bring people in, to invite Pakistani women to participate. That wasn't a problem with Tot Raval because they are very nice and humble people, especially the director Núria Paricio is a very gentle and humble person. She has a very good sense of humor and she is a well-known person in Raval, respectable and friendly. So Núria Paricio and Tot Raval were not a problem, but in Raval there was a problem. Pakistani women are meant to be invisible because of the culture. I personally, and [our association] generally want to break this cultural binding. But these cultural issues we cannot [change] by some revolution, non, there are workshops, a learning process to make our brain strong. So we defined different parameters and schemes to practice and make our brain stronger every day. And Tot Raval—we are part of Tot Raval, I am [involved in] Tot Raval—because of Tot Raval we have managed to stay visible in Raval.

9   **UG:** You are associated to Tot Raval.

10   **HJ:** Yes, we are members because Tot Raval is the total of associations living in Raval.

11   **UG:** It is the umbrella organization so it consists of all the different groups.

12   **HJ:** Yes. And I am also on the *junta directiva* [trans: board of directors], I am [part of] the executive body of Tot Raval.

13   **UG:** You were saying it is a learning curve, you start with smaller projects and then develop them further. What is the most recent project you have been involved in?

14   **HJ:** We want recognition of Pakistani women because in every important task the government, the institutions, and different NGOs forget to invite us or just ignore us. So we want recognition but we don't want to snatch something, non, we want respect by recognition. We want to stay in [the process], not in everything, but why not in everything? If we don't do anything, nobody will think of us. But we work because for every important thing. [Tot Raval] invites us to contribute to the policy-making, the participatory process, and the completion. We are an important segment: like the flower, we are one petal of the flower. But for the state, we don't exist. Why? When it comes to recognition, we don't exist. So we gave a gift to the authorities: eggs! It is very humiliating for us, and it is very humiliating for the authorities to receive eggs from women. What does it mean: is it a slang, bad name or bad symbol? Non. We don't know what else to do, so we embarrass them and make them realize our existence. We don't belong to the government political party, nor the opposition party. We are affiliated to every political party because we want participation, we want recognition, we want to be visible.

15   **UG:** This doesn't really relate to any political party, it is a general issue.

16   **HJ:** We don't contribute to the economy of this country at large. For a small part we do. But we don't contribute at large, that's why we don't have any value.

17   **UG:** Have you participated in projects other than relating to the ethnic aspect of Pakistani women?

18   **HJ:** Yes, lots of projects. I myself am a member of the immigration council of the city council. We participate in the International Working Women Day, International Immigrants Day, we participate in gender issues and [seek] equal opportunities. And whenever there is an earthquake or some other natural disaster we are present. We participate in the carnival of Raval with a big group of women— at least 50—every year for eight years consistently. But not only the carnival, also *San Jordi* and *La Mercè*. We collaborate with many other NGOs and foundations. We go to schools for workshops. I

do mediations and dialogs with school children and parents, also college and university students. Fire brigades, emergency centers, hospitals, nursing schools, law schools, the city council, the Generalitat and different refugee centers. So we are connected to many important institutions, not only in Barcelona. We want dialog in terms of interreligious and intercultural issues, and sessions in gender equivalence. Also in different parts of Spain. We actively participate with the rest.

19 **UG:** That is broad range of collaborators. Focusing on the dynamics in the neighborhood, is there a difference between the north and the south?

20 **HJ:** In Raval? Yes, it is different because of ethnic segregation.

21 **UG:** Where are the different groups located?

22 **HJ:** Well, they are spread over the different areas in Raval but we connect to everybody independent of patterns of segregation.

23 **UG:** But does everybody want to connect with you?

24 **HJ:** Exactly. We accept segregation as natural but within a good context, with interaction. Then there is no problem, we don't mind it. But segregation *and* isolation, we don't like.

25 **UG:** Is there isolation, is there tension?

26 **HJ:** Yes, there are.

27 **UG:** Between which groups?

28 **HJ:** Different ethnic groups, but within ethnic groups there are different religious groups. And then there is isolation. It is not a problem of religion, it is an economic problem, it is poverty. We understand this, which is why some people join forces with the governmental authorities and form a 'mafia' to boycott us. They convince the governmental institutions to stay away from us. Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't.

29 **UG:** How do you perceive some of the things that are going on in the neighborhood? For example, Rambla del Raval is a large communal space used for big events but it is also surrounded by privatized space—all these *terrazas* that belong to the bars and restaurants.

30 **HJ:** There is a lot of lobbying here because of political affiliations. Those who are more connected with the governmental authorities … The government is not bad, they are good. They want to interact with everybody. I believe that. And not only believe—they proved it. But the people, the ethnic community doesn't listen to the orders of the government. They disobey and they are on their own. The government is too shy. They acknowledge them but they show their handicap because they don't know what to do. They have tried, they put in an effort but it didn't work.

31 **UG:** Which group is that?

32 **HJ:** There are different groups, it is a mafia. […] It is a power game.

33 **UG:** You have been very active in all kinds of projects, have you had problems yourself?

34 **HJ:** No, never.

35 **UG:** It is a sensitive issue that you are working with.

36 **HJ:** Yes, but I always respect the law. Many people wanted to create problems for me but they didn't succeed because I always respect the law.

37 **UG:** How do you see public space like Rambla del Raval used here by the people?

38 **HJ:** It is political, there are no equal opportunities.

39 **UG:** But equality was the idea in the beginning.

40 **HJ:** Yes, in the beginning it was an open place but every day it seems to be more difficult. I cannot tell you in black and white but I prefer to tell you nothing is impossible. We have more work to do but under the guidance of Tot Raval we will be able to succeed irrespective of all hindrances and obstacles. We are in good company. We are with good people who want to take care of us. There are some black sheep amongst us and there are some black sheep in the government but the good people are in great majority. The majority always wins. But we need to work more, get more people, and prove to ourselves that we are capable. We need to prove it to ourselves in order to get recognition.

41 **UG:** But it really depends on Tot Raval?

42 **HJ:** Tot Raval is very important—it is the heart and brain of Raval.

43 **UG:** Is the neighborhood more like different people living next to each other without interaction?

44 **HJ:** In the presence of Tot Raval, it is more interactive. In their absence, nobody knows each other.

45 **UG:** I would think if you do projects together with other people and you see each other on the street once the project is finished you still know each other.

46 **HJ:** Non, and that's a big pity. It is improving but we should appreciate that once a project is done, at least we have a project. If we are very smart, we never lose our contacts. And we are smart, at least one side of the people is smart.

47 **UG:** Are you getting younger generations to continue your work?

48 **HJ:** The younger generation is very good and loyal to both sides, the countries of origin and the host country. They do not have a language barrier so it is easy for them. They have friends, they have an education. They are not necessarily mixing but the separation is not that strict. They can mix if somebody does a workshop etc. It is easier and less work to involve the younger generation. It is less work but important.

49 **UG:** So the problem lies with the older generation, the first generation immigrants?

50 **HJ:** Exactly, first and second.

51 **UG:** How long have you been here?

52 **HJ:** Here 13 years and before that in Madrid 5 years. So almost 17 years.

53 **UG:** Do you perceive the public space around MACBA different to Rambla del Raval? For instance, Plaça dels Àngels seems to be used by different people …

54 **HJ:** But it is not for us. They never gave us permission. We never got a permission to stay at Rambla, we never got a permission to stay at MACBA [note: refers here to Pakistani Independence Day celebration on 14th August]. They always give this place to religious people from Pakistan. Why? I don't know.

55 **UG:** Religious groups are more likely to get the opportunity, or even permission, to use the space?

56 **HJ:** Yes, because they are the majority. Elections are quantitative and they have more numbers because at least 10 000 people go to the mosque to pray, only men. So the government thinks the imam, the organizer of the mosque, should also be given all the privileges to organize social events, which is not correct. Are they stupid? Non. But maybe I am stupid. I always raise my voice. But they think I think it's true. They made me believe that that is how things are and that they are very important. I never thought that they are important, the mosque people. But my transformation is that now it makes me believe that they are important. This is my transformation done by the governmental authorities.

57 **UG:** Do some of the women experience problems because they are participating?

58 **HJ:** Many women have problems to interact with me because their husbands think if they come to me they will change. So many men say: 'if you go to Huma, don't come back home.'

59 **UG:** Have you tried to do something together with these religious groups?

60 **HJ:** Yes, a lot. We paid them directly and they accepted the money. But it's not the religion itself, it is the religious power. They use religion as power to make women invisible. [note: shows image of independence day celebration in front of MACBA in 2013] Look, this year only men!

61 **UG:** So this is the Pakistani Independence Day gathering …

62 **HJ:** Every year we ask for permission but only for ten minutes [we were allowed to be on stage in 2008].

63 **HJ:** [note: shows images of Pakistani women handing over cartons with eggs to three government officials] If you don't like an event you want to throw eggs but we are cultured.

64 **UG:** You don't throw them—you give.

65 **HJ:** Yes. If you say this place is not for me and not for you, are you going to make it dirty? Non, this is bad. We didn't want to do that, but we might do it next year. This year we gave them with respect. They asked: 'what is this?' We said: 'this is a gift.' 'In your country you give eggs?' 'Yes, it will bring you good luck.' But next year, we might present them on stage in the middle of the act. The year after, I don't know. We might break them, not to ruin the place but to as a symbolic gesture.

66 **UG:** Did they understand the gesture?

67 **HJ:** What do you think? Look at the smiles on the photo. Yes, they understood.

68 **UG:** How many women actively participate on a regular basis?

69 **HJ:** 300.

70   **UG:** That's a lot. There must be a lot of angry men in the background.

71   **HJ:** Yes.

72   **UG:** The photo you were showing before, the festivities on Plaça dels Àngels, is there no option of doing it together?

73   **HJ:** We did when we paid for it, but they were so angry. That was 2008. They didn't repeat it. Have a look at the images, how angry they were. You can see it. These are the mafia people.

74   **UG:** And you had to pay them?

75   **HJ:** Yes, and they only allowed us ten minutes. Instead of improving the visibility of women we are going in descending order.

76   **UG:** Why did you choose Plaça dels Àngels? Is it always there?

77   **HJ:** Non, the local government gave it to us. First, it was at Rambla del Raval.

78   **UG:** And you couldn't do it there?

79   **HJ:** They don't give it to anybody now because they think Rambla is more touristic.

80   **UG:** Which space would you prefer in Raval?

81   **HJ:** This year, I wanted to organize this festival here at Plaça Sant Agustí. I have organized it there once, three years ago. But till the last day, [the city council was] saying they may or may not give me the permission. Finally, on the 14th they said: 'ok, we think we can give you the space if you bring an additional insurance policy before 1pm.' They called me at quarter past 12.

82   **UG:** That is ridiculous. But you were saying you are a member of the immigrant council, so you would have some connections to the city government yourself.

83   **HJ:** Yes, in the policy-making, I am part of the city council. I have very good connections but I have only one vote.

84   **UG:** That's the trouble with democracy, isn't it?

85   **HJ:** I always work with politicians and have good connections to the American and British consulate, to different institutions but the problem is that nobody wants to [get their hands dirty] if they don't find gold in the end. It is a lot of work to work with women because they are vulnerable, they are less educated, they are less intelligent. Actually, non, we are not but we need more time. This is the perception of the people. So no one wants to [get their hands dirty]. [note: Huma uses the expression of dipping ones hands in a bowl of water.]

86   **UG:** Does the city government provide any mediators? Anyone that could work with the neighborhood?

87   **HJ:** Nobody. Núria Paricio asked me many times if she can do mediations. Let's see.

88   **UG:** Are you familiar with the *Pla de barris Raval Sud*? It has been running for two years and apart from infrastructural projects, I believe they are involved in participation as well.

89   **HJ:** It is more theoretical, written policies. They never implement anything. They have a lot of money to write. Our NGO, we work on a grassroot level. Nobody pays us anything. We do it out of our own pockets. The government helps us very little, we need to come up with at least 90% of our own money and then we get the rest from the government. And to justify this money, we need to write and explain, for which we need to spend more money than we get. But we do it because without it we wouldn't have access to governmental institutions.

90   **UG:** Has this process of acquiring financial support from the government gotten more complicated or easier over the years that you have been doing it?

91   **HJ:** It is different. Some things are made more difficult, and others have become easier. But you need to update yourself. If you don't, you are out of the picture.

92   **UG:** The political change in recent years from socialist to conservative, did that have an impact?

93   **HJ:** Yes, they are more right-winged now. They put more emphasis on their own people. I tell you honestly, we don't mind it, it is their right. We don't want our share, non, we want them to listen to what we have to say. They do, but they don't react afterwards. They acknowledge and reply to make us comfortable, but then nothing, we are left waiting. They are human beings, they are politicians, they are the administration and they are working hard but they are not so effective at controlling the people.

[…]

106 **UG:** The campaign *Volem un barri digne* has been initiated by people with nationalist or right-winged political interests, people who moved here with false imaginations. They thought it was all going to be 'cleaned up' and then they got disappointed as it is still mixed and diverse. Is this poster campaign still an issue?

107 **HJ:** In all these initiatives they are trying to make the right-winged people happy. This is unpleasant for me and other immigrants. But it is their country, their place, they have the right to think that way. If they want to make it more dignified, more respectable by imposing their own culture [on us] then it is their right to do so but without disturbing us, without making us invisible, without snatching our rights.

108 **UG:** Isn't that the consequence though? If they want to push their rights, it means taking away yours.

109 **HJ:** Yes.

110 **UG:** These people are living here. Wouldn't it be likely to get involved in some sort of joint project?

111 **HJ:** They don't want to. We want to, of course. We have already participated in different projects with them.

[…]

Interviewee: István Schneller, Prof. of Urban Planning and Design, Corvinus University
                   Chief architect of Budapest between 1994 and 2006
Date: September 2, 2013
Place: Corvinus University, Ménesi út 44, 1118 Budapest

1   **UG:** During your time as chief architect of Budapest, the 12 consecutive years between 1994 and 2006, to what extent were you involved in the regeneration of the 8th district?

2   **IS:** It is a difficult question. The rehabilitation of the old city parts began relatively late after the system change. The former state-owned housing stock was given to the districts, and not to the capital of Budapest. The districts had ownership rights and started privatizing the housing stock. The leadership of the capital said: we don't have anything to do, the housing stock went to the districts, they have to take care of it. There was a rushed privatization. People wanted to buy their flats because they feared that the districts might give it to private investors who will increase the prices. So it seemed better to buy immediately and it was relatively cheap. The district sold for a third of the market value and people had to pay only 10 or 20% in cash and could take a long-term loan for the rest. So a lot of people bought. Personally, I know that this was a mistake. It was not a good position for the capital to be in. They had nothing to do with the housing stock anymore but if the housing stock is going down in one district you have better off people moving away and poorer people moving in. Around 1995, we made a study called 'Renewal of Budapest' and it was a great success. We achieved that the capital created a fund for subsidizing the rehabilitation of old houses, firstly only condominiums. The greatest part of the housing stock was turned into condominiums because it was not privatized as a whole house by house, but flat by flat. Therefore, large houses had a mixed ownership—these were the condominiums. At the same time, the state formed a legislation that 50% of the privatization income that the districts made by selling the flats should be paid to the capital. They had to pay but in reality not every district did. This way the fund came into existence. In the first years, subsidies were only for condominiums and then we extended it to so called rehabilitation areas. There was a city plan were we defined rehabilitation action areas. What was to be defined an action area was an agreement between the capital and the district. The first action area was in the 9ᵗʰ district, and the second or third was Józsefváros but it was very different from the 9ᵗʰ district. In Ferencváros, there was a clever mayor who did not sell the flats to the people. He held it in the ownership of the district and tried to renew the whole area house by house. They created a societé according to a French model, the SEM IX [note: Sociétés d'économie mixte], an independent company partially owned by a French investor and partially by the district. It had the right to sell vacant plots. There was a relatively high number of vacant plots, or not really vacant but with old buildings that were demolished by the district. They sold it to private investors plot by plot. In the 8ᵗʰ district it was different. They were very poor and tried to sell the whole site to one investor.

3   **UG:** So in Ferencváros it was a public-private-partnership selling all the plots.

4   **IS:** Yes, it was a public-private-partnership. There were houses that belonged to the municipality only, there were condominiums and there were vacant plots. Vacant plots were given to this company and they sold it to investors. A lot of investors, not just one. That was the greatest difference compared to the 8th district because Józsefváros sold the whole area [of Corvin] to one investor. Now, if you wanted to appoint a site as a rehabilitation action area, you had to make a physical plan for it. Then it was approved by the city and by the district. [The Corvin plan] was approved with a 3.0 floor area ratio. They sold it to an investor on that condition. Before that there were debates on professional level. And there was opposition, and I was one of those who opposed it. I tried to hold it because I thought that Józsefváros was very poor and that you had to make a greater change there than in the 9ᵗʰ district. Also in this scheme you had to destroy more buildings than in Ferencváros, where the street and block system remained the same, only the plots were changed. In Józsefváros some of the streets were changed to make room for the so called promenade. After approving the plan, the district sold the area to an investor who tried to increase the floor area ratio and he was successful because of his good connections to the political leaders. I tried to count once and I believe he gained more than 1 billion Forints with that measure. I cannot tell you exactly but close to the boulevard the ratio is up to 4.5 now, and behind it around 4. With the Corvin project began an activity, which was not a rehabilitation anymore. And when they applied for the subsidy, I opposed it. I told them that they could not get a subsidy from the capital because it is not a rehabilitation project, it is property development. Still today, I say it is not rehabilitation. It is property development in an existing context and they destroyed almost everything on the site and built new buildings. It has a different street system now. That is not rehabilitation. Maybe you can call it reconstruction, or renewal. At that time, in this one instance, I managed to prevent them from getting the subsidy but after that because of strong political connections they got subsidies from this rehabilitation fund as well. They gained leadership in the district and got universities from the United States to do competitions on [the design of] public space. They tried to hide this robbery with the help of architecture, fountains, and

green spaces. They call it Corvin Promenade but if you visit it you can see that at the beginning of the promenade there is a shopping mall. You can access the promenade through a shopping mall—that is a crazy idea. And the shopping mall cuts the streets behind. So it's not a rehabilitation, it is property development. It is not a promenade, it is a shopping mall which is enclosed. And when you step out behind the mall, you find yourself in a nowhere land, which could be anywhere in the world. This is not Józsefváros, of course. They had the political strength to rename the metro station. It used to be Ferenc körút, now it is Corvin-negyed station. So they achieved a lot. And I have to tell you that I left the position as chief architect in 2006 because of things like that, not just Corvin-negyed but there were a lot of political and economic decisions, which were made only with a very strong political background. I did not want to take part in that from a professional side. I think Corvin is a very bad development. You can see the housing estate behind it. This was one of the first inner-city housing estates [note: Baross street area] and it is very similar to the Corvin buildings. Of course, Corvin has better materials, balconies, and colors but it is very similar to a housing estate in my opinion.

5   **UG:** That is an intriguing thought. I will keep it in mind.

6   **IS:** They are very similar if you compare the massing. I do a course with my students in which I compare the two regeneration schemes and emphasize the differences—Ferencváros as a relatively good rehabilitation, Corvin as a bad one. Why did you choose that?

7   **UG:** I chose Józsefváros. Not just Corvin but also Magdolna.

8   **IS:** Yes, Magdolna is better. And also close to Corvin there are better projects, for example individual buildings in Práter street.

9   **UG:** I think some of the buildings in Práter street were actually used to relocate the residents of the Corvin project. Magdolna is definitely more of a focus, especially with the Mátyás Square renewal and the participatory planning process. Just to clarify, when you say '*they* had political connections,' you mean the project developer?

10   **IS:** Yes. It is a group: Futureal. They had very strong political connections and they also tried to do projects in other parts of the city. They became a property developer. I told the rehabilitation manager, if you draw up a plan with a 3.0 floor area ratio and sell the plots based on that plan and afterwards you increase the ratio then you stole money from the public and put it into the pockets of the developer. This is what happened.

11   **UG:** And they tried to apply for the subsidy afterwards?

12   **IS:** I cannot tell you exactly the dates but they demolished the buildings, put new infrastructure in the ground, constructed roads, and so on. In which phase they asked for the subsidy, I don't remember exactly. Of course, officially they applied for the subsidy for the demolition work, the new infrastructure, moving the people to new buildings, etc. In my opinion, this is not a rehabilitation project. If you are a developer and buy a plot where a lot of people live and you want to relocate them, then you have to pay for it. This is not a rehabilitation, it is a property development, which has a fee. That was the debate. It is a property development, which has costs: the price of the plot, the flats where you want to relocate people to, the ten-story high buildings, etc. There are some very interesting examples where a historic building is joined to a new one. [note: shows pictures of façades and central promenade] I call the promenade: Nowhere land.

13   **UG:** Initially, the municipality's main task was to set up a legal framework with the help of the subsidy.

14   **IS:** And we tried to extend it. The Chairman of the Housing Committee, Péter Győri, only wanted to subsidize condominiums at first. He said, the main task would be to provide people with money so they could renovate their houses. But step by step, we achieved that the fund could not only be used for the renewal of flats but also for the renewal of public areas. So the fund became broader and broader. In my opinion, that was a good process because I think that the renewal of public space can help the renewal of houses without public money. It happened in Váci street and Ráday street. The public areas were renewed and the houses renewed themselves afterwards. There was a big debate in the capital where and how we should help, the rehabilitation of houses or the rehabilitation of the public domain.

15   **UG:** If you look at Mátyás Square within the Magdolna Program, one of the starting points was renewing the square together with the inhabitants. The planners were trying to make people stay in the quarter, create an identity with the place, and as a long-term effect, maybe get them to renew the houses themselves. You mentioned that it worked in Váci utca, do you think it might work in Magdolna?

16   **IS:** It is very different. Southern Váci street was the first location in our period, which was turned into a pedestrian area. And in that case, the old image helped. After we installed the pedestrian street, the shops and condominiums started renewing themselves. Some shops changed, luxury shops came in, new restaurants, and so on. The process went on by itself. Ráday street is another example, almost

the same situation. A very big subsidy went to the renewal of the street, and the shops, cafes started renewing themselves. But in Magdolna I think it does not work that easily because if the people do not have the financial strength to renew their houses, you can even cover the street with granite and nothing would happen. I cannot answer this question exactly, where it works and where it does not. I had a PhD student who was examining how the public area renewal could increase the prices of properties but he didn't make it because it is a very complicated question. I don't know how you can measure it exactly.

17   **UG:** I think you cannot only measure it in terms of money. There are a lot of other factors that must be considered. For example, the different social groups in a certain area seem to have a large impact.

18   **IS:** The social groups and the proximity of other parks. We did a study on gated communities. The developer said, if there is a park in close proximity, he can sell [the houses] without making any efforts of renewing the public areas. There are so many reasons why people want to live there and it is not clear what the role of the public space might be. I argued with the investors: why don't you make a coffee shop at the corner. There was one fellow who told me: István, these people who come to live here, they don't want to go out to a café at the corner. They want to drive home in their big cars, into the garage. And if they want to buy something, they go to the big shopping centers. They want a gated community with a secure fence and they don't want to deal with the outside [world]. This is not entirely true, of course, but it has a strong impact. The question of public space is an interesting question, but difficult. […] Another example: the house where I live is a condominium and I tried to convince the people that we should apply for the subsidy so we can renew the house and the flats would increase in value. But not every city part has the financial strength to renew houses once the public areas are renewed. I cannot tell you where it can happen and where it cannot. The area matters. In Ferencváros, prices doubled after the renewal of the district. On the Buda side, they were always higher and now Ferencváros is almost the same because the blocks themselves and the public areas were renewed. But I am not convinced that this would be enough in the Magdolna Quarter.

19   **UG:** And I am not sure whether that is the objective that should be achieved. First of all, it is important to achieve a certain quality of life and it seems that the project did have some success in this respect but there are still problems such as maintaining the results. […] You mentioned that, following the political and socioeconomic change in 1989, privatization but also suburbanization was an issue.

20   **IS:** Suburbanization was perhaps the greatest problem. You cannot find such an extreme leave of the city as in Budapest. It had a population of 2 million and now it is down to 1.7. So almost 300 000 people left [the city] but most of them are still commuting to work. It was a very negative effect and the rehabilitation itself, as in Ferencváros, was very important to keep the people in the city. It was the biggest challenge after the system change. [Suburbanization] caused a lot of problems in public transport, individual transport, and air pollution. It was a great problem for Józsefváros too because a lot of poor people moved to Józsefváros after the system change. The residents who could afford it moved further out and sold flats to people who were poorer, of course. Or some offices moved in but that occurred more in the 5th district. So the suburbanization caused a lot of problems inside the city. And in 1996, the shopping centers started coming. There were two at first: Pólus Center and Duna Plaza and after that there was a shopping center boom. I think it went parallel to suburbanization and gated communities because those people who want to live in gated communities or garden city like settlements had to go to the shopping centers because there weren't any facilities in the areas where they moved to. The boom worked together with the suburbanization. And it did not help the rehabilitation of the city. Before I quit the job as chief architect, I proposed to start the program 'Heart of Budapest'. It is a program especially for public space rehabilitation (e.g., Károlyi Mihály street, Vörösmarty square, Erzsébet square, etc). And we thought we could oppose this process of people moving outward if we renew the inner parts of the city, especially public areas. We designed a lot of pedestrian areas and mixed-use areas. It was very well thought through. We saw the shopping centers and housing estates, mainly on the edge of the city, and we knew: if we want to do something, we have to renew the public areas in the city. And not only public areas but also parks and green courtyards.

21   **UG:** Interesting aspect: to oppose suburbanization by renewing the public spaces of the inner city. How did you finance the project?

22   **IS:** There was an urban planning and architectural competition and after that we applied for EU funds. And a big part of the 'Heart of Budapest' rehabilitation program was financed by EU subsidies. […]

23   **UG:** Were there any control mechanisms that could be applied to limit suburbanization? Apart from renewing the city center (e.g., through public space regeneration), where there any other measures that were in place or that you think should have been in place to work against suburbanization?

24   **IS:** Yes, there was a very important law introduced in 1996. It was a very modern law. We called it *Territory Development Law* and it defined that in two areas of Hungary—the agglomeration of Budapest and the agglomeration of lake Balaton—a land use plan had to be made and approved by

the parliament. But there was a lot of political opposition and ten years after the law, the first plan was approved. During these ten years, everything developed in an uncontrolled manner; the damage was done. There were a lot of political actors and representatives who wanted to stop the approval of this plan, especially in Budapest. A lot of former agricultural land was transformed into built-up land, or potential built-up land. Whether you can build on a plot or not is a major difference in the structure plan. If you turn an agricultural land into a 'to be built on' area, you increase the price of the land by about ten times. In almost all the settlements around Budapest they changed a lot and tried to get investors to build housing estates or shopping centers.

25   **UG:** That was enforced by the individual settlements.

26   **IS:** Yes. The settlements. They are not part of Budapest. They are outside of Budapest but they are part of the agglomeration. At first, the parliament did not approve the plan to stop this development and when they did approve it almost everything was already decided. It would have been a very good way not to stop the process, but to slow it down. When you go out to Budaörs or when you come in from Vienna on the motorway—Budaörs is a large shopping center. Budapest could not stop it. The agglomeration plan was approved afterwards so they could do whatever they wanted.

27   **UG:** So in 1996 the law was enacted and in 2006 the plan was approved.

28   **IS:** Yes, it was approved 9 or 10 years later. Another problem was that the industry was also privatized. A large part of the industry went bankrupt and new industrial plants were sometimes placed on green areas or former agricultural land outside the city. They attracted people to work and live there. The renewal of brownfield areas seemed too expensive. There are some successful projects but there are a lot of underused brownfield areas, which should have been rehabilitated but because the industrial land was privatized, the public could not do anything. The state sold the industrial land to somebody who then left it to decay or did whatever. We could not tell investors to not go to Budaörs and to stay in the city instead and renew a brownfield area. They were often contaminated but there weren't any state subsidies available for industrial renewal and the capital was poor. We could subsidize only residential areas, not industrial ones. So part of the industry went out and the suburbanization, or de-urbanization, happened very quickly.

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Interviewee: Zoltán Kovács, Prof. of Human Geography, University of Szeged
              Scientific Advisor, Geographical Research Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Date: August 26, 2013
Place: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budaörsi útca 45, 1112 Budapest

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1   **UG:** The regeneration of Józsefváros consists of various individual projects. It started with the Corvin Promenade, the Magdolna Renewal Program, and more recently the Belváros Program. You have written on the matter of urban development together with György Alföldi, to what extent have you been involved in the Józsefváros project?

2   **ZK:** I am not a practitioner. I am basically a scientist. And in that respect, I have been involved in various national and international research projects focusing on urban transformation. Let me recall one of them: a EU funded project called NEHOM, an abbreviation for Neighborhood Housing Models. It was running from November 1999 and we finished in summer 2003. […] In this EU project, in 11 different cities all over Europe, we gathered neighborhood initiatives, which were designed to lower the level of segregation, create a social mix, and implement strategies against social exclusion. At that time, combating social exclusion was one of the priority areas of EU research and action. Here in Budapest, I had to find initiatives. In the late 90s, there were very few but we could find four initiatives, and one of them was the Rév8 neighborhood development. It was not Magdolna; Magdolna started later, next to the Corvin-Szigony Project. Corvin was still in its early stages. There was no development at all but in the neighboring streets regeneration had started. So that was one of the model projects from Budapest. […] The main aim was [to focus on] initiatives, which seemed to be useful to combat social exclusion. So that project was the first one and since then I have been in contact with Alföldi. And even one of my former students of Budapest University got employed by Rév8 in 2004 when he graduated. That means there are also some kind of personal contacts with them. I keep an eye on the development in Józsefváros but as I said, I was not involved in any of the projects [as a planner]. We had good contacts, good relationships. And a couple of years ago, I was Secretary General of the Hungarian Geographical Society and we decided to do an exhibition. Every year, in April, there is the 'Day of the Earth' and we had to find a place for the exhibition. I called up Alföldi and we did this exhibition at Mátyás Square. So this is not research, just campaigning, public participation. We have been doing very different kinds of action together but I am not a practitioner.

3   **UG:** While Corvin Promenade started off as a development project including high-end residential space, a shopping mall, and so on, the Magdolna Renewal Program had distinct objectives regarding social improvements. Can you summarize what these were?

4   **ZK:** This was designed according to the [scheme] 'Soziale Stadt.' It aimed at improving the residential environment while at the same time, as a benchmark, keeping at least 75% of the long-term residents on the site. Of course, if you look around at, for example, the Ferencváros regeneration project SEM IX, that was sheer gentrification. No social content or social objectives seriously taken into consideration. The same actually with the Corvin-Szigony project. It is a real-estate-upgrade type of regeneration. Like all around the world. Old buildings get knocked down, long-term residents get pushed out, many of them Roma, and new up-market offices, business and housing developments are realized. Now Magdolna together with some other small-scale initiatives … there were three social regeneration projects at the time supported by Budapest town hall. And Magdolna was, in my opinion, the most successful one. It was seen as a model project, a flagship project. There were subprograms of the main project dealing with security, social cohesion, public participation, upgrading the buildings, upgrading the public space. There were so many targets in this project. And there were some external resources involved as well, so not just local but also EU and other money. I know some of the specifics of the subprograms but I am not an expert on this. Like the 'glove factory,' the Kesztyűgyár project, which functions as a community center. The Roma and the poor who are living in the quarter can use it as a community space, where they can have their festivities, their public hearings, etc., maybe even for family weddings. Actually living in the neighborhood, they develop a special kind of identity. [Planners and administrative officials] decided to strengthen that through this glove factory brownfield regeneration project. This is good for the whole community. [People] feel attached to the neighborhood. They appreciate the environment more; they look after the environment, not destroying the benches or the park. Like the regeneration of the Mátyás tér, which was also very successful. And there were other successful subprograms like employing the long-term unemployed or training the Roma. There were several subprojects under this umbrella of Magdolna social rehabilitation.

5   **UG:** You mentioned already that gentrification was an issue with the Corvin Project. If you look at Magdolna, how would you describe the social demographics before and after renewal?

6   **ZK:** We don't have precise Census data on a block level yet. In Hungary, the Census was carried out in November 2011. Data on district level is available, but small-scale level data will not be available

until late autumn this year. I am also very curious to see the dimension of the changes. Changes of the housing stock, the social composition, the demographic composition of residents, social status, if possible. Obviously, when you walk around, Magdolna has not changed so abruptly and dramatically as, for instance, Corvin Szigony and SEM IX, where recently you can see very well the dramatic changes. Old housing got knocked down, not even refurbished because they were structurally useless or of no architectural value. They pulled it down and erected new ones. In Magdolna, that's not the case. There were vacant, abandoned plots. Józsefváros was famous for its vacant plots. There was a building, then vacant plot, then building. So they could use these vacant plots and didn't need to relocate people. They could construct relatively high quality new housing, also for social purposes like public housing. But this is a topic I am not very well informed about because I don't know about the public housing policy of Józsefváros. I don't know how they are handling it but I know how that they opposed privatization. That was the district were they intentionally and strategically slowed down privatization. They didn't want to get rid of all the public housing. On the one hand, of course, some houses were in such a bad condition that they could not be sold, but on the other hand, they also had the strategy to keep public housing, which provided them with more freedom and opportunities to carry out this social regeneration program.

7   **UG:** So there was a policy on district government level.

8   **ZK:** Yes. In Budapest, we have a two-tier administrative system. The districts are very strong players. We have 23 districts and according to the law these 23 districts have equal rights to the Budapest town hall. So Budapest as a unit exists on the map, but politically only to 50%. Because the other 50%, at least, are the 23 districts. Districts are able to implement their own public housing policy or regeneration policy. They are the owners of the land [in the sense of control]. So therefore, we always have to consider the very local context. And in this respect, there are enormous differences among the districts. The 9th district, Ferencváros, followed one type of urban policy, Józsefváros followed another one, Erzebetváros another one. So in all these inner city districts there were tremendous differences. It is a complex mosaic of different policies. And embedded in that very complex mosaic, Józsefváros is one example, one type of policy, which was ok, I think. Ferencváros was of course more successful, in that respect that the physical environment got upgraded relatively quickly and smoothly and the district managed to convert that area from a poor run-down, highly segregated neighborhood to a middle-class, nicely renovated, relatively young neighborhood. So within the relatively short time of 10, 15 years they created from a bunch of social problems: people living of social aid, high crime rate, etc, an environment, which is now less problematic and has dynamism. Józsefváros was different. They regarded the social aspect very seriously as part of future urban regeneration.

9   **UG:** Do you think the experience of Ferencváros had an influence on the Józsefváros project?

10   **ZK:** Well, certainly. I don't know the local political context of 10, 15 years ago but I think they saw that—again you will get a more precise answer to your question from other experts—this kind of market-based regeneration like the Corvin Promenade could be carried out. So they were not against converting a neighborhood of poverty into a cosmopolitan, globalized business-residential-neighborhood but they said, aside that, we also have to look after our poor. That was not just a slogan as often employed by politicians so that they cannot be accused of being a pro-gentrification politician. They took it seriously and in the meantime, the Magdolna project became famous, also because of the EU and all these other networks. The project was used as a model project. It became famous and, as far as I know, they managed to receive money from the EU and other sources.

11   **UG:** Actually, higher level funds as well. The second part of the Magdolna Program was financed on a national level, through the Hungarian Development Plan, not by the city of Budapest anymore and not by the district. Do you think that this has affected the role Rév8 played in the project? They are a local player and now the funding came from national and international sources. Do you think that has changed anything in their decision-making, their capabilities to influence the process?

12   **ZK:** Yes, I think so. I mean if you want to make a successful project, you have to put more sticks into the fire in order to have the chance to get money from all possible sources. You have to apply. And they did it very professionally. And they learned how to do it. Of course, that is only secondary information from my former student, Dániel. Previously, in 2010, there was a reshuffle in local politics. The mayor of Józsefváros quit politics. Later he was independent, but in the beginning it was the liberal party. And then in 2010, the conservative party won the elections and they wanted to stop Rév8 and abolish them. But Corvin Szigony was already running. They kept Rév8 not so much for Magdolna or further development, but to coordinate Corvin Szigony. […] And then only last year, Rév8 said, now the situation is back to normal […], we have a lot of funds. The project will definitely run full speed over the next two or three years. That was good to hear because I think it is a very successful project and also important as a model of how to implement such a complex, socially oriented urban rehabilitation project. Not just for Budapest, but also for other Hungarian and maybe post-socialist cities.

[…]

17   **UG:** Would you describe the regeneration area as socially fragmented or cohesive?

18   **ZK:** I don't know. It is a very difficult question. Magdolna, I don't know. Józsefváros as a whole is very diversified but this diversity was built in. If you take the very inner part, the area surrounding the National Museum with the palaces of rich Hungarian aristocrats and noble families, this area has always been upper middle-class. It has always been high prestige whereas the Magdolna Quarter has always been rather poor and dilapidated. Further out you will find the civil servant estate, a low-rise area with villas, single family homes, and lots of green. It has always been middle class. So the district of Józsefváros consists of many different parts in terms of built environments and social milieus. This kind of fragmented pattern, as you said, is the legacy of the past. Throughout the last 150 years, the district was built in so many different ways and parts, this renders it the perfect laboratory for all kinds of urban research.

19   **UG:** Corvin Promenade is a shopping area accompanied by high-end or mid-end residential space and offices, which also attracts people from other districts. Magdolna, on the other hand, seemed rather enclosed and very local like: this is for the community. On Mátyás Square, there were families with kids. And when you move further toward the city center, you find a couple of squares, refurbished under the Belváros scheme, where it seems a lot more urban with business people walking around but also people begging for money. Overall, these areas were very different and I am wondering how these people interact in one district.

20   **ZK:** This is a good question. I don't think that people living in Dankó utca in the Magdolna Quarter, would often go to the very inner part with the nice pubs near the National Museum. They live in the same district but I don't think there should be a close relationship. If you live in a big city, the space that you use, your daily action space, is the neighborhood. Józsefváros, with nearly 100,000 inhabitants, is simply too big. You don't use the whole district. You use your neighborhood and maybe other parts of Budapest, of course. The cohesion within the district is not as strong as compared to some peripheral districts of Budapest, which used to be independent settlements before 1950, when Greater Budapest was created. They say I am from xy and I have a xy mentality. This is an inner-city district with some peripheral zones, very complex and very diverse.

21   **UG:** But in comparison, these outer regions with a stronger local identity do not have the same ethnic diversity as Józsefváros.

22   **ZK:** No, they are not diversified in that respect.

23   **UG:** Are you aware of any problems or conflicts in the neighborhood that would require further attention or a continuation of the project?

24   **ZK:** I haven't heard of any. Yes, of course, the Corvin project has caused a lot of side conflicts but in the meantime, I think they have been solved. I cannot name any specific problem, which should have been on the agenda or has been discussed in the press attached to Magdolna.

25   **UG:** It has been perceived positively by the people. Was there a final evaluation of the project?

26   **ZK:** I don't know. But since it is a continuous project, there were phases, which might have been individually evaluated, I don't know. I was definitely not involved in such an evaluation. But as a whole, I am sure there was no evaluation at all. No one sat down and said: Ok, now let's make account of the last ten years. How much money was spent for what purposes and what is the outcome? There was no such kind of formal evaluation, which is a pity. I think it would be good to do so. The whole Rév8 activity should be evaluated—which is more than Magdolna.

27   **UG:** Absolutely, I agree because that could inform future planning efforts. As far as I understand, they started off managing and operating projects but then developed a stronger interest in integrating social aspects. The focus has changed and it would be great to have a look at why and how that happened. As I mentioned I am interested in the renewal of public areas in Józsefváros. Some of the common issues with regard to public space are privatization, regulation, and surveillance. To what extent does that apply to these spaces?

28   **ZK:** I don't know any serious tensions about the privatization of public space in Józsefváros. There is no gated community. I know there is a community garden movement. There are, I think, three areas. I don't know exactly but if you walk around you see it. For example close to Corvin Szigony is the Grund, more kind of a model project. And there is another one on Leonardo da Vinci street, which has not been reached yet by the new construction. Imagine the main shopping mall is behind you, on the right hand side is the Grund, which is a café, small playground and garden, and the next parallel street is the Leonardo da Vinci street, where there is also a small garden. So there is a gardening movement. The local people cultivated the land and use it for community purposes. It is not privatization in that sense, it is a positive example of how local people can strengthen the cohesion within the community

and use otherwise empty, vacant plots for some useful purpose. Also Magdolna, Mátyás Square. The square got fenced, which is not privatization. I don't know how seriously they close the gates of the park at night but, of course, all around Europe parks are closed for the night. It is normal. If the park is nicely upgraded, a playground constructed, plants, trees, and bushes put in, then you try to protect it. You don't just leave it for homeless people or I don't know whom. I don't know if that caused a conflict, this kind of closing the gates of Mátyás Square. As an outsider, I don't see it as discrimination, this is quite normal.

29 **UG:** I believe the residents were involved in refurbishing the square.

30 **ZK:** Yes, they actively participated. Planting trees, designing the space, where should we put the playground? Which functions do we need? If you talk to Dániel or György, they can tell you the story in detail. If the local residents are involved in the planning and construction from the very beginning, they appreciate it much more. They look after it much better. They keep it in better shape.

31 **UG:** They develop an identity with the place.

32 **ZK:** Yes, that's very important.

[…]

Interviewee:	György Alföldi, Director of Rév8
	Ass. Prof. at the Department of Urban Planning and Design, BME
Date:	August 29, 2013
Place:	Budapest University of Technology and Economics (BME)
	Muegyetem rkp. 3. K. II/93, 1111 Budapest, Hungary

1   **UG:** First, I would like to clarify your involvement in the Józsefváros regeneration project. You are not only a professor here at the Department of Urban Planning and Design but you are also working for Rév8. What exactly is your task within the company Rév8?

2   **GA:** Rév8 is a public company. The owners are the capital of Budapest and the municipality of Budapest and we prepare programs and collaborate with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Geography, Zoltán Kovács. And one my colleagues is Dániel Horváth, a very clever guy who very much likes the issue of urban movement and green space. For me, the main importance is the involvement [in the neighborhood], but Dániel and Zoltán very much like the green space. My responsibility in this project is to prepare a strategy for the entire neighborhood. This green space renewal is an important, but only one aspect of that. This movement is still not very mature in Hungary because we are a very young democracy. We have to learn, not only the tools but also the type of decision-making.

3   **UG:** So your position is that of a general planner?

4   **GA:** No, general manager. We prepared the program and there were seven subprograms at first. We collaborated with Corvinus University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, with Zoltán Kovács. I think we are the organizer. Our role is not very clear in that process. [note: drawing Municipality on one side, the local people on the other, and Rév8 in the middle.] We had a contract with the municipality and received our money from the municipality only. When the local people think about Rév8, they think we work with the municipality—we are the official side. But when we think about our role, we think that we are positioned with the locals. Because of this we have a divided mind. In Hungary, there was no law that could be applied in order to organize this situation. There was no law about the involvement and decision-making together with the people [note: participatory planning]. And on the other hand, people have a long tradition of living with hierarchies, without democracy. In Austria ..

5   **UG:** I am from East Germany actually.

6   **GA:** Ah, then you know. East Germany and the Soviet Block. And in Hungary, before that the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The Hungarian people think about the municipality as a place of power. So they considered Rév8 and the municipality as the political side and that they just do whatever they want. We tried to mediate in this situation but after a while we were very lonely. We had a lot of conflicts with the municipality. The municipality decided against us, and against the locals. We had a lot of conflicts with the locals because they think we are the municipality, and the municipality decided a lot of things against them. So where is the truth? This is I think a very ambivalent situation. I try to explain to my students that this is the first time to learn how we can work together with the locals. This is a basic democratic question. In Hungary, there are elections where we vote for parties and we vote for people—that is a type of democracy. But the involvement [of people in the project] is a type of sharing decisions and therefore a type of direct democracy. […]

7   **UG:** So your project is not only a rehabilitation of the area but it is also an educational process of learning of how to work together.

8   **GA:** Yes, in my opinion, the main aim is learning democracy, learning how to work together.

9   **UG:** And with that goal in mind, what was the single most important subprogram within the renewal project? Can you identify one aspect that was most influential in that sense?

10   **GA:** Our program is a regeneration program and before we prepared the program we were in Berlin and in Birmingham and we tried to learn and understand the situation between the formal democratic institutions and the informal democratic institutions. In Berlin, we visited the Kiez around Helmholtzplatz and we learned a lot. We saw that the main goal is anti-segregation, job seeking, and fighting against disadvantaged situations, inside the family and outside. Only the fourth or fifth goal was the renewal of public space and the physical structures of the city. But we saw that the most effective way would be to mix these programs. And across these programs we tried to understand how people live. We chose the most disadvantaged families and we tried to get to know their conflicts. We prepared some tools for the schools, across the social care system for improving that situation. Because we had a public program (educational program, social care, against crime) and a job seeking program (training new skills, support program for CV preparing, for internet use, and so on, to make them competitive in the job market). And we had a public green program and a public

tenements renewal program. And we tried to integrate these programs and use the knowledge and connection with the people in each one of them. Dániel and Zoltán received some money from INTERREG 7, I think it was, and we got a bit of money from the capital. We prepared this book [note: *Urban Green Book*] and we prepared the first steps of the renewal of Mátyás Square. And within this square renewal program, there were involvement forums and participatory planning. And in the other official program—the public housing renewal—we tried to involve the people in the physical work, in the implementation.

11   **UG:** Have you ever experienced a conflict between your professional view as a planner and the needs that residents put forward?

12   **GA:** There were four main actors in the game: the organizer Rév8, the designer, the locals, and the municipality. There was a conflict between all these players. We had a conflict with Tomasz, the designer, because our responsibility was the results, the new public surface. But the designers wanted to have this nice planning scheme without worrying about the budget and other conditions. And we had a conflict because they wanted to design a lot of things and prepared a lot of different proposals. I think that their main keyword was 'professional'. But we had not enough money for everything and we did not have enough time for everything. The conflict with the local people was that some things they did not want. There was a very interesting situation. We organized a Saturday morning meeting with the locals and showed them a lot of materials: brick, stone elements, concrete elements. We asked the people what they wanted, we asked them to choose, which one was the best, which one they wanted to see on the square. And people chose asphalt. Tomasz said, it's not good, we work together with them and try to push them to the most professional material. My opinion was that the decision is very important and I prefer the decision of locals to the decision of professionals. I asked our professionals to choose a very good asphalt which does not get uneven and rugged in the hot sun. Another conflict with locals was the little hill in the middle of Mátyás Square. They said the height of the hill should only be 1.4 m and when we designed the implementation plan, my colleagues and I thought this is too small for tobogganing in winter and we designed a bigger hill: 2.5m. The tenants went on strike and formed a petition against the 2.5m hill. I said: Yes, I was wrong. We demolished the excess height and it is now smaller. And another conflict was the public procurement, the tender for choosing the contractors. It is a long-term and hard process, which we had to prepare for. And the locals did not understand why we don't work: We spoke about everything, what are you waiting for? And not so much a conflict but very interesting were the first steps with the locals. We used an empty plan [draws outline of Mátyás square] and asked the people when we renew the square should we fence this square? They said: 'Yes, it will be good because in Dankó street there will be the biggest homeless center in the city and a lot of homeless people use this square every day. And a lot of young gangs destroy the square.' They said: 'Yes, it will be good. We open it in the morning and close it in the evening.' One wise old lady said, if we close the square at night, the homeless people will go into the courtyards and staircases of the houses. Because of that we decided with the people that one third of the square will remain empty [and unfenced]. This part is for people with dogs, homeless people, and everybody. And the other part will be closed and used by families with young children. We will close it at night. Another main question was the public toilet. Where will be the public toilet? We planned it in one place and people living in the house across said No. So we moved it to another corner and people living there said No. And at one corner, there was an empty plot [no residents] so we put it in that part of the square and people said Yes. In the second phase, we planned the public toilet. Our mayor does not like it but we try to open it.

13   **UG:** All these processes need time, money, and mediation skills …

14   **GA:** Not only skills but yes that is very important. I think it needs a legislative background. In the third phase we now try to design another square: Teleki ter. And if you have a look on facebook you can see that it is a very good process right now. A lot of people meet every Thursday evening [note: planning workshop with weekly meetings ended in July 2013] and prepare the plan with Dominika Tihanyi from Újirány Csoport. I think she is the main actor in Hungary in this movement, the public square renewal.

15   **UG:** Next to Teleki, there is a big construction project going on right now. What is it about? One part is the Lidl market …

16   **GA:** [note: draws the outline of Teleki Square] This is the square, this is Lidl, and this is going to be the local market [currently under construction]. The square is a big green space in a very bad condition.

17   **UG:** The regeneration is something that you initiated?

18   **GA:** Yes, but at first I set up a rule and gave it to the local municipality and they decide on it. And we have an agreement if the people together with Dominika prepare a plan, the municipality will accept this plan. There are the different scales of involvement: information, consultation … and the best one is sharing decision [note: Alföldi refers here to the ladder of participation, see Arnstein 1969]. At this moment, the municipality formed an agreement on sharing decision about this square. They agreed

to accept everything the local people want. When we did Mátyás Square, I was not strong enough to push the municipality to such an agreement. This is the main difference between the two programs [Mátyás and Teleki]. When we did Mátyás ter, we were very young we did not have so sophisticated skills in terms of what you mentioned. The municipality did not accept the decision of the people. This is the difference.

19   **UG:** At first, the implemented plan was not accepted by the municipality?

20   **GA:** The implemented plan was accepted but the process was not accepted.

21   **UG:** Meanwhile you have shown through your work that this process works. The municipality has changed its opinion about it.

22   **GA:** Yes. But there was also an election in between. Before, there were mainly Social Democrats in the council and then it was mainly conservative with a lot of new people. I think the political risk is the key element in the long-term process. In Hungary, every new council wants to decide everything and in opposition to the former council. I have been working for the municipality since 1997 and always one year after the elections we had to involve the politicians in the project. At first, they say you are robbers, you are not good, your concept is bad. And we try to understand their values and interests. We prepare a document for them to understand the project but every fourth year we have to start over again. This is the main problem.

23   **UG:** So, Mátyás Square is now a reference or model that you can use for future projects.

24   **GA:** Yes, we learned a lot. I understand that the technical question is very important but in Hungary, not only the technical matters, also the basic democratic, philosophical, and public service problems.

25   **UG:** Apart from these projects where you detect problems and start finding solutions, are you aware of any new initiatives that are put forward by the people themselves, where they come to you saying, we have an idea, we want to change this and that?

26   **GA:** This is a very interesting question. We had two programs, Magdolna Program I and Magdolna Program II. First with capital money and then with EU money. And before we started, both programs seemed to be very short-term with little money. We could not design for a long-term process but I think the main important thing is that a regeneration program is a long-term process. Each time we could only plan for four years ahead and in-between there were political changes. And we learned in the first program that we cannot connect the feedback to the new program, or only in a very ineffective way. Had we planned from 2004-2012, and had gotten some money for 8 years we would have prepared a different time and task schedule than the one we ended up doing. Our program was very complex but very short. And we learned a lot. The EU paper said, if you want EU money, you have to prepare the all the plans and designs beforehand. But if we prepare the whole plan in advance, what do we talk about with the people when we have the money? The municipality in Hungary thinks, we only work if the money is on the table. The EU said, you have to start the program then you get support. But our municipality was very clever. They paid a company, Rév8, and I have a lot of colleagues in geography, sociology, and the physical field. We know how to prepare these documents. We took some good visual steps […] but we had no chance to consult the people in this part of the process. So we prepared all the plans and we got the money. But when we talked to the people, they said: This is the plan? Yes. This is the decision? Yes. So what do we talk about? Why are we here? Where are our requirements considered? The basic diagram is: local and civil are on one side, and according to the civil, Rév8 and the municipality are on the other side. We asked the civil organizations to prepare subprograms and the rules of the game. And they said: 'Municipality, give us the money and after that we decide about the situation and the process.' Both sides were very hard and rigid. And Rév8 tried to be a dancer in-between and mediate but it was very challenging.

27   **UG:** What do you mean by 'civil'? Are these social institutions?

28   **GA:** No, social institutions are on the municipal side at this moment in Hungary. Everything is official at this moment and before 2010 it was mainly the same situation. A strong civil organization was e.g. The Young Green Association [NGOs]. They were very clever and very good. And we know that the sustainability of the programs needs civil organizations who try to play between the municipality and the local people. So we tried to [assist] the civil organizations and got a lawyer to prepare the association documents, e.g. the tenant association who are important because there are a lot of tenants in the flats. And the maintenance company of the municipality is a very old-fashioned company. We tried to manage the process and teach the people how to fight for their interest against the maintenance company. There are a lot of problems with the utilities of the buildings and the maintenance company made a big cost schedule. We taught the civil organizations how to control this process. But it was not successful. The people fight the association who fight against us, not the maintenance company or the municipality. They fight against us.

29   **UG:** […] Were the locals ever financially involved in the project?

30   **GA:** No, only in regard to the renewal of residential buildings. In the second phase, we worked with [private] condominiums and municipality buildings. The condominiums had to pay 10 or 20 percent [of the renewal costs] I think.

31   **UG:** You mentioned before that Mátyás Square used to be occupied by homeless people. Walking around the area, I saw a few older men hanging out in Magdolna street but mainly families with kids on Mátyás Square. Where did all the homeless people go?

32   **GA:** Well, the date is very important in this context. When we started the program in 2004. In 2010, the conservative party won the elections in all the municipalities and in the government. They thought, and our mayor as well, that homeless people do not [belong] in the streets and the public space. They prepared a plan to clear the public space of the homeless problem. And the people of our municipality prepared for a new homeless center in a different street, a new homeless support point. We tried to suck people to that point. But before 2010 the situation in Budapest was very interesting and very hard for our district because all the city's and municipalities' homeless problems concentrated on our district. There are a lot of homeless service centers and settlements concentrated in and around our territory. And the people of the district didn't like it but the former leaders of the city thought this was the best place for them. The new district mayor said [the high rate of homeless people] is not only our problem and we tried to move these people into the institution, into the homeless centers and out of the streets. We fought against the municipal policy of building a new homeless center very close to our neighborhood. We have a subprogram—a civil patrol—that asks every person in the street that seems to be homeless, what they are doing, whether they live in the area, or if they are going somewhere. I think you can see the result at this moment. The condition of our public space is better than before 2010.

33   **UG:** That means the homeless people are spread over different areas in the city?

34   **GA:** Maybe, I don't know. Here is another basic information for you. We have a two-tier system: the capital and the district. Some responsibilities and tasks lie with the capital, and some lie with the district. But the connection between the two is not so clear. The municipality of the capital sees the city as its city. They have a lot of ideas and they push institutions in the districts. But the district considers the capital as a metropolitan council. They think—and I do too— everything should be discussed because your problems are our problems, e.g. homeless people, prostitution, traffic, etc. It is not good for Budapest that the situation is not clear. It is a very big problem.

35   **UG:** I want to focus more on the public space, because we already talked about it for a bit. I found an intriguing thought in a book put forward by your Department called *Urban Renewal: Essays on Urban Design*. Your colleague Balint Kadar said, following the political change of 1989 and the rapid privatization, people are not used to utilizing public space. As a consequence, public space is underused or neglected. What do you think about that?

36   **GA:** I think my situation is very interesting because I work closely with the professional side and the municipality. Yet, I also try to understand in my academic mind. So I have a professional/municipality mind and an academic mind. I understand the process. I think Balint is an academic. He only has an academic experience. Academic people write a lot of things and they think they understand the process. And then they write a new one from this [office]. I think the main problem in public space is the two-tier system, the lack of legislative background, and the privatization of flats in general. […] And also the lack of knowledge or skills to organize this process [of participatory planning].

37   **UG:** Do you think this has improved since? It has been over twenty years and people have participated in these projects. Do you think they are more knowledgeable now?

38   **GA:** No. In 1989, Hungary thought we are going to Europe and at this moment, I think we are going somewhere, but not Western Europe. We worked very hard and we tried to meet reference points according to the Western process but the differences are getting bigger and bigger. That is a very big problem for me. The official thinking is very traditional. The thinking of people of the Magdolna Quarter is very traditional and they understand each other very well. And the academic thinking does not understand the needs of all the people. They are just close to the intellectuals. But the intellectual way of thinking is different to our people in Magdolna Quarter. I don't know the real solution. I don't know where we will go but I think we have to prepare our own tools for working with people. Another question is—and it's the same in Western Europe—that a lot of people come from somewhere else. There are a lot of migrants. In Western Europe, they come from other countries and continents. In Hungary, a lot of migrants come from the Hungarian plain and the Northeastern part of Hungary. The cultural and social backgrounds are very different. You can see that there are a lot of different habits that come together in public space. I think not only teaching is important for us, we also have to understand them. We cannot do this if we don't get some support from the official side. I think Balint has a truth but the problem is deeper than we think it is.

39   **UG:** Mátyás Square is not just a regeneration project, it is also a practice of involving people in the planning and implementation and putting them in charge of maintenance as well.

40   **GA:** Yes, the maintenance is the hardest and most important thing with regard to public space. We have to enable a lot of people to think together. How can we build up this program? How do we design the square? What do we want the surface to look like? We worked with the people, the implementation is very easy. One Saturday, everybody likes to do some work but to involve them in the [long-term] maintenance of the area: no way! We fenced the square and wanted money to guard it and tried to organize an association and wanted to support them financially. They guard it, they collect the litter, they try to work with the different people, Roma or not Roma, children and adults. They tried to mediate and play with the kids. But I think there are no such people who work in this situation. Now the money has run out and after two or three months the condition of the square went down. It was in a very bad condition. So I pleaded to the mayor to guard our results. And he gave us some money to guard it but the municipal guards are not so kind. They don't try to engage with the people. They only sit in their box and look from above. They don't do anything, only opening and closing the gate. But better than nothing.

41   **UG:** It was not possible to find someone in the community who would have done that?

42   **GA:** No.

43   **UG:** That seems little understandable given that they put in so much work.

44   **GA:** Yes, but people came from somewhere (e.g. southeast Hungary). They have no money, they have no job. They are mainly Roma, mainly young. And they don't have any role models.

45   **UG:** I understand. So it's the different backgrounds that makes it difficult.

46   **GA:** Yes, it's different backgrounds. They have bigger problems. They have no cultural background of working together. They don't like the place because they are poor. They want to escape from this territory. They don't like to live there.

47   **UG:** Do you think subprograms like the job training scheme have shown signs of success?

48   **GA:** Yes, but in Hungary, there has been a recession since 2008. And these people are the losers of the changes. A lot of people live in the quarter but only 10 or 15 percent have been living there for more than 10 years. This means there are a lot of new people. A very big de-migration wheel.

49   **UG:** Did the regeneration have any effect in terms of empowering people to do their own projects?

50   **GA:** Our district is the worst brand in the city. The 8th district is a nickname for poverty, crime, gipsy, and prostitution. But we cleared that to a large extent, only a few continue to work in the area. The Magdolna Quarter is the worst place of the city in this sense, with 12000 people. The municipality thought we have to do everything. We have another program the Corvin Szigony. It was our first program from but it's a private investor program. We cleared the plots mainly and looked for new investors. It was a pilot project for the municipality. It is the sign of our changes. Because our main condition was the bad, bad brand, the worst brand in the city. And the municipality said: Yes, Rév8 is a clever group. Prepare another program for Magdolna. And we saw the regeneration projects in Western Europe and tried to figure it out. Our first program was an experience program and from 2007, I think, Hungary got a lot of EU money and there was no other project at the time. So they asked us to prepare another project. This is the story of our programs. If you make a mirror to our programs these are the circumstances. This is the frame of the mirror. We know that if we had gotten another type of empowerment by the municipality from the start we would have prepared a better one, if we had gotten more money and time to understand the people, their interests and demands. If we had a guarantee from the municipality and the EU, we would prepare the program with the people. Give us some money, we would implement it. But at the moment, there is none. I think this is what I learnt from this program. We received a third fund this year. Very similar to the second one but we concentrate very much on communication this time. I pushed the municipality but only on one program they allowed us to work with the people and agreed to accept their decision. That is Teleki Square. With the other subprograms we do not communicate with the people only inform over homepages, political talks, or consultations but we don't involve them because we cannot.

51   **UG:** Financially?

52   **GA:** No, there is no will on the political side.

53   **UG:** Which I would think is linked to finances; they think it is too expensive.

54   **GA:** No, it is not logical. In Hungary, there is a big fight between the traditional [way of] thinking and the new [way of] thinking. At this moment, we want to prepare a fair program for the people and we don't promise them that we will talk about everything. We will talk about one place and with other places we consult and talk a lot but we cannot involve them in the implementation and decision-making.

[…]

1   **UG:** Who is taking part in the participatory process of regenerating Teleki Square? Social, ethnic, cultural groups? Professionals?

2   **KF:** All of the above. We did have some difficulty getting ethnic groups involved, which I think is perhaps one of the weakest points. Our design team was quite diverse in terms of education, age, interests, etc, which was great. And ultimately, we did have one Roma girl who was a regular part of the team. But it would have been better if we regularly had had several Roma and also if we had had some of the immigrant groups of the neighborhood. It would have better reflected the neighborhood. This is not unique to Budapest and it was not a shortcoming of the work of Dominika and the others. It's a problem everywhere—in the U.S. and I am sure in the rest of Europe too. It's not enough to just be friendly and open in theory, you have to know how to communicate and engage with different groups, which don't all think and communicate the same way we do. This is something that we should go into more deeply the next time. I had a friend who started a very nice English-language mother-and-baby group at the Kesztyűgyár, in theory targeting Roma mothers. She got a bunch of white Hungarians eager to learn English because the Roma mothers don't do things like go to mother-and-baby groups, they're too busy with housework and taking care of their families. And those are Hungarian speakers. We have all these other immigrant groups in the neighborhood that we did not know how to communicate with. It would have been great to have more diversity.

3   **UG:** Do you think there are people who are excluded from the community/ the planning process because of their gender, age, social status, ethnic background?

4   **KF:** I don't think anyone was excluded. Anyone would have been welcome. It is possible that some of the immigrant groups were in fact excluded by virtue of the fact that they don't communicate much in Hungarian.

5   **UG:** Would you describe the community as socially or culturally fragmented or cohesive?

6   **KF:** Interesting, I would say both. At the meetings, I saw people from very different backgrounds communicating very well with each other. At the same time, when you walk down Népszínház utca, which is the big street that leads from Teleki square to Blaha Lujza square and is kind of the axis of the neighborhood, you see all these different, very insular ethnic groups who are really not interacting much with the Hungarians, except perhaps in terms of commerce (a lot of them have shops or restaurants). There is, of course, a huge rift between at least some of the Roma and the non-Roma, but that is the case all over Europe.

7   **UG:** How do residents get involved?

8   **KF:** We had 10 meetings and they were encouraged to attend each meeting, or at least, as many as they could because so often the problem in the participatory process is the lack of consistency in attendance, which hinders progress in the decision-making process. The earlier meetings focused on lectures by us about the process itself, about community planning, and about the history of the neighborhood, but it became increasingly interactive. We also had on-site modeling with fun activities to keep people excited. This included doing small installations of posters with 'wish lists' written on them, as well as modeling things like the height of the stage and its seating, and figuring out where to place the benches to make people happy.

9   **UG:** How did you experience the process of starting to build a relationship with the neighborhood? Was it easy / difficult to connect with the local community?

10 **KF:** Not at all. They were so eager to finally get something done there. In fact, at the last meeting, one of the older ladies burst into tears saying she'd been waiting for this for 37 years. I think having the funding already available and having a design team with an established record for creating community spaces, helped establish a sense of trust and mutual commitment.

11 **UG:** How do you experience the cooperation with the renewal company Rév8?

12 **KF:** Dominika and the others can speak more clearly to this since I was hired by Dominika's team as an outside consultant and did not deal directly with the municipality. They hardly came to any meetings, but that doesn't mean they weren't encouraging of the process.

13 **UG:** Are you assisted by social workers or staff from the Kesztyűgyár community center?

14 **KF:** They were very helpful in providing us with the space. It would have been great if we could have engaged them in getting people from the neighborhood (i.e. Roma) to come to the meetings.

15 **UG:** With Mátyás square maintenance has been an issue as it was not possible to find someone within the community to continue the project. Are there already plans for the maintenance of Teleki?

16 **KF:** It will be part of the maintenance plan like all other spaces in district VIII, but what is exceptional here is that the residents formed their own association to help look out for the park. It's called the TTT, which translates roughly as Friends of Teleki Square. They set up membership and a facebook page, and I helped provide them with a mission and goals. I think this will seriously contribute to keeping the square in good condition and also developing it in terms of programming. In theory, this group would function as a go-between for the residents and the municipality, as an advocacy organization for keeping Teleki Square vibrant.

17 **UG:** Teleki is on the periphery of the Magdolna Quarter. Do people from other neighborhoods join the planning process?

18 **KF:** To my knowledge, most of the people who came to the meetings were from the immediate area. Most of them had Teleki Square addresses.

19 **UG:** Online platforms like the facebook page *Milyen legyen a Teleki tér?* inform about the project. Who is operating these platforms?

20 **KF:** Dominika and her team operated this facebook page and I think it was fantastic. And, surprisingly, even some of the pensioners were on facebook regularly. So, it was much more inclusive than you might have thought. It was a great way to exchange ideas and post current information about the project's status.

21 **UG:** You were also engaged in the Roma Parliament renewal scheme. How did that develop past the successful initial planning phase?

22 **KF:** The main result of that project was that by campaigning and calling the community's and authorities' attention to the site, we saved the building from demolition! No funding has been found for it since then so the project is parked for now. But we saved the building!! And it was also a very instructive experience for my landscape architecture students to cooperate with architecture students.

23 **UG:** I understand that you include defensible space theory by Oscar Newman in your design work, which means providing micro-spaces with clear ownership structure to improve the identity with and the longevity of projects. Would you oppose the idea of inherently undefined public spaces accessible to all and open to appropriation by different users?

24 **KF:** I think in very certain circumstances that can work. Look, for example, at Jan Gehl's work in Times Square. He created a blank slate, and let people fill it, before making it a permanent public open space. But Times Square is hardly an average site. I think defensible space can be applied in different degrees: it does not have to mean dividing a place up and semi-privatizing it, as Newman did in Clason Point. You can call some of the planning in Teleki Square defensible-space-style planning because we tried to create a series of spaces with clear functions for clear groups that will be easy for people to claim ownership of. Teleki, as it is, is so functionless and sort of lawless, there's no owner. The fact that it's in a high crime neighborhood adds to the problem. Here, people are afraid of places that are dark and empty. The new plan will make it into a series of 'rooms' so to speak that will attract groups of people who will feel a sense of ownership and stewardship.

25 **UG:** Participation as a form of direct democracy gained momentum in the 1970s (in Western countries) but its shortcomings became obvious in the exclusion of marginalized groups as knowledge is generally a prerequisite of participation. What is different today? What is different at Teleki?

26 **KF:** Very good question. We included a strong educational element in the process. Basically, as I said, we started with lectures—with the residents participating—and then whenever we had discussions about furnishings, plantings, pavings, etc., we showed lots and lots of slideshows to generate ideas. This wasn't in the interest of 'copying' other spaces, but rather, to give people concrete visions of what could be there. And, of course, we rigged those to reflect our own ideas about how we wanted the place to be. We as designers were trying to influence them in what we considered to be the right direction. For example, with the water feature, we really only showed them images of streamlined, naturalistic water features, nothing kitschy, excessively fancy, or high maintenance. We focused on naturalistic plantings, on simple paving and lighting features that were modern and not fake-historical, which perhaps some of them might have chosen if they were on their own. But I would call that education and persuasion—it certainly was the farthest thing possible from manipulation. They liked our ideas and we were successful in winning them over in some instances where what they wanted was not the most economical or sustainable or aesthetically suitable choice—so this was successful.

[…]

Interviewee: Zita Varga, community worker at the Kesztyűgyár Community Center
Date: September 2013, interview conducted in writing

1   **UG:** How were residents of Magdolna included in the regeneration of the neighborhood, the construction of the community center, and Mátyás Square?

2   **ZV:** *Maneszota* (Magdolna District Neighborhood Council) was established as part of the Magdolna District Program II., involving the local community and promoting neighborhood co-living.

3   **UG:** How did you experience the process of starting to build a relationship with the neighborhood? Was it easy or difficult to connect with the local community?

4   **ZV:** The Neighborhood Council is an advocacy organization that tries to make our living conditions more livable, friendlier, and healthier. In this respect, the council initiates cooperation with its partners, makes relevant suggestions and opinions concerning the public and its environment. It has a bottom-up organization depending on local residents who partake in individual working groups. The council is an open organization because the meetings of its working groups are open to the public. It has a primary relationship with the local government and its competent institutions, local civil organizations, local businesses, and anyone who cooperates with the local community. As the first steps of improving the community, a survey was done in Magdolna district to measure the living conditions, way of life, local identity, and the needs of local people. Its secondary aim was to get in contact with the locals and facilitate social activity. The survey concentrated on the housing and social conditions of Magdolna district, the public security, public hygiene, deviance, multiculturalism, and the condition and integration of marginalized groups. Experienced professionals conducted the forums and meetings. In case of a certain topic or discussion, governmental representatives were present guaranteeing that the suggestions of the locals reached the competent person. The active participation of the local civil organizations was expected and encouraged. The involvement of locals was very important, so that all the planned communal and cultural programs were prepared and conducted with the involvement of the local community in order to motivate shared action.

5   **UG:** How would you describe the standard of living in the Magdolna Quarter?

6   **ZV:** Magdolna district is one of the biggest residential areas where the marks of segregation—deteriorated physical environment, social-economic underdevelopment, high percentage of disadvantaged families—can be measured. The aim of Magdolna's rehabilitation—launching Magdolna District program II. and III.—is the reversal of this social deterioration. The district is part of Józsefváros' livable area that can accommodate groups and generations of different culture and social background on the long term. By creating a unique identity of its own, Magdolna district became an independent but integrated area of Budapest.

7   **UG:** Who takes care of Mátyás Square (trees, grass, closing the gate at night)?

8   **ZV:** The 'Public Surveillance of Józsefváros' is responsible for the maintenance of Mátyás Square (park and playground maintenance, planting, cutting the grass, sand replacement, etc.)

9   **UG:** Which facilities / programs are offered by the community center?

10 **ZV:** The Community Center is more than a facility helping the rehabilitation of Magdolna district, it has a unique identity and program structure that is able to involve local groups of any age and background. It thus manages to divert them from their deprived lifestyle in the district. Kesztyűgyár Community Center is a facility that can provide space for alternative cultural and learning programs to embrace people from the neighborhood. The Community Center opened its gates to the public in 2008. In 2010, the Council of Józsefváros established *Józsefvárosi Közösségi Házak Nonprofit KFt.* (Community Centers of Józsefváros Nonprofit Ltd.) in order to ensure the long-term operation of the Community Center. As a multifunctional institution, it hosts numerous talent-support programs, art performances, trainings, consulting possibilities, and an internet café. The aims of these programs are community development, the strengthening of local identity, and the involvement of the district in the cultural life of Budapest. The complex programs facilitate social cohesion. The interdependent social programs of the center promote the intention that people from different age groups and social backgrounds can find quality recreation programs. In the process of creating different youth programs, we take into account aspects other than entertainment, such as instructional and educational factors. Our aim is to make disadvantaged children know that they can be a part of our culture despite the fact that they may experience a series of failures in school and their living environment. Useful leisure time activities can be motivating, so children can feel that they are actively taking part in their community. The advantage of our family programs is that parents can meet positive influences and the whole family can spend time in a meaningful and valuable way.

Self-helping groups can be organized with the active participation of people who frequent the [community] center. This is important because autonomous support can provide large backup that can strongly support children.

11   **UG:** Who is using these facilities / programs?

12   **ZV:** The target groups of the center are children and adolescent groups (age 3-18) and adults (18+) who are looking for jobs or need help with other problems, also families.

13   **UG:** Do people use the community center for private parties?

14   **ZV:** The center provides a possibility for room rental and civil organizations offer programs too.

15   **UG:** Do people use the community center for political events?

16   **ZV:** The center does not host any political programs.

17   **UG:** Do people from other neighborhoods visit Mátyás Square or the community center?

18   **ZV:** People do not only come from the neighborhood but even from the small cities around Budapest.

19   **UG:** Which different groups live in the area?

20   **ZV:** Migrants from different cultures—such as Africa and Asia—are present in a decidedly higher proportion in the district, but altogether in a very low number. At the same time, studies examining the capital and its surrounding population movements show that Józsefváros is the host of people with lower social status from the Eastern regions of Hungary and foreign migrants. Studies examining these social movements show that Józsefváros is a popular target area of people from Asia, especially from China.

21   **UG:** Do you think there are people who are excluded from the community because of their gender / age / social status / ethnic background?

22   **ZV:** As part of an action plan against social exclusion different programs have been launched to make public spaces and transport more accessible, to reduce inequality in education, and to promote schools in the demarcated parts of the district.

23   **UG:** Do you think the community is divided into different social or ethnic groups? Or do these groups interact? If yes, what do they do?

24   **ZV:** Contrary to popular belief, poverty and social problems affect children of any ethnic groups, the poverty of families and the related problems generate a great challenge for public schools and institutions.

25   **UG:** Who is using the new public spaces (Mátyás Square, Tavaszmező street)?

26   **ZV:** Mátyás Square is used by almost all the people from the neighborhood, but mainly families and children are present because of its sand and playground. Tavaszmező street is not part of Magdolna but since two universities are there in the street university students frequent the public space.

27   **UG:** It seemed to me that Magdolna street was used by middle-aged men to hang out during the day while Mátyás Square was frequented by much younger people (families with kids, teenagers). Is there a difference between user groups in the area?

28   **ZV:** As far as I know, there is a communal kitchen that is used by adults in Magdolna street thus the older generation may be there more frequently. Mátyás Square is, however, a public space that is used more by families and children.

29   **UG:** Are there conflicts / problems in the neighborhood that require further attention? (e.g. social differences, unemployment issues, immigrants, political challenges)

30   **ZV:** The rehabilitation of Magdolna and the sustainability of the results can only be provided by the [simultaneous] creation of a safe living environment. It includes the improvement of local public safety and a crime prevention concept. The Council of Józsefváros and the District VIII Police Department established the Safe Magdolna-District Workgroup (*Biztonságos Magdolna-negyedért Munkacsoport*) that includes employees of the local Council, the mayor's office and the Police so that everybody who is involved directly or indirectly in local public safety issues and crime prevention can take part in this initiative. The public safety of Józsefváros has significantly improved in the last decade due to the crime prevention [program], law enforcing actions of the police, and the gradual building of the 'Complex Public Safety System' by the local council and the district police. The main focus of the system are surveillance cameras, an independent public area supervising service, and the district watch.

1   **UG:** Nach vielen Jahren der Unsicherheit bezüglich des Holzmarkt Grundstücks sind nun deutliche Fortschritte zu erkennen. Wann sind Sie zu dem Projekt gestoßen und welche Bereiche hat Ihr Büro übernommen?

2   **SC:** Ich bin vor zwei Jahren dazugekommen, im Mai 2012, kurz bevor das Gebot für den Verkäufer abgegeben wurde. Mein Büro ist ein Architekturbüro, ich bin da in anderer Eigenschaft in einer Nacht-und-Nebel-Aktion dazugekommen—zusammen mit meinem Partner Christian Schöningh. Er hat ein zweites Büro, das nennt sich "Die Zusammenarbeiter" deswegen ist es auch kein Büro in dem Sinne. Er befasst sich stärker mit Stadtentwicklung und Projektsteuerung/Projektentwicklung. Er ist auch Architekt, also es ist im Prinzip auch ein Architekturbüro aber seine Leidenschaft, sein Schwerpunkt liegt eben auf diesem Thema. Und wir sind dazu gestoßen, weil wir von den Initiatoren um Rat gefragt wurden. Das war etwa zehn Tage oder vielleicht zwei Wochen bevor das Gebot abgegeben werden sollte und sie hatten noch nicht viel. Sie hatten lange versucht eine Struktur, eine Organisation zu finden und waren zu dem Zeitpunkt noch nicht so erfolgreich. Sie haben sich dann zum Ende hin—ich sage mal glücklicherweise—ein paar erfahrenere Unterstützer mit dazu geholt oder das hat sich so ergeben. Das ist einmal der Mario Husten, der jetzt auch Geschäftsführer der Holzmarkt-Genossenschaft ist. Inzwischen ist das ein ganzes Firmenkonstrukt geworden. Und uns halt. Also sie haben sich ganz viele Leute dazu geholt oder in ihren weiten Netzwerken angefragt. Wir sind dazu gestoßen mit einem ganz wesentlichen strategischen Punkt: Wir haben gesagt, ihr habt gar keine Chance wenn ihr—also es waren zwei Grundstücke—wenn ihr nur auf den Südteil bietet. Das geht einfach gar nicht, das kann gar nicht so vergeben werden. Das ist einfach politisch auch nicht vertretbar, das auch noch zu einem vergünstigten Preis. Die Chance liegt darin wenn man alles nimmt, beide Grundstücke von der BSR so wie sie angeboten sind und dass man dann innerhalb des Projektes einen Ausgleich schafft. Das Projekt hat natürlich eine Dimension, die den Leuten von der Bar25, die ja ursprünglich die Macher sind … die völlig ihren Rahmen, ihre Vorstellungskraft zu dem Zeitpunkt gesprengt hat. Das war aber der entscheidende Schachzug. Es gab ja mehrere Bieterrunden und die [Eigentümer] wollten alles verkaufen. Also haben schon mal alle einen Joker gehabt, die für beide Grundstücke geboten haben.

3   **UG:** Wer hat die Abendrot Stiftung mit ins Boot geholt?

4   **SC:** Wir. Innerhalb dieser zehn Tage haben wir die Kontakte hergestellt und die Abendrot Stiftung mit dazu geholt.

5   **UG:** Und dann war das Konzept schon soweit entwickelt, wie es jetzt vorliegt?

6   **SC:** Also wir haben hier mehrere Generationen von Broschüren.

7   **UG:** Wie es immer so ist.

8   **SC:** Wie es immer so ist, genau. Das ist die erste, die wir zum Gebot fertig gemacht haben … das war die dritte … also die hatten wir so abgegeben und da hatte ich persönlich dann auch im Wesentlichen mit zugetan, dass sie fertig wurde. Also ganz konkret: nicht nur mit Ideen, sondern auch mit Nachtarbeit.

9   **UG:** Zu dem frühen Zeitpunkt stand auch schon die organisatorische Struktur der Holzmarkt eG?

10 **SC:** Das ist der Teil, den Mario Husten entwickelt hat. Er hat innerhalb von vier Wochen die Genossenschaft reell auf die Beine gestellt, was auch eine Leistung ist wenn man weiß, wie lange es dauert eine Genossenschaft zu gründen. Also es war schon ein gebündeltes Know-How, was dazu geführt hat, dass es konsistent wurde, also dass es eben nicht nur eine Wolke war, sondern dass man eine glaubwürdige Konstruktion auf die Beine gestellt hat.

11 **UG:** Wieviele Phasen gab es von diesem ersten Schritt bis zur Unterzeichnung des städtebaulichen Vertrags im Oktober 2013?

12 **SC:** Das ist ein separates Ding. Also das eine ist das Bieterverfahren und das andere, alles was danach gelaufen ist. In dem Moment wo man das Grundstück hat, ändert sich ja auf einmal alles. Es hat drei Runden im Bieterverfahren gegeben und es hat danach … ich weiß nicht, ob man das Phasen nennen kann. Es ist eigentlich ein Kontinuum. Der städtebauliche Vertrag ist im Prinzip auch ein Meilenstein aber wir hatten ja parallel dazu auch schon einen Bauantrag eingereicht, schon lange vorher. Und es gibt ja auch einen gültigen Bebauungsplan. Also verwaltungstechnisch ist es eine andere Ebene. Verwaltung[…] und Politik sind ja eng verwoben oder eben auch nicht, oder kehren sich auch teilweise den Rücken, oder mauern gegenseitig. Das ist also eine ganz andere Schiene, sage ich mal, als die Projektentwicklung, wie sie auf Bauherrenseite läuft.

13 **UG:** Die BVV hat mehrmals in ihren Drucksachen vermerkt, dass das Projekt Änderungen im Bebauungsplan verlangen würde. Können Sie mir sagen, worauf sich das bezieht?

14 **SC:** Es gibt keine Änderungen in einem B-Plan. Ein B-Plan kann nicht geändert werden, er muss wenn dann neu aufgestellt werden. Es wird immer davon geredet, dass es Änderungen bedarf. Das würde eine Neuaufstellung des B-Plans bedeuten. Und diese Neuaufstellung, daran arbeitet ja keiner. Es gibt viele Redensarten, die nicht dem entsprechen, was die Verwaltungsabläufe sind. Einen B-Plan kann man nicht ändern, man kann ihn kippen, also außer Kraft setzen … nein, kann man auch nicht. Ein B-Plan ist ein Gesetz und ein Gesetz bleibt solange gültig bis es ein neues Gesetz gibt. So banal ist das. Dementsprechend kann man es auch nicht ändern. Man kann Sachen anders genehmigen, als im B-Plan festgelegt wenn man Gründe dafür hat. Diese Gründe müssen im Konsens sein und dazu dient z.B. ein städtebaulicher Vertrag. Darin kann man Dinge festlegen, die abweichend sind, auch vom B-Plan wenn Politik und Verwaltung zustimmen. Deswegen hat es so lange gedauert, bis der städtebauliche Vertrag unterschrieben wurde, weil eben die Feinheiten ausgehandelt wurden.

15 **UG:** Das erklärt auch, warum die Drucksachen viel später datiert sind als der städtebauliche Vertrag—vom Januar diesen Jahres [2014]. Welches waren die kritischen Punkte, an denen noch solange gefeilt werden musste? Ich glaube das Eckwerk war ein Thema …

16 **SC:** Nein, das Eckwerk ist eigentlich komplett unstrittig. Das Eckwerk hat das Prinzip, die maximal zulässige Dichte auch zu nutzen, um im Grunde den Park—das Traumdorf—gegen zu finanzieren. Die traumwandlerischen Dinge, die hier passieren fußen auf der Wirtschaftlichkeit von diesem Koloss. Und das ist ein Koloss. Da ist unstrittig, dass man sich an den gültigen B-Plan hält. Bei dem anderen Teil wird die Masse, die zulässig ist bei weitem unterschritten aber sie wird dort [im Eckwerk] nicht kompensiert, sondern sie entfällt einfach. Sie wird einfach nicht realisiert. Aber rein theoretisch haben die Eigentümer qua Gesetz Anspruch darauf, zu realisieren, was im B-Plan steht, nämlich mit dem Hochhaus hier [Club am Wasser] bis zu 80m hoch. Das ist immer noch möglich. Also wenn der Eigentümer sich jetzt nicht handelseinig werden würde und sagen würde, „Ach bleibt mir doch vom Leib, ich verkauf das Ding.“ Dann hätte er die Möglichkeit, hier die maximale Ausnutzung zu realisieren, weil das im B-Plan so festgelegt ist und solange wie nichts Neues da ist auch so bleibt. Und der städtebauliche Vertrag ist ein Vertrag, der keine Gesetzeskraft hat. Es gab vorher auch schon einen städtebaulichen Vertrag mit der BSR, die Eigentümerin war. Der ist aber mit dem Verkauf hinfällig geworden und deswegen musste ein neuer ausgehandelt werden. Dieser Vertrag gilt auch nur mit diesem Eigentümer. In dem Moment, wo der Vertragspartner wechselt, wird der Vertrag nichtig.

17 **UG:** Im Vergleich zu dem Projekt was vorher für die BSR angedacht war, gab es jetzt eine Reduktion der Dichte, der Baumassen und der Höhen. Ist das richtig?

18 **SC:** Ja.

19 **UG:** War das ein Ergebnis des Bürgerentscheids?

20 **SC:** Nein, das ist die freiwillige Leistung der Projektentwickler. Der Bürgerentscheid hat keinen Einfluss auf den geltenden B-Plan. Deswegen hat Living Levels auch eine Baugenehmigung bekommen. Wenn man hier eine Baugenehmigung beantragen würde mit exakt dem, was im B-Plan steht, müsste das genehmigt werden. Das ist ja genau das Problem, mit dem sich die Verwaltung konfrontiert sieht. Sie sagt, wir beißen uns die Finger ab, dass wir das damals so gemacht haben aber wir können jetzt nicht dagegen vorgehen. Wenn ich jetzt jemandem das verbiete, hat der Eigentümer Schadensersatzansprüche.

21 **UG:** Das kann sich die Stadt nicht leisten.

22 **SC:** Genau!

23 **UG:** Inwiefern beinhaltet die Gruppe, die von den Initiatoren, die aus der Bar25 hervorgegangen sind zusammen mit neuen Projektteilnehmern gegründet wurde, auch professionelle Planer?

24 **SC:** Außer uns niemand. Also eigentlich niemand.

25 **UG:** Wie hat die Zusammenarbeit funktioniert? Ist das Konzept von Ihnen gekommen? Haben die Initiatoren sich mit eingebracht? Gab es gemeinsame Workshops?

26 **SC:** Also es war ein langer Prozess. Die Leute von der Bar25 haben ja gegenüber das Kater Holzig gemacht und waren dann sozusagen noch in Sichtweite. Sie haben enorm in den Bau investiert. Sie hatten einen Nutzungsvertrag von zwei Jahren und haben das ganze Ding überhaupt erst bewohnbar oder belebbar gemacht. Das war ja eine Ruine. Sie haben sich unheimlich darin verausgabt und aus der Erfahrung heraus auch Kräfte und Zuversicht geschöpft, dass sie da doch mitmachen. Sie hatten vorweg schon einen Optionsvertrag [für das Holzmarkt Grundstück]. Sie hätten das Ding die ganze Zeit kaufen können wenn sie es denn zustande gebracht hätten, den Kaufpreis zusammenzukriegen. Sie haben es aber drei Jahre lang nicht geschafft. Und dann ist es ausgeschrieben worden, d.h. in dieser Zeit hatten ja die Leute schon … also es gab Vorarbeiten und Vorstellungen, die sind dann mit integriert worden. Und sagen wir mal, der pragmatische Zug der Umsetzung, das ist das, was

wir beigesteuert haben—aber auch nicht als Architektinnen und Architekten, sondern erstmal als Förderer des Projektes per se, weil wir die Leute gut fanden. Wir sind natürlich Professionelle aber wir sind nicht als Professionelle angesprochen worden, sondern wir sind als Unterstützer angesprochen worden.

27 **UG:** War das auf politischer Ebene, in der Verhandlung mit der Stadt, auch ein wichtiger Schachzug zu sagen, wir haben ein ausgebildetes Team zur Seite, das uns unterstützt?

28 **SC:** Nein, das war auch so deklarierterweise nicht der Fall. Die Gruppe, die da zustande kam und dieses Werk hier fertig gemacht hat, war ein ganz bunt gemischtes Team, wo auch ganz hochkarätige Rechtsanwälte mitgewirkt haben. Es war ein sehr große Runde, auch Journalisten. Einfach Leute, die sich aus dem Umfeld ergeben haben. Man kann nicht sagen, es ist ein Team zusammengestellt worden, sondern es ist mehr so entstanden wie das bei solchen Projekten aber auch immer ist. Unsere Kontakte zur Abendrot Stiftung stammen aus anderen Projekten, die besonders Christian Schöningh gemacht hat, wie das ExRotaprint Gelände im Wedding und die Rettung des Studentendorfs Schlachtensee. Das sind Projekte die viel mit Engagement zu tun hatten und relativ wenig mit professioneller … klar, die Art des Engagements ist professionell aber es ist nicht so, dass man als Team zusammengerufen wird und damit sein Leben verdient. Man kann sagen, das ist einfach im Rahmen des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements. Am Schlachtensee ging es darum, dass es verkauft werden sollte. Es ist ein Denkmal und der Denkmalstatus war im Grunde durch die Ausschreibung aufgehoben. Der Investor durfte alles abreißen und da schicke Villen hinstellen. Und das ist eigentlich ein Skandal! Das hat dazu geführt, dass man sich da engagiert hat und das man dann Alternativen gesucht hat. Da ist es auch eine Genossenschaft geworden, am Ende. Da war ich jetzt weniger involviert. Das war auch ein langer Entwicklungsprozess. Und aus dem heraus kommt dann die Idee, dass man vielleicht hier auch was bewegen kann [Holzmarkt].

29 **UG:** Das Holzmarkt Projekt ist sehr gemischt, nicht nur räumlich, sondern auch in Bezug auf das, was an Funktionen angeboten werden soll. Woher kommen die Ideen dafür?

30 **SC:** Also für den Teil [Anm.: das Dorf] kommt das aus der Gruppe. Dieser Teil heißt Dorf, mit dem Hotel. Das Hotel war immer schon ein Gedanke, den sie hatten, um den Park gegen zu finanzieren. Das ist der Teil, bei dem der Inhalt komplett aus der Gruppe der Initiatoren kommt. Dieser Teil—das Eckwerk—mit dem Gründerzentrum und dem studentischen Wohnen, der kommt, sagen wir mal, eher aus der Unterstützergruppe, auch die Inhalte dafür. Der ist auch erst wirklich in diesen letzten zwei Wochen [vor dem ersten Gebot] dazugekommen, mit der Überzeugung, das ist ein Konzept was funktionieren kann. Und wir haben dann auch mit Partnern gesprochen und sofortige Unterstützung bekommen. Das gibt dann die Zuversicht, dass man das da beim Bieten behaupten kann. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt haben wir die Nutzungsgeschichte aufgestellt.

31 **UG:** Gab es Wirtschaftlichkeitsberechnung für das Projekt?

32 **SC:** Das erste Gebot war im Mai, die zweite Bieterrunde war glaube ich Ende August und wir haben das in der Zwischenzeit gemacht. Ich habe ein Architektenteam zusammengestellt.

33 **UG:** Mit *Hütten & Paläste*?

34 **SC:** Genau, mit *Hütten & Paläste* und *Deadline Architekten*. Wir haben ein Konzept entwickelt und mit der Gruppe abgestimmt. Dann hat sich die Idee mit den Hallen und den Hütten konkretisiert. Und in dieser Zeit habe ich eine positiv beantwortete Bauvoranfrage für die zweite Bieterrunde erzielt, weil das die Voraussetzung dafür war, dass die Stiftung dabei bleibt. Die haben wir bekommen. Also wir haben innerhalb von sechs Wochen eine positiv beantwortete Bauvoranfrage gehabt. Das war für die zweite Bieterrunde [zeigt Raumschlüssel für das Eckwerk]. Also wir haben eine Matrix gemacht und gesagt, wer beschäftigt sich womit und mein spezieller Bereich war das Eckwerk. Das ist ein Stand, den wir zu dem Zeitpunkt erreicht haben, wo dann auch Quadratmeter und Kosten … wo das ein bisschen hinterlegt ist. Also das ist noch kein Vorentwurf aber …

35 **UG:** Eine Schätzung.

36 **SC:** Genau, wo eine Dimension dargestellt ist, was es denn sein könnte und wie es denn funktionieren könnte. Das ist sozusagen in der zweiten Bieterrunde erarbeitet worden.

37 **UG:** Inwiefern werden Sie jetzt weiter bei dem Projekt bleiben?

38 **SC:** Wahrscheinlich gar nicht. Also für den Teil Dorf haben wir die Genehmigungsplanung gemacht und haben letzte Woche die Baugenehmigung bekommen. Bauen tun sie jetzt irgendwie. Ich bin da nicht mehr so eng involviert und meine Leidenschaft wäre auch für das Eckwerk gewesen und da hat sich das jetzt in eine andere Richtung entwickelt, als die, die mir so vorschwebte. Wir werden sehen. Es kann auch sein, dass sich die Wege wieder kreuzen. Aber es ist einfach so, dass die Zeithorizonte … also man muss den Leuten Zeit lassen, sich zu entwickeln. Wir, mein Mann und Partner Christian Schöningh und ich, haben einfach einen anderen Blick auf diese ganzen Geschichten, weil wir jetzt schon ein paar mal solche Projekte … die Größenordnung wächst aber man hat einfach einen

anderen Blick darauf, was wir für strategisch wichtig halten. Wir haben viel mit partizipativer Planung gemacht: man muss den Leuten Zeit lassen. Sie sind nicht in der Lage, diese Dimensionen überhaupt zu erfassen. Und das Eckwerk hat einfach eine Wahnsinns-Dimension.

39   **UG:** Es ist in den gezeigten Bauphasen als letztes mit angedacht. Das Projekt entwickelt sich eigentlich erstmal aus dem Dorf heraus.

40   **SC:** Nein, das entwickelt sich total parallel. Das ist genau die Herausforderung. Der Standort wird eigentlich gebraucht, um überhaupt irgendeine wirtschaftliche Nutzung hinzukriegen, solange wie auf der anderen Seite gebaut wird. Sie bauen jetzt als temporäre Einrichtung ihren Club. Sie sind aus dem Kater Holzig raus und brauchen was, wovon sie leben können. Sie verdienen jetzt nix. Und solang sie nicht wieder einen wirtschaftlich tragfähigen Betrieb haben, passiert da auch nix. Da ist kein Kapital, kein Geld hinter. Das Kapital sind die Schaffenskraft und die Ideen. Deswegen muss das als rollendes Verfahren laufen. Es geht gar nicht anders. Sie brauchen immer Zeit, um sich zu entwickeln und diese Dimensionen zu begreifen. Und sie haben ja eine irrsinnige Entwicklung gemacht wenn man bedenkt, dass sie aus dem Bauwagen kommen und da ein Budending hatten. Dann haben sie den Kater Holzig bewirtschaftet. Das ist ein festes Haus, das sie komplett gefüllt haben. Das platzte aus allen Nähten mit Kino, mit Theater, mit Ausstellungen.

41   **UG:** Mit Restaurant.

42   **SC:** Mit Restaurant. Na, Restaurant und Club haben sie ja vorher schon immer gehabt. Und Büros, sie hatten eine eigene Verwaltungsetage. Sie hatten da 100 Angestellte. Also das ist eine irrsinnige Entwicklung innerhalb so kurzer Zeit für eine solche Gruppe, die sehr heterogen ist. Und der nächste Schritt ist jetzt das neu bauen. Aus dem nichts was Neues bauen mit festen Häusern. Man muss sich mental vorstellen, was das bedeutet. Das ist ein ganz großer Schritt.

43   **UG:** Ein großes Risiko, dem man sich erstmal stellen muss. Aber die Gruppe hat ja auch lange dafür gearbeitet, um diese Chance zu bekommen. Die Motivation ist sehr groß.

44   **SC:** Für das Dorf, ja. Das Eckwerk ist noch das „nebenan" in der Vorstellung.

45   **UG:** Wenn man die Pläne durchsieht, fällt auf, dass es zwei Architektursprachen sind, die da zusammenkommen: das eine ist die Traumwelt—Sie haben es vorhin das Traumdorf genannt—und das andere, das was ich brauche. Zwei Teile, die abhängig voneinander sind.

46   **SC:** Ja.

47   **UG:** Sie haben gesagt, es ist eine sehr heterogene Gruppe. Inwiefern haben Sie da Einblick, wer zu dieser Gruppe gehört bzw. ob da auch andere ausgeschlossen werden aufgrund ihres Alters, sozialen Rangs, kulturellen Hintergrunds oder wie auch immer? Ist das eine offene Gruppe? Wer hat sich da zusammen gefunden, um dieses Projekt zu machen?

48   **SC:** Das kann man relativ schwer beantworten. Dass Leute ausgeschlossen werden, würde ich nie behaupten können. Aber ich denke, es ist ein bisschen wie bei jeder Gruppe, die Leute finden sich zusammen entweder aus Affinitäten … und die Affinitäten bestehen im dem Fall eben nicht aus der Alterskategorie oder der sozialen Herkunft, sondern eher aus der Schaffenskraft. Aus dem Gedanken, Projekte umzusetzen und selber anzufassen. Da sind keine Theoretiker bei. Das sind im Großen und Ganzen pragmatisch veranlagte Leute, die bereit sind anzufassen. Dadurch ergibt sich sozial eine viel größere Mischung, als es vielleicht in der Bauherrenschaft einer Baugruppe der Fall ist.

49   **UG:** Wo ich auch ein bestimmtes Einkommen haben muss.

50   **SC:** Muss nicht unbedingt aber es ergibt sich so aus Affinität. Es gibt ganz viele, wo hauptsächlich Akademiker, oder zumindest nicht so schnell Handwerker dabei sind. Die Mischung ist dort viel stärker, im Großen und Ganzen. Es bedarf auch einiger Risikobereitschaft, sich in ein hierarchisch nicht perfekt organisiertes, sondern mittelmäßiges Chaos zu begeben. Das liegt nicht jedem, seinen Platz zu finden. Es gibt Zuständigkeiten aber ja—wie soll man sagen—es ist im Fluss. Man kann mitmachen, so wie auch wir mitgemacht haben. Und man kann auch wieder aussteigen. Man muss seinen Platz finden. Es ist nicht gegeben, dass man da hinkommt, eine Position erhält und dann hat man die.

51   **UG:** Trotz der klaren Aufgabenverteilung mit dem Mörchenpark für den öffentlichen Raum und der Genossenschaft für das Finanzielle? Im Organigramm scheint erstmal klar definiert zu sein, wer welche Position einnimmt. Verschwimmen die Grenzen?

52   **SC:** Die Personen dahinter sind verschieden und die wandern auch von einem zum anderen. Also z.B. die Ania Pilipenko hat jetzt gewechselt. Sie war immer beim Mörchenpark und ist jetzt beim Eckwerk.

53   **UG:** Ja, ich hatte sie auch kontaktiert und sie sagte, dass sie vielleicht doch nicht die richtige Ansprechpartnerin ist.

54   **SC:** Genau, sie ist jetzt auch schon die ganze Zeit dabei und die Leute wandern. Sie bewegen sich in dieser Struktur, die Zuständigkeiten ändern sich und das ist eben das, was wirklich nicht jedem liegt.

Das ist ein Kriterium, nach dem sich die Gruppe zusammenstellt: ob man damit leben kann oder eben nicht. Das meinte ich mit, es werden nicht Leute rausgeschmissen oder ausgeschlossen aber solch eine fluktuierende Struktur ist schon eine Spezialität … also sie haben sowieso bei den Mitarbeitern eine relativ hohe Fluktuation. Sie kommen und gehen, teilweise auch saisonal bedingt. Sie haben auch mal zwei Monate zu. Da machen alle Urlaub, weil sie sonst einfach so in ihrem Eventmacherbetrieb eingesperrt sind. Da ist dann mal zwei Monate zu. Sie eröffnen jetzt wieder zum 1.Mai.

55 **UG:** Im Moment wird gebaut aber ansonsten ist alles abgeschottet.

56 **SC:** Es ist jetzt abgeschottet, weil es eine Baustelle ist.

57 **UG:** Ja, aber der Zugang wird dann auf dieser Seite sein, oder [östl. Ende, Hotelstandort]?

58 **SC:** Genau, das ist auf dem Hotelgrundstück. Der Mörchenpark ist mit Kästen und so gebaut, also als mobiles Grün angelegt weil ja nach und nach gebaut wird. Ja hier hinten, das ist der Hotelstandort [Anm:Verweis auf Zeichnung]. Und das Restaurant am Wasser durchzusetzen war auch ein ganz großer Kampf. Aber das ist ein absolutes Muss. Da bin ich jetzt nicht mehr involviert aber die Standorte sind gesichert: das Restaurant und auch der Club. Also Sie fragten vorhin, was die schwierigsten Punkte waren. Die beiden Abweichungen zum B-Plan waren das Restaurant und der Club am Wasser. Das waren die Schlüsselpunkte, wo von Anfang an klar war, dass man das da haben will und das es sein muss. Wo im Grunde, um das zu bekommen, sich der Rest erpressbar gemacht hat.

59 **UG:** Ja, im BVV-Beschluss stand auch, dass das Restaurant unbedingt mit Erde überdeckt sein müsste. Das waren die Bedingungen. Welche Rolle spielt dann der öffentliche Raum in dem Projekt? Wir haben bisher über die ganzen Funktionen gesprochen, die untergebracht werden sollen aber der öffentliche Raum ist das, was im letzten Jahr schon als erstes gestaltet wurde. Welche Bedeutung hat der öffentliche Raum in der frühen Konzeptphase?

60 **SC:** Der öffentliche Raum, also das Thema der Öffentlichkeit, ist ein Thema, dass ihnen Fachleute eingebracht haben. Da gibt es ein ganz berühmtes Diagramm, bei dem auch viele nicht verstanden haben, worum es geht. [Anm.: Diagramm mit öffentlichen Flächen und Durchblicken] Hier, dieses Bildchen war schwer umkämpft. Eine Kollegin, ich kenne sie gar nicht, hatte das Bild gemacht und ich habe es dann nach dem neuen Konzept adaptiert. Es ging nur bis zur S-Bahn Trasse und ich hab es dann bis zum Eckwerk ergänzt. Das war der Stand und es war immer eine sehr diffuse Auskunft zum Thema, was ist öffentlich und was ist nicht öffentlich, was ist überhaupt diese Diskussion. Die Relevanz dieser Thematik hat die Initiatorengruppe erst richtig erfasst, als wir uns mit der [Dorfstruktur der Hütten] befasst haben. Was es denn eigentlich bedeutet und wie man sich dazu positioniert. Sie haben ja von Anfang an den Begriff vom Dorf gehabt. Sie wollten dieses Dorf machen. Da haben wir als Architekten auch erst gegen rebelliert … was heißt rebelliert … uns kam es einfach befremdlich vor, ein Dorf machen zu wollen.

61 **UG:** Ein Dorf in der Stadt.

62 **SC:** Ja, was ist ein Dorf und worin besteht das Dorf? Was ist das Bild, das man damit assoziiert? Ist es ein Dorf oder ist es eher eine Burg?

63 **UG:** Zwei völlig verschiedene Sachen!

64 **SC:** Genau! Und damit haben wir auch den Anfang gemacht. Wir haben uns damit befasst und haben hier diese Bildchen gemacht [Anm: Schnitt-Studie Stadt—Holzmarktstraße—Gelände]. Wie verhält man sich zur Stadt. Hat man hier eine Kante? Oder was ist die Vorstellung dessen? Und deren Vorstellung ist eigentlich sowas hier [Anm: gestapelte modulare Einheiten]—eine Hüttenansammlung, die dann aber in sich auch geschlossen ist, die gar nicht öffentlich ist, sondern sehr in sich gekehrt. Das mit dem Bergdorf ist das, was wir rausgefiltert haben, was eigentlich gewünscht ist. Und das hat eben nicht die starke Öffentlichkeit, sondern es ist eigentlich eine sehr in sich gekehrte Anlage. Die Auseinandersetzung damit war dann auch … es ist relativ schwer mit so einer heterogenen Gruppe, die tausend Sachen macht, als Bauherrin zu arbeiten. Dann haben wir versucht, das zu strukturieren und diesen Vorschlag mit den Hallen und Hütten gemacht. Dass man anfängt, aus dem Prozesshaften heraus, also ein Angebot, dass es einen Vorentwicklungsteil gibt, der ganz schnell geht und das andere hat Zeit sich zu entwickeln. Das war so der erste Schachzug. Dann haben wir aber später, aus der Notwendigkeit, dass ich gleichzeitig die Bauvoranfrage gemacht habe, haben wir dieses System einpassen müssen in den Bebauungsplan. Da ist das was danach eben ausgehandelt wurde.

65 **UG:** Angedacht war, größere Funktionen in den Hallen und kleinere in den Hütten unterzubringen, die sich dann auch verändern können.

66 **SC:** Das ist jetzt das Ergebnis. Damals war es noch so, dass wir gesagt haben, wir planen Hallen und da drin können auch erstmal die Hütten sein. Dass man sozusagen erstmal so anfängt, hat ein Dach überm Kopf und kann dann sofort loslegen. Mit dem sofort, das hat nicht so geklappt, weil alles so lange gedauert hat, mit den Verhandlungen, mit dem Club, usw. Der entscheidende Punkt war eigentlich, dass man diese Sachen am Waser nur über den städtebaulichen Vertrag genehmigt bekam.

Eigentlich war der Gedanke aber, man baut eine Kubatur und dann entwickelt man weiter, also auch die Nutzungen, die Vorstellungen … erst gab es ja nur Hütten … also auch die Nutzungen haben sich verändert, die sind im Laufe des Prozesses konkretisiert worden, mit der Werkstatt, der Eventhalle. Das war am Anfang noch nicht da. Es gab am Anfang nur die Idee der Hütten und die städtischeren Elemente oder gewerblicheren Elemente sind erst später dazugekommen. [Anm.: zeigt verschiedene Studien modularer Einheiten gereiht, gestapelt, etc.]

67 **UG:** Um nochmal auf den öffentlichen Raum zurückzukommen. Das [Bergdorf] ist ja eher geschlossen. Auf den aktuellen Plänen ist es aber eine von Wegen durchzogene Struktur.

68 **SC:** Wir haben einen sehr langen Diskurs im Planungsprozess gehabt und es hat sich dahin entwickelt, dass das ganze Gelände öffentlich ist, also dass es im Grunde keine Zäune gibt, sondern die ganze Fläche … das ist ja auch ein Widerspruch denn das Gebaute wurde auch immer mehr. Das was jetzt hier ist [Anm: frühe Konzeptphase] ist im Grunde weniger als das, was beantragt wurde. Es gab also wachsende Ansprüche an Nutzungen, die dann auch bedeuten, dass die Häuser mehr werden und dann fragt man sich „Oh, wo ist der Park?" und dann braucht man einfach mehr Platz. Also wenn ich einen Park machen will, neben dem ein Dorf und ein Club usw. ist, dann habe ich einfach auf dem Grundstück nicht genug Platz—und ich will nicht hoch gehen, das kommt ja noch dazu. Also es soll nicht höher als soundso sein. Dadurch hat sich das im Grunde verdichtet und überlagert. Die Frage ist dann immer, wieviel Park bleibt am Ende noch übrig. Das Projekt findet Riesen-Zuspruch. Es gibt viele Leute, die da hin wollen. Es gibt schon einen Riesen-Mieterpool, von denen, die da hinwollen. Die wurden dann versucht zu platzieren. Wie könnte das gehen und wer wohin—gleichzeitig mit dem Entwurf. So schwillt das an obwohl man eigentlich nur kleine Einheiten will. Aus dem heraus hat sich das dazu verquickt, dass man gesagt hat, ok, wir bekennen uns dazu, dass das ganze Grundstück öffentlich bleibt und dass dort diese Sachen passieren. Also eine Umkehrung der Wahrnehmung: nicht das Dorf und der Rest, sondern ein Gelände auf dem dieses … Gewerbedorf haben wir es genannt, so heißt das im Bauantrag, ist kein schönes Wort. Wir mussten irgendwas reinschreiben und ich konnte nicht „Dorf" auf die Planköpfe schreiben. Das ist keine Gebäudekategorie.

69 **UG:** Vielleicht wird die jetzt neu erfunden. Ich habe die Pläne immer so gelesen, dass der Raum die einzelnen Funktionen zusammenbindet. Das ist der Kern, der als erstes da war und wo man ansetzen konnte, weil es natürlich auch der geringste Aufwand ist, den Freiraum und die Uferkante zu gestalten. Da kann man schnell Leute für begeistern und benötigt auch nicht unbedingt den geschulten Handwerker. Aus dem heraus können sich die einzelnen Standorte und Funktionen entwickeln.

70 **SC:** Naja, klar. Das ist der Mörchenpark Verein, der soll im Grunde ein Bindeglied sein zwischen der Crew vom Holzmarkt und dem Rest der Welt, also den Nachbarschaften hier und den ganzen Leuten, die da gern hinkommen zum Gärtnern. Also man muss einfach sehen, dass die Macher alle in der Generation sind, die gerade Kinder kriegen. Wenn die zu den Partys einladen, ist das ein einziger Kindergarten. Da sind hunderte von Kindern. Das ist nicht die Partywelt, die man in der Presse sieht, sondern es ist eine total bunte Geschichte. Bei der auch ganz viel Energie in die Pflanzen und die Nachwelt geht, was auch einher geht mit dem Kinderkriegen. Wo man sich auf einmal mit solchen Themen befasst.

71 **UG:** Das ist dann zehn Jahre nach dem Techno-Club.

72 **SC:** Ja, genau. Und dadurch gibt es eben auch … also der Mörchenpark Verein ist im Grunde eine Art Pool und Bindeglied, also ein Art institutionalisiertes … ich bin da auch Mitglied aber ich war kein aktives Mitglied mehr. Die haben aber jetzt wieder Auftakt.

73 **UG:** Also jeder, der Interesse hat, kann mitmachen oder muss man etwas zahlen?

74 **SC:** Man zahlt 25 Euro Jahresbeitrag.

75 **UG:** Das lässt sich verkraften.

76 **SC:** Ja, in jedem Verein zahlt man Jahresbeitrag. Jeder kann Mitglied werden. Es gibt keine Aufnahmeverfahren oder Überprüfungen. Und dann kann man mitpflanzen. Man kann auch mitmachen ohne Mitglied zu sein. Die Idee ist halt, dass der Verein die Fläche bewirtschaftet, die dann Park werden soll.

77 **UG:** Der Verein ist auch verantwortlich für die Wartung?

78 **SC:** So ist es jetzt gedacht. Inwieweit das trägt, muss man dann sehen.

79 **UG:** Das ist natürlich in Anbetracht des Projektumfangs …

80 **SC:** Genau, es ist aber auch den Funktionen bis jetzt ein bisschen nachgeordnet, weil sie im Grunde immer der Baustelle weichen müssen. Ist ja klar.

81 **UG:** Ja, aber es hat auch einen symbolischen Wert zu sagen, hier ist jetzt unser Platz, hier machen wir was. Der Mörchenpark ist ein Zeichen, eine erste Identität, um Leute anzulocken.

82 **SC:** Ja.

83 **UG:** Wer nutzt den Raum? Es ist ein unwirtliches Umfeld, mit einer Wohnbebauung in zweiter Reihe. Es ist kein Kiez, in dem Sinne.

84 **SC:** Die Leute kommen aus Kreuzberg. Da kommen ganz viele, also hunderte und tausende. Letztes Jahr war ja am 1. Mai Eröffnungsparty. Das war eine Riesenparty, da waren tausende. Und das wird dieses Jahr in den begehbaren Teilen auch wieder sein.

85 **UG:** Das ist gerade ein bisschen schwierig. Es wird ja an mehreren Stellen gleichzeitig gebaut.

86 **SC:** Sie arbeiten durch: Samstag, Sonntag. Ich nehme an, dass sie drauf setzen am 1. Mai den Club zu eröffnen.

87 **UG:** Durch das große Interesse dort zu wohnen und zu arbeiten, wird die Gruppe auch ein Stück weit unter Druck geraten sein.

88 **SC:** Wohnen gar nicht. Wohnen ist inexistent auf dem ganzen Gelände.

89 **UG:** Ich dachte im hinteren Bereich des Dorfes gibt es auch Wohnnutzungen.

90 **SC:** Nein, gar nicht. Es ist nur Arbeiten, Kunst, …

91 **UG:** Ateliers.

92 **SC:** Ja, es gibt dann vielleicht den einen oder anderen, der in seinem Büro noch ein Bett hat aber es gibt kein Wohnen. Es gab so viele, die da Wohnen wollten, dass sie das grundsätzlich ausgeschlossen haben.

93 **UG:** Verstehe, sonst würde da auch ein Konflikt entstehen: es gab ja beim ganzen Mediaspree-Projekt und dem Bürgerentscheid immer die Diskussion, die Wasserkante soll öffentlich bleiben. Wenn das Projekt sich immer mehr verdichtet und immer größere private Ansprüche verschiedener Personen entstehen, bleibt nicht mehr viel öffentlich.

94 **SC:** Genau, eine Wohnnutzung gibt es nur im Eckwerk und auch nur in den oberen Etagen. So ist es im B-Plan festgehalten worden, es ist nur ab der neunten Etage oder so zulässig. Unten ist es auch zu laut dafür.

[…]

99 **UG:** Das Projekt der Spreegenossen gegenüber vom Holzmarkt ist auch ein Projekt von Ihnen?

100 **SC:** Das Spreefeld, ja. Ich wohne da, also ich bin da auch miteingezogen.

101 **UG:** Von dort kann man die Bauarbeiten auf dem Holzmarkt sehr gut beobachten.

102 **SC:** Ja, und das ist ja auch wie wir zu dem Projekt hinzugekommen sind, weil wir eben da in der Nachbarschaft zugange waren. Also die Form des Grundstückes … ich denke, das Entscheidende sind die Faktoren: am Wasser, mit Abendsonne und mitten in der Stadt. Das sind eigentlich die Alleinstellungsmerkmale, die nicht viele Grundstücke haben. Gerade dass es so unwirtlich in der Umgebung ist, ist förderlich für Nutzungen, die nicht wohnverträglich sind. Also das ist ja auf dieser Brache da entstanden. Die Holzmarktstraße schneidet diesen Streifen ja die ganze Länge entlang total ab vom Rest der Stadt.

103 **UG:** Im Verhältnis zum gesamten Mediaspree Projekt ist es eher eine Nische, die da entsteht, durchkreuzt von der Bahntrasse und abgeschnitten durch die Holzmarktstraße und das Wasser. Es hat ein paar atmosphärische Qualitäten wie die Abendsonne aber es ist eigentlich in seiner Einbindung in der Stadt ein Stück weit ein Fremdkörper.

104 **SC:** Das würde ich jetzt so nicht sehen. Also ich habe es so rum nie betrachtet, sondern eigentlich so, dass dieser ganze Streifen—also wenn ich weiter gucke, was ist da? Da ist cosy wash, da ist Lidl. Also direkt am Bahnhof Jannowitzbrücke ist Lidl oder keine Ahnung wie die heißen, also so ein Discounter. [Holzmarkt] ist nicht ein Fremdkörper, sondern dieser Streifen, dieser ganze Uferstreifen ist letztendlich ein einziger Fremdkörper. Genauso kann ich sagen dieser Klotz von Universal, also die Umnutzung des Speichers … das war ja eine Speicherstadt und da war Gasometer, also das waren immer Sondernutzungen.

105 **UG:** Genau, Sondernutzungen! Fremdkörper war nicht das richtige Wort. Es ist eine Fläche ohne städtische, funktionale Durchmischung wie es ein Viertel hat.

106 **SC:** Ja, weil das nämlich am Wasser eine funktionale … das ist aber auf beiden Uferseiten so. Da ist auch nichts in dem Sinne gewachsen. Also es ist gewachsen aber es ist einfach was anderes—es ist Industrie, eigentlich ist es wie ein Industriegebiet und deswegen war das ja auch so eine Brache.

107   **UG:** Auch deutlich erkennbar an den Typologien. Viel größere Bauvolumen, z.B. da wo jetzt das Architekturzentrum ist.

108   **SC:** Ja, genau. Und das ist ja der Schritt, der immer noch nicht umgesetzt ist: das zur Stadt werden zu lassen. Also dass es irgendwie eine Promenade oder einen Uferweg gibt, dass es der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich ist. Das ist ja auf dem ganzen Streifen nicht der Fall. Also auch da wo Universal ist, das ist überhaupt gar nicht öffentlich. Man fühlt sich da gar nicht eingeladen auf diese Gelände zu gehen. Den Charakter eines Gewerbehofs hat es eigentlich behalten. Das ist nicht wirklich eine öffentliche Uferpromenade.

109   **UG:** Es gibt ja wenig Stellen, an denen der Zugang zum Wasser möglich ist und das Holzmarkt Projekt soll eine davon werden mit einem Durchgang bis zur Schillingbrücke.

110   **SC:** Ja.

111   **UG:** Selbst der ehemalige Mauerstreifen, der öffentlich ist, ist ja nun durch Living Levels, mittig unterbrochen. Und so entstehen da eigentlich immer einzelne Teilstücke am Fluss. Wie ist das mit dem Eckwerk? Ist der Bereich abgeschlossen oder kann man da durchgehen?

112   **SC:** Nein, der Weg ist vorgesehen.

113   **UG:** Haben Sie bei der Konzeptplanung neben den Vorläuferprojekten mit der Abendrot Stiftung auch andere (inter)nationale Kontakte oder Referenzprojekte genutzt?

114   **SC:** Also international nicht. Unsere Kontakte beruhten eben auf den vorherigen Projekten. Der entscheidende Punkt was eine Zusammenarbeit mit einem Investor von einer Stiftung unterscheidet, ist dass der Investor ausschließlich auf die Zahlen guckt. Und solche Institutionen wie die Abendrot Stiftung, die gucken auf die Menschen. Das ist einfach der große Unterschied. Selbstverständlich gucken die auch auf die Zahlen aber entscheidend für eine positive Stellungnahme, ist ob man daran glaubt, dass ein Projekt etwas werden kann, weil sie sich langfristig für Ergebnisse interessieren und nicht kurzfristig. Dafür sind eben die Menschen ausschlaggebender, also die Leute, die ein Projekt anfangen. Im Grunde ist es so, die Referenzen sind nicht unbedingt andere Projekte, sondern die Hauptreferenz für die positive Entscheidung bei einem solchen Projekt ist, dass der Glaube entsteht: Die machen das und das, was sie machen ist richtig oder gut oder wir glauben daran.

115   **UG:** Die Abendrot Stiftung ist in der Schweiz ansässig also inwiefern sind sie präsent gewesen oder immer noch präsent?

116   **SC:** Was heißt präsent? Also sie sind nach Berlin gekommen. Das hat sich glücklich gefügt, dass sie bei uns aus anderem Anlass zu Gast waren und wir haben sie dann persönlich da hingeführt. Aber es ist schon ein persönlicher Kontakt entstanden. Sie sind insofern präsent, dass sie ja vertragliche Verbindungen eingehen.

117   **UG:** Aber inhaltlich haben sie sich nicht eingebracht?

118   **SC:** Nein, das haben sie nicht. Und sie sagen auch, wir sind in der Schweiz und für das inhaltliche kommen die Leute vor Ort auf. Die Stiftung Abendrot—ich weiß nicht, ob sie darüber informiert sind—ist eine Pensionskasse, d.h. das sind nicht irgendwelche Wohltäter, die Geld verteilen, sondern sie sehen zu, dass die Renten für ihre Biobauern auf der Alm gesichert sind. Die wollen auch nicht kaufen und verkaufen; die machen keine Immobiliengeschäfte. In ihren Zielen ist festgeschrieben, dass sie nur anlegen in ethisch, ökologisch usw. Projekten. Also die haben Ziele, die genau definieren, wo das Geld, was da alle monatlich einzahlen, angelegt werden soll. Und die haben Schwierigkeiten, Projekte zu finden, die diesen Prüfkriterien genügen.

119   **UG:** Wirklich? Ich hätte eher gedacht, es ist schwierig einen Partner wie die Abendrot Stiftung zu finden.

120   **SC:** Ja, es ist beides schwierig.

121   **UG:** Ich frage mich immer wie rentiert sich das?

122   **SC:** Es muss Pacht reinkommen, es ist alles nicht geschenkt. Es kostet alles Geld und man muss es erwirtschaften.

123   **UG:** Mit so einer Gruppe ist das für die Abendrot Stiftung vielleicht auch ein gewisses Risiko. Man muss sich erstmal kennenlernen und schauen, trauen wir euch das zu, wollen wir das wirklich zusammen machen?

124   **SC:** Für die Abendrot Stiftung ist das kein Risiko weil dieses Grundstück in der Lage für den Preis … da geht keiner, der Grundstücke kauft, ein Risiko ein. Also es ist kein Schnäppchenpreis aber es ist ein korrekter Preis.

[…]

133 **UG:** Also letztendlich fiel die Entscheidung für das Projekt, weil es der Höchstbieter war.

134 **SC:** Am Ende, ja. Und weil sonst keiner alles genommen hat. Es gab Einzelbieter für die verschiedenen Teile und die hätten sie zusammenstückeln müssen. Also sie wollten einfach alles loswerden und es gab die Option, dass man nur hierfür oder nur dafür bietet oder für alles. Und wir haben vorgeschlagen, wir bieten für alles dann sind sie ihre Sorge los. Es gab ja drei Runden und es gab welche, die zusammen mehr geboten haben als wir. Aber komischerweise sind sie in der weiteren Runde mit ihrem Gebot runter und wir sind mit unserem Gebot hoch. Damit waren wir auf einmal die Höchstbieter. Das ist Zufall oder was heißt Zufall …

135 **UG:** Na, das werden Sie ja nicht gewusst haben.

136 **SC:** Nein, das waren ja alles einzelne Private und das hat sich einfach ergeben—wir haben Glück gehabt.

137 **UG:** Das gehört auch mit dazu.

138 **SC:** Ja, das ist so bei Bieterverfahren. Ich meine, das ist halt pokern.

[…]

Interviewee: Ludwig Noack, member of the Holzmarkt Cooperative
Date: April 25, 2014
Place: Holzmarktstraße 25, 10119 Berlin

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1   **UG:** Laut Information der Architektin Silvia Carpaneto war gerade das Thema öffentlicher Raum ein schwieriges Thema, weil die Holzmarkt-Gruppe unsicher war, wie man sich dazu positionieren sollte. Wie ist das aus Deiner Sicht abgelaufen?

2   **LN:** Also ich bin ja erst seit 1,5 Jahren dabei und habe diesen Prozess mit carpaneto.schöningh auch nicht von Anfang an begleitet. Ich kann auf jeden Fall sagen, als ich dazu kam, war klar, dass Gelände ist öffentlich erschlossen durch den Uferwanderweg zum einen aber auch über eine öffentlich zugängliche Straße bis zur anderen Seite der Brücke. Und dann gibt es teilöffentliche Bereich wie der Club, da wird es einen Türsteher geben, der sagt: Du kommst rein, Du kommst nicht rein—davon lebt so ein Ding auch. Dann gibt es die Eventhalle, wo dann natürlich auch mal Konzerte sind, wo man nur mit Eintrittskarte reinkommt. Also so stuft sich das natürlich auch ab unter der Prämisse das Gelände an sich ist öffentlich zugänglich. Man kommt ans Wasser wann man will und man kann auch solang bleiben wie man will. Das wird erst dann ein Thema wenn es um Fragen wie Haftung, Lärmschutz und sowas geht. Das Gelände ist ja verkauft von einer öffentlichen Stelle an eine Firma, die Abendrot Stiftung. Und das ist jetzt ein privater Grund, den man öffentlich zugänglich machen muss aber nicht nur als Begriff, sondern mit allem was dazu gehört, also der ganze Rattenschwanz. Und genau das Thema haben wir jetzt gerade an dem Uferweg, den Du hier vorn siehst. Der ist bisher weiter zu, da geht es um die Haftungsfrage.

3   **UG:** Die Probleme sind jetzt neu aufgetreten, oder? Eigentlich hieß es doch bisher immer, es sei kein Problem, den Weg bis zur Schillingbrücke zu öffnen.

4   **LN:** An sich ist das kein Problem. Die Anlieger sind dazu angehalten, den Weg aufzumachen aber die machen das eben nur solang die Haftung geklärt ist. Wenn sich jetzt jemand den Arm bricht oder ins Wasser fällt, muss halt jemand dafür aufkommen. Man muss es begehbar machen, man muss es pflegen. Das sind die Schnittmengen, wo es manchmal auch zu längeren Kontroversen kommt, weil da auch rechtlich vielleicht Fragen nicht geklärt sind. Es ist auf jeden Fall ein Prozess, bei dem man merkt, es ist nicht so einfach, zu sagen: Leute kommt alle her, sondern man muss sehen, dass man das auf die Reihe bekommt.

5   **UG:** Dieses „Leute kommt alle her"—wer ist eigentlich alle? Wen wollt ihr mit dem breiten Angebot an Nutzungen ansprechen?

6   **LN:** Das ergibt sich. Früher war das Gelände sicherlich ein Anziehungspunkt für junge Leute durch die Nutzung mit dem Club. Das erste Event, bei dem wir das ganze Grundstück jetzt wieder auf hatten, war der Spatenstich. Und es waren wirklich alle hier: von kleinen Kindern, die Steine ins Wasser geschmissen haben—was übrigens auch Probleme gab, da sollten wir danach mit Tauchern die Steine wieder hochholen, weil das eine Bundeswasserstrasse ist—bis zu jungen Familien. Also wirklich alle Altersschichten waren vertreten. […] An allen Stellen, ob das Nachbarn sind oder die Leute im Amt, hat man jemand, der quer schießt. Da hat jemand beobachtet wie ein kleines Kind einen Stein in der Hand hält und Bilder geschickt.

7   **UG:** Was ist mit den Plattenbaubewohnern unmittelbar hinter dem Grundstück? Hast Du mitbekommen, wie das angenommen wird, ob Bewohner von dort Euer Angebot nutzen?

8   **LN:** Also als drüben der Kater Holzig noch war, hatten wir ja auch das Restaurant und da haben wir auch mal Infoveranstaltungen gemacht und gemerkt, da kommen auch viele Leute aus der Nachbarschaft vorbei und sagen, wir finden es cool und freuen uns auf das Projekt in unserer Nachbarschaft. Wenn wir jetzt Veranstaltungen haben, versuchen wir natürlich auch so viel wie möglich die Nachbarn darüber zu informieren per Flugblätter, Informationsblätter.

9   **UG:** Damit geht Ihr tatsächlich auch in die Wohnblöcke, sodass Bewohner wissen, es ist wieder was los?

10 **LN:** Genau, das sehen sie eigentlich sowieso. Sie haben Fenster zur Sonnenseite, gucken wahrscheinlich den ganzen Tag raus und sehen dann, dass wir offen haben und kommen mal rüber. Man kann es nicht beobachten, wir können nicht sagen, ob die von den Häusern kommen.

11 **UG:** Das wäre aber interessant. Kann man verschiedene Nutzer ausmachen?

12 **LN:** Man kann das nicht so explizit bei den Leuten ausmachen, die man dann hier sieht. Man kann sich natürlich denken: ok, das sind eher Touristen. Man schätzt sie einfach so vom Äußeren her ein. Bei manchen denkt man vielleicht eher: ok, das sind hier welche aus der Gegend. Als wir letzten Sonntag aufgemacht hatten, waren hier auch ein paar, die öffentliche Plätze suchen oder nutzen, weil sie obdachlos sind und dann auch hier sind. Aber man kann es nicht wirklich ausmachen. Ich kann

nicht sagen, wieviel Leute wirklich aus der direkten Nachbarschaft kommen. Das kriegt man über Gespräche … wie gesagt, da hatten wir damals im Kater schon Gespräche und letztes Jahr hier vor Ort, als es schon auf war. Da hat man Leute kennengelernt, die immer wieder hier waren und die entweder aus der direkten Umgebung oder aus der weiteren Nachbarschaft kommen.

13 UG: Noch macht ihr abends zu und noch ist hier Baustelle, ihr müsst also am Ende des Tages jeden, auch die Obdachlosen, des Geländes verweisen.

14 LN: Das kam bis jetzt noch nicht vor, jedenfalls nicht, dass ich wüsste. Ich habe Sonntag hier eins, zwei gesehen aber die waren dann auch wieder weg.

15 UG: Also es ist noch keiner gekommen, um zu bleiben.

16 LN: Nein, tatsächlich noch nicht.

17 UG: Wann wollt ihr das Gelände komplett offen lassen? Gibt es dafür einen Termin?

18 LN: Da gibt es keinen konkreten Termin für? Es ist klar, jeden Bereich können wir soweit öffnen, wie wir ihn erschließen können, wie wir ihn nutzen können. Es ist klar, alles was Baustelle ist, müssen wir sichern. Da müssen wir gewährleisten, dass niemand rauf kann. Wenn am Ende das Holzmarkt Dorf gebaut ist, in dem Sinne, dass die großen Bauwerke alle stehen, wird das peu à peu aufgemacht, sobald keine große Baugrube mehr ausgehoben werden muss.

19 UG: Gibt es eine bestimmte Phase, also z.B. wenn das Restaurant fertiggestellt ist? Oder wird sich der Zugang dann auch immer verlagern?

20 LN: Das wird sich alles verlagern und erweitern. Wenn das Hotel gebaut wird, muss auch das [was momentan Mörchenpark ist] wieder als Baustelle eingerichtet werden. Aber das wird erst passieren wenn auch der Holzmarkt an sich schon wieder in Benutzung ist.

21 UG: Ihr habt das gestaffelt.

22 LN: Genau, die unterschiedlichen Phasen sieht man auch in der Broschüre auch.

23 UG: Was ich jetzt auffällig fand, bei den Bauphasendiagrammen in der Broschüre ist immer nur der Holzmarkt dargestellt. Das Eckwerk kommt dort nicht vor.

24 LN: Klar, die Holzmarkt Broschüre ist schon in den Jahren zuvor entstanden und das Eckwerk an sich war immer die Vision. Es war noch nie so konkret wie es jetzt ist.

25 UG: Wie heute.

26 LN: Nie so konkret wie heute. Es gibt andererseits auch seit längerem die Eckwerk-Broschüre online. Der Holzmarkt als Konzept sollte zeigen, wir haben auch was Inhaltliches. Das ist gesamtheitlich gedacht—anfangs natürlich noch eine Art Vision aber das wurde dann immer konkreter. Da ist das Eckwerk auch angerissen aber der Fokus liegt auf dem Holzmarkt. Das Eckwerk und das Hotel sind dann eigene Broschüren geworden. […]

27 UG: Der Holzmarkt war früher der Standort der Bar25. Dahin wollte man zurück. Um im Bieterverfahren erfolgreich zu sein und auch um ein wirtschaftlich solides Konzept zu schaffen, brauchte man den Schritt rüber auf das andere Grundstück. Insofern hat das Eckwerk an Bedeutung gewonnen. War das ein Prozess, der auch eine Weile gedauert hat? Wie ist die Gruppe mit dem veränderten Maßstab umgegangen?

28 LN: Klar, die Bar25 war vorher hier drauf und der Plan war, dieses Gelände kulturell zu erhalten. Es kann nicht sein, dass von der Mediaspree, wie es mal geplant war, alles zugebaut wird. Daher kam die Idee, dieses Grundstück kulturell weiter zu nutzen, in welcher Form auch immer, jedenfalls nicht prinzipiell nur als Club. Das war von vornherein klar. Und dann war klar, dass das zwei Teilgrundstücke sind: hier der Südteil und auf der anderen Seite des Viadukts der Nordteil. Man hätte auch Einzelteile erwerben können. Man hätte auch nur auf das Südgrundstück oder das Nordgrundstück bieten können. Was natürlich nicht so gut einzuschätzen ist und wahrscheinlich für die Verkäufer, die BSR, nicht so viel Sinn macht. Da gibt es vielleicht eine Bietergruppe, der eine bietet auf den Südteil, der andere auf den Nordteil und dann springt einer ab, dann sitzen sie immer noch auf dem einen Grundstück.

29 UG: Das Interesse an beiden Grundstücken war sicher Euer Wettbewerbsvorteil aber damit hat das Projekt auch eine Größenordnung erreicht, mit der man erstmal umgehen muss.

30 LN: Ja, definitiv. Allein der Holzmarkt ist eine Größenordnung, mit der man erstmal umgehen muss. Wir merken auch, dass sich das Team immer weiter erweitert, um jegliche Fragestellung, die auftritt abdecken zu können. Sei es Genehmigungsfragen, Baufragen, die können wir als Laien—niemand sagt von sich, dass er ein Stadtplaner ist—gar nicht überblicken, da brauchen wir Spezialisten.

31 UG: Es gibt keinen professionellen Planer in der Gruppe?

32   LN: Was heißt Planer? Also es gibt keinen, der Stadtplanung studiert hat? Ich bin der Meinung, es ist schwierig zu sagen, ich habe das und das gemacht, das qualifiziert mich dafür. Ich bin jetzt hier der Stadtplaner und mache den Holzmarkt. Man wird erst zu dem, was man zu sein scheint— sei es Stadtplaner oder Stadtentwickler oder was auch immer—durch die Sachen, die man macht. Daran wird man gemessen. Von der Qualifikation her, vom Lebenslauf her, ist keiner qualifiziert Stadtentwicklung zu machen.

33   UG: Na gut, Ideen haben, hat nichts mit einem abgeschlossenen Studium zu tun aber die rechtlichen Fragen sind natürlich nochmal ein ganz anderer Bereich. Da bedarf es schon fachkundiger Leute.

34   LN: Ja. Da muss man natürlich auch sagen, wir sind alle sehr lernfähig. Jede Frage die auftaucht, daran lernen wir. Wir haben sehr kluge Köpfe: Mario Husten, Andreas Steinhauser, Christoph Klenzendorf, die lange Erfahrung haben und genau wissen, wovon sie reden. Wenn die zusammenkommen, ist das schon eine ziemlich schnelle und um die Ecke denkende Gruppe.

35   UG: Also man kommt immer an seine Grenzen und muss sich dann nach außen orientieren, um das Know-how woanders zu finden?

36   LN: Genau.

37   UG: Nun ist die Genossenschaft eine sehr große, heterogene Gruppe. Der gemeinsame Nenner ist, wir wollen hier was machen. Gab es da irgendwann mal einen Punkt, an dem jemand gesagt hat, das wird mir zu groß, ich zieh da nicht mehr mit? Gab es Spannungen?

38   LN: Spannungen gibt es immer. Die Entscheidungen der Projektgruppe werden nicht gesetzt, sondern sie entwickeln sich durch den Diskussionsprozess. Der dauert mitunter. Da wird jede Frage kontrovers diskutiert, was auch gut ist, glaube ich. Da wird sich nicht blindlinks auf ein Urteil von jemandem verlassen, der sich auskennen mag, sondern da wird alles hinterfragt. Vielleicht gibt es nochmal eine andere Lösung. So z.B. auch beim Eckwerk. Das Eckwerk war einfach auch eine Möglichkeit, auf Basis des B-Plans, die Geschoßflächenzahl auf dem Holzmarkt zu reduzieren. Was natürlich finanziell eine Erleichterung für den Holzmarkt ist, weil es den Raum bietet zu sagen: ok, wir können hier weniger bauen. Wir müssen das gar nicht alles zu stellen und so viel Platz wie möglich nutzen. Wir können Raum schaffen, wo die Leute in der Hängematte sitzen. Das sind dann die Fragen, die sich durch so einen langen Diskussionsprozess auch ergeben. Ok, es war dann vielleicht ganz clever, sich da auch mal drüber zu streiten. Aber in der Zeit, wo ich hier bin, habe ich noch nicht die Situation gehabt, dass jemand sagt, die Entscheidung ist mir zu groß. Es können sich alle sehr gut einschätzen. Wenn sie sagen, dass ist eine Frage, die kann ich gar nicht allein beantworten oder erörtern— dafür ist die Gruppe dann halt auch da.

39   UG: Wie verlaufen die Grenzen zwischen Euren Ideen und der professionellen Planung? Ihr hattet ja teilweise ganz klare Vorstellungen, gerade was das Dorf angeht. Wie ist der Kontakt zu den einzelnen externen Planern?

40   LN: Also du hast ja gesagt, die Gruppe ist relativ heterogen und damit muss auch erstmal jeder von außen klarkommen. […] Das haben die Architekten jetzt auch gemerkt, da wurde gesagt, am besten ihr arbeitet zusammen, weil ihr könnt das gut, ihr könnt das gut. Man muss erstmal damit umgehen. Ich denke, an sich gibt es nicht wirklich eine Grenze. Es wird zusammen entwickelt und wenn man von außen als Planer oder Profi in seinem Gewerk dazukommt, muss man erstmal lernen damit umzugehen—mit dieser Lebens- und Arbeitsweise. Das ist halt immer ein nachfragen und umdenken, nicht wir machen das soundso. Es passiert einfach super viel im Prozess.

41   UG: Der damit auch länger dauert.

42   LN: Der kann länger dauern. Aber wenn ich da an andere Sachen wie die Stadtbahn denke, dann muss ich sagen, geht es auch wieder schnell. Dadurch dass es vermeintlich länger dauerte und man mehr hinterfragt, haben wir halt andere Lösungen gefunden.

43   UG: Was war das mit der Stadtbahn?

44   LN: Ach das sind so Sachen mit der Deutschen Bahn.

45   UG: Weil die Trasse über das Grundstück geht? Der Bereich unterhalb des Viadukts gehört ja zu Eurem Gelände.

46   LN: Genau, das nutzen wir auch mit aber das waren zum Teil auch wieder so rechtliche Genehmigungsfragen. Du kannst im Bahnviadukt nicht rumwerkeln wie Du willst, sondern das muss alles von der Bahn abgenommen werden und der Bundestrassen … schieß mich tot. Und sobald du ein Feuerzeug anmachen willst: Lahmlegung der Baustelle. Da haben wir das extrem schnell hinbekommen, indem man versucht, die andere Seite zu verstehen und darauf einzugehen. Innerhalb von einem knappen Jahr haben wir da eine Lösung gefunden.

47   UG: Die bisherigen Ausgaben für Planung und Bauarbeiten werden aus den Einlagen der Genossenschaft finanziert?

48 **LN:** Ja.

49 **UG:** Es gibt keine anderen Kapitalquellen?

50 **LN:** [Kopfschütteln] Also alles was Bau betrifft für die die GuK halt steht—sei es Baustelle, Zwischennutzung Bau—das ist alles Eigenkapital. Da ist nix mit Kredit.

51 **UG:** Das Projektmanagement und finanzielle Management liegt in Eurer Hand. Das übernimmt die Gesellschaft für urbane Kreativität?

52 **LN:** Das Quartiers Management ist Aufgabe der Holzmarkt Plus Genossenschaft und dann haben wir natürlich verschiedene Betreibergesellschaften. Du kannst nicht mir einer Gesellschaft alles machen. Wenn etwas passiert, musst Du so unabhängig sein, dass es Dir nicht die Füße wegreißt. Das heißt, es gibt die Holzmarkt BetriebsGmbH, die für Bau, Vermietung und Verpachtung zuständig ist. Dann gibt es natürlich die Erbbaurechtsnehmer. Das sind alles eigene Gesellschaften, die das organisieren und selbst verwalten. Und gesetzt den Fall, der Club funktioniert nicht wenn er fertig ist, dann wird nicht das ganze Projekt zugrunde gehen, sondern dann wird einfach ein neuer Mieter für den Club gesucht, weil die Immobilienwerte in unserer Hand liegen.

53 **UG:** Diese unterschiedlichen Einheiten, die Du beschrieben hast, sind innerhalb der Gruppe vertreten durch unterschiedliche Köpfe?

54 **LN:** Ja. Wobei da auch immer wieder neue dazugekommen sind. Deswegen ist es schwierig zu beantworten, wie groß das Team wirklich ist.

55 **UG:** Führt ihr keine Liste?

56 **LN:** Nein, das kann man auch nicht so richtig. Wir sprechen auch immer in der „wir" Form, weil es ist nicht so, dass hier irgendjemand irgendwas allein gemacht hat. Du kannst das von der Genossenschaft hochziehen, von den Initiatoren, die vor vier Jahren zu vielleicht fünf angefangen haben, sich das alles zu erarbeiten, bis hin zu den Betreibergesellschaften mit den Geschäftsführern und Angestellten, den ganzen Bauarbeitern und Handwerkern die hier am Start sind. Das zieht weite Kreise. Auch im Kater waren ja schon etwa 100 Leute beschäftigt.

57 **UG:** Die Kerngruppe hat klein angefangen. Hatte das Team jemals das Gefühl, das Projekt wird so groß, dass wir das nicht mehr managen können?

58 **LN:** Im Gegenteil. Das kam einfach durch die Notwendigkeit. Ich schaffe das einfach nicht, das Projekt macht es notwendig, dass sich gewisse Bereiche aufteilen, die sich da und da rum kümmern. Und so wird das Team durch die Notwendigkeit erweitert, wo man merkt: ok, da brauchen wir Hilfe. Es kommt mit dem Bedarf. Es gibt keine Stellen, die wir ausschreiben oder sonst was.

59 **UG:** Es gibt sicher ausreichend Zulauf.

60 **LN:** Ja, aber teilweise können wir noch gar nicht einschätzen, wie das vorangeht. Letztes Jahr hat z.B. ständig das Telefon geklingelt und alle wollten vorbeikommen und uns Fahrstühle hinstellen. Also die machen dann Akquise und Du sagst fünfmal: sorry, aber ...

61 **UG:** Gibt es denn auch schon ein Mieterinteresse?

62 **LN:** Total. Also vorn auf dem Nordteil, wo noch das Autohaus ist, da kümmere ich mich ja auch zum Teil drum, haben wir schon die ersten Mieter drin. Das Autohaus, was sowieso schon früher da war und von der BSR gemietet hat. AVIS ist da auch mit drin. Und jetzt haben wir auch das komplette Haus—was bis dato zur Hälfte leer stand—nochmal durchgeguckt und überlegt, was kann man hier reinmachen. Und jetzt sind Musikstudios und DJs—natürlich klein gedacht—drin. Lagerflächen, Künstler mit kleinem Atelier, Büroflächen. Da haben wir immer noch Anfragen, wir haben mittlerweile einfach keinen Platz mehr. Gerade auf dem Nordteil geht gar nichts mehr; hier [auf dem Südteil] ist es jetzt auch schon relativ gut genutzt. Und wenn ich ans Dorf denke, da haben wir seit zwei Jahren immer wieder Konzepte reinfliegen.

63 **UG:** Zahlen die Bestandsnutzer (AVIS usw.) an Euch Miete oder direkt an die Abendrot Stiftung?

64 **LN:** Bis letztes Jahr—da haben wir es ja erst übernommen—an die Grundstückseigentümerin und dadurch, dass wir jetzt den Erbbauzins zahlen ist das jetzt umstrukturiert. Wir zahlen die Erbbaurechtsmiete.

65 **UG:** Ihr müsst schon für Euren Teil aufkommen.

66 **LN:** Wir müssen seit letztem Jahr Miete zahlen. Das erwirtschaftet sich alles über die Zwischennutzung, die wir hier haben.

67 **UG:** Über das bisschen Freiraum?

68 **LN:** Über das hier, über die Vermietung im Nordteil. Und es ist so, dass alle damit leben können.

[…]

BER
——
AH

Interviewee: Aljoscha Hofmann, PhD research with focus on Mediaspree
Date: April 23, 2014
Place: Berlin University of Technology, Straße des 17. Juni 152, 10623 Berlin

[…]

3   **UG:** Welches waren aus Deiner Sicht die entscheidenden Planungsschritte im Mediaspree-Projekt?

4   **AH:** Naja, das ist jetzt ein bisschen die Frage, wie man Mediaspree versteht. Also die entscheidenden Schritte der Mediaspree-Planung beginnen ja eigentlich erst im Jahr 2002 mit der Gründung von Mediaspree als private Gesellschaft.

5   **UG:** Aber das Leitbild Spreeraum gab es bereits ein Jahr davor.

6   **AH:** Genau, aber das hat nichts mit Mediaspree zu tun, d.h. man muss sich entscheiden: redet man über die Entwicklung von Mediaspree oder über die Entwicklung des Spreeraums. Wenn man über die Entwicklung des Spreeraums redet, muss man mit dem Fall der Mauer anfangen, es handelt sich ja um ein ehemaliges Grenzgebiet. Da stoßen Ost und West am Fluss aufeinander. Beide hatten einen unterschiedlichen Umgang mit den Uferbereichen aber in beiden Fällen war es ein Randbereich in der Stadt und dementsprechend keine prädestinierte Lage für Büro- oder Wohnflächen. Kreuzberg hatte bis in die späten 90er Jahre noch einen Erhaltungssatzung für die Industriegebiete, die dort ausgerufen waren. Im Osten war der größte Teil Grenzgebiet, d.h. da waren die ganzen Befestigungsanlagen der Berliner Mauer, die erst nach und nach abgeräumt wurden, um überhaupt zugänglich zu werden. Und der Osthafen wurde erst 2004 als großer Industrieort entwickelt. Es hat lange gedauert, bis die eigentlichen Entwicklungen losgegangen sind aber die Planung beginnt schon in den 90ern. 1991/92 gibt es einen großen Wettbewerb für das Umfeld des Hauptbahnhofs, heute Ostbahnhof. Das ist eigentlich der Stein, der die Entwicklung ins Rollen bringt.

7   **UG:** Versuchen wir mal, das aufzurollen: Umbruchphase, dann erste Überlegungen und Wettbewerbe, die neue Hauptstadtvision für Berlin, das Planwerk Innenstadt …

8   **AH:** Ja, aber das ist erst viel später.

9   **UG:** Genau, also 1999 wird das Planwerk abgesegnet, dann kommt das Leitbild Spreeraum, was ja zum Teil auch darauf basiert. Inwiefern hat das Mediaspree-Projekt mit seiner funktionalen Auslegung noch etwas mit dem Planwerk Innenstadt zu tun?

10   **AH:** Eigentlich erstmal gar nichts. Das sind unterschiedliche Planungs- und Entwicklungsstränge, die da zusammenlaufen. Der Rahmenplan ist 1993 von Hemprich/Tophof entstanden. Er hatte hauptsächlich städtebauliche Festlegungen aber noch keine Nutzungsfestlegungen oder ähnliches. Da gibt es einen relativ guten Text von Uwe Altrock, seine Dissertationsschrift „Büroflächenpolitik in Berlin." Da wird das Thema bereits als eines der Fallbeispiele behandelt. Da sieht man, dass das städtebauliche Leitbild, was dem Rahmenplan zugrunde liegt, sehr schnell aufgeweicht wird. Die Investoren fordern nach Verkäufen immer mehr Fläche ein. Gleichzeitig ist das eben eine Zeit in Berlin, in der die Entwicklung von einer gewissen Euphorie getrieben war. Harald Bodenschatz hat sehr viel dazu geschrieben. Man ging davon aus, dass Berlin wieder Welthauptstadt wird, nicht nur politisch, sondern eben auch industriell-wirtschaftlich ein Schwergewicht. Jeder der einen Arbeitsplatz geboten hat, wurde mit Kusshand genommen und dementsprechend wurden die Entwicklungsrechte relativ freizügig vergeben. Gleichzeitig muss man natürlich sagen, die Stadt hatte zu dem Zeitpunkt extrem viel Bauflächenpotential, allein die gesamten innerstädtischen Mauergebiete, aber auch sonst gab es viele Brachen. Die Entwicklung hat sich ja dann ein bisschen anders gestaltet. Mitte der 90er sind [im östlichen Spreeraum] erst ganz wenige Projekte erst realisiert, v.a. in den Randbereichen zwischen Elsenbrücke und Jannowitzbrücke, [z.B. Josetti-Höfe, Treptowers und Twintowers]. Im gesamten Innenbereich passiert aber sehr lange nichts. […] Seit 2001 gibt es das Leitbild Spreeraum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, was auf verschiedenen Punkten basiert. Zum einen gibt es erste Planungen für eine große Multifunktionsarena. Soweit ich weiß, sind damals zwei Standorte im Gespräch: Südkreuz und Ostbahnhof. Letztendlich fällt die Entscheidung für den Ostbahnhof und damit gibt es ein großes Projekt als Anstoß, hier auch das Umfeld weiter zu betrachten. Zum anderen sind in der 90ern jede Menge Planungen genehmigt aber noch nicht realisiert worden. Es gibt eine große Anzahl an Baugenehmigungen und Einzelplanungen aber keinen übergreifenden Masterplan. Das Anschutz Areal um die O2 World ist eigentlich der größte zusammenhängende Masterplan—24ha in einem gesamten Entwicklungsgebiet von ursprünglich 180ha. Da kann man sich fragen, inwieweit dort städtebauliche [Aspekte] thematisiert wurden oder eben nicht. 2001 wird mit diesem Leitbild das erste Mal eine zeichnerische Darstellung geliefert, die das gesamte Gebiet zeigt, sowohl vorhandene Planungen—damals noch mit dem SpreeSinus von Axel Schultes und ähnlichen Absurditäten, die aus dem fast 10-jährigen Planungsvorlauf generiert wurden—als auch Chiffrezeichnungen aus dem

Planwerk Innenstadt und anderen Planungen, die über das Planwerk hinausgehen, weil es z.B. gar nicht in den Bereich nördlich des Osthafens hineinreichte. Es war ein relativ begrenztes Gebiet. Im Zuge dieser Planung wurden neue Chiffrezeichnungen fürs RW-Gelände und Ostbahnhof-Umfeld eingefügt, die aber als Blockchiffre zu lesen sind. Die haben keine Durchplanung gesehen.

11 **UG:** Das Leitbild Spreeraum ist also eine Mischung aus den zu dieser Zeit aktuellen und genehmigten Bauprojekten und dem noch sehr abstrakten Level des Planwerks Innenstadt.

12 **AH:** Genau, plus weiteren Ergänzungen. Aus meiner Sicht ist das eine richtige Collage. Sie bekommt aber eine gewisse Einheitlichkeit durch die verwendeten Farben: Neubauten in gelb bis orange, dunkelrot für Planwerk und andere Planungen. Es ist eine relativ homogene Zeichnung, die das Gefühl vermittelt, es gäbe hier einen großen Wurf, den es meiner Meinung nach nicht gibt. Deswegen ist das Thema meiner Dissertation: fragmentierter Städtebau. Es gibt keinen zusammenhängenden Entwurf. 2002 entsteht die Gruppierung Mediaspree—am Anfang als GmbH. Eine privatwirtschaftliche Gesellschaft, die aus Grundstückseigentümern und Entwicklern besteht, mit Behala, BSR, ich glaube die Bahn dabei, Immobilienentwickler und HochTief. Sie versuchen, das Projekt rein privatwirtschaftlich vorwärts zu bringen. Sie treten auf Immobilienmessen und privatwirtschaftlichen Veranstaltungen auf. Davon dringt wenig an die Öffentlichkeit und es gibt auch kaum Material darüber. Es gibt eine Studie der RegoConsult aus dem Jahr 2002, die diesen Standort perspektivisch als Medien- und Dienstleistungsstandort aufzeigt. Soweit ich weiß, wird dort erstmalig gesagt, es kann ein solcher Cluster werden, das ist mit den umliegenden Funktionen günstig.

13 **UG:** Das ist zunächst mal nichts weiter als ein Gedankenkonstrukt der Eigentümer und Projektentwickler, ein Vermarktungstool, um Investoren zu gewinnen.

14 **AH:** Genau, und 2005 wird das ja 1:1 fortgeführt. Da wird das *regionalmanagement mediaspree eV* eingerichtet, d.h. das Ganze wird als Verein dargestellt, der ja als öffentliche Institution einen Beirat hat. Die Förderung kommt interessanterweise vom Wirtschaftssenat, nicht von der Stadtentwicklung. Die Stadtentwicklung ist nicht großartig beteiligt, die Bezirke sind beteiligt. Man würde denken, dass auf der Ebene eines solchen städtebaulichen Projektes die Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung federführend ist—das ist nicht der Fall.

15 **UG:** Schon von Anfang an nicht?

16 **AH:** Schon von Anfang an. Also der Verein hat, wenn die Zahlen, die ich gefunden habe richtig sind, ein Budget von 300.000 Euro für drei Jahre, um Öffentlichkeitsarbeit zu machen. Also mit einem öffentlichen Bildungsauftrag versehen aber eben auch als Wirtschaftsförderung, um diesen Bereich nach vorne zu bringen. Zu dieser Zeit sind schon Universal und MTV dort hingezogen. Universal 2001, MTV 2004. Es haben sich also schon einige global player aus der Medien- und Dienstleistungsbranche angesiedelt. Dementsprechend liegt es nahe zu sagen, ok man positioniert sich dahin. Und es wird von der Wirtschaftsförderungsseite, aus meiner Sicht, so gesehen, dass es ein günstiger Moment ist, das Ganze vorwärts zu bringen. Und 2005 ist dann der Punkt an dem sich eine verstärkte Öffentlichkeit bildet. Es wird die Broschüre *Mediaspree – Ankerplatz Zukunft* herausgegeben. Und es gründet sich eine Bürgerinitiative, die das erste Mal sagt, wir wollen diese Planung nicht.

17 **UG:** 2005?

18 **AH:** 2005. Da tritt sie, soweit ich weiß, das erste Mal beim Christopher Street Day auf. […] Es dauert dann bis 2007, bis der Protest so richtig hochkocht. Da gibt es einen entscheidenden nächsten Punkt: die Veröffentlichung der Luftbildcollagen.

19 **UG:** Genau, da hatten wir schon mal drüber gesprochen. Ok, und das Ganze steigert sich bis zum Bürgerentscheid 2008. Inwiefern ist das Ergebnis des Bürgerentscheids, was ja rechtlich keine große Handhabe hat, in eine nachfolgende Planung miteingegangen? Bebauungspläne im Nachhinein zu ändern, Dichten zu verringern ist ja nicht so einfach.

20 **AH:** Also was heißt, das ist nicht so einfach? In der Regel ist es sehr einfach. Die Planungshoheit liegt bei der öffentlichen Hand damit hat sie alle Möglichkeiten, Planungen zu ändern wenn sie es begründen kann, z.B. mit gesellschaftlichem Interesse, allgemeinem Interesse. Das geht. Das Problem ist der Rechtsstaat und aus solchen Entscheidungen kommen dann eben auch Verpflichtungen. Das bedeutet wenn ich mich an irgendeiner Stelle gegen eine Planung, die ich genehmigt habe, entscheide, also sie zurückziehe, hat der Genehmigungsinhaber in der Regel ein Anrecht auf Entschädigung. Da kommt jetzt wieder die schwierige finanzielle Situation Berlins hinzu. Es gab damals diese Zahl von 163 Millionen Euro Entschädigung wenn Mediaspree abgesagt wird. Das beinhaltete alle genehmigten Planungen aber auch den Abriss aller schon realisierten Gebäude. Es war eine sehr merkwürdige Zahl und zeigt, dass die damalige Debatte sehr heiß und auch ein bisschen polemisch geführt wurde. Da wurde schnell mal geschönt oder nicht so präzise argumentiert. Das hat sich später zum Glück geändert. Aber zu der Zeit war es eben so. Man kann jede Planung ändern. Man hätte auch die O2 World als Projekt nochmal rückabwickeln können wenn man aus städtischer Sicht gesagt hätte, wir wollen jetzt doch keine Multifunktionsarena an dem Ort haben. Aber das sind natürlich etliche

Millionen, die man dann in die Hand nimmt. Der Bürgerentscheid hat eine rechtlich bindende Wirkung; er gilt wie ein Beschluss der Bezirksverordnetenversammlung (BVV) auf der lokalen Ebene. Es ist ja ein Bürger- und kein Volksentscheid, also auf Bezirksebene und hat damit eine rechtsbindende Wirkung für das Bezirksamt, das ja in dem Fall die untere Planungsbehörde ist. Für alle Grundstücke, auf denen es kein Baurecht gibt, ist der Beschluss quasi bindend, d.h. die drei Punkte, die dort abgestimmt wurden (keine Hochhäuser, 50m Abstand, usw.) sind eigentlich für alle Orte, die kein Planungsrecht haben verpflichtend aber nicht für die Orte, die bereits ein Planungsrecht haben. Dementsprechend war die Frage, wie man jetzt an der Stelle damit umgehen kann. Die rechtliche Verbindlichkeit auf bestehende Planung war sehr gering. Der Sonderausschuss Spreeraum in der BVV war zu gewissen Zeiten ein recht zahnloser Tiger, der zwar alle Grundstücke mal untersucht hat, der aber letztendlich an vielen Grundstücken auch nichts mehr machen konnte. Gleichzeitig hat der Bürgerentscheid aber dort geholfen, wo z.B. eine Baugenehmigung ausgelaufen ist und verlängert werden musste. Das ist nämlich ein Punkt, wo man sehr gut einhaken und Forderungen stellen kann, weil man eine Baugenehmigung nicht selbstverständlich in der vorliegenden Form verlängern muss. Aber auch bei Eigentümerwechsel und ähnlichem hatte der Bürgermeister Franz Schulz oftmals das Glück, dass er mit dem Protest und mit dem Bürgerbegehren argumentieren konnte und so zumindest gewisse Anpassungen in den Baugenehmigungen festlegen konnte. Also z.B. beim sogenannten Columbushaus, wie es ursprünglich hieß. Ich glaube die sind inzwischen auch das dritte Mal weiterverkauft worden, wo das Yaam jetzt gerade noch ein paar letzte Tage verbringt. Ich glaube es waren nur 5m Uferstreifen geplant, […]. Und da wurde jetzt im Gespräch die Baugenehmigung verrutscht, d.h. es sollten 10m Uferstreifen entstehen dafür wird aber zur Straßenseite hin ein zusätzliches Geschoss genehmigt, sodass es einen gewissen Baumassenausgleich gibt. Einen Kompromiss zwischen den Interessen der Öffentlichkeit am Ufer lang zu gehen und den Interessen des Investors nach Geschoßflächen. Bei solchen Fällen hilft dann ein Bürgerentscheid schon.

21   **UG:** Ist Dir zum Holzmarkt-Projekt etwas bekannt, dass sich da nachträglich nochmal was in Bezug auf die B-Plan-Regelungen geändert hat?

22   **AH:** Erstmal hat sich dort der B-Plan nicht verändert. Er hat weiterhin Gültigkeit, soweit ich das weiß. Ich bin da jetzt nicht auf dem letzten Stand. Die Holzmarkt-Leute müssen ja auch ihre Projekte eingereicht haben und die Genehmigung ist umfassender als das, was sie vorhaben. Das bedeutet die Planungen sind meines Erachtens alle im Rahmen der bestehenden Genehmigungen.

23   **UG:** Es gibt zwei Abweichungen mit dem Club und dem Restaurant, weil die ans Wasser rücken aber ansonsten liegt alles im Rahmen des bestehenden B-Plans.

24   **AH:** Soweit ich weiß, ist das Projekt auf Grundlage des vorhandenen B-Plans genehmigungsfähig.

25   **UG:** Das hat sich das Holzmarkt-Projekt in den letzten Jahren stark entwickelt, insbesondere in Bezug zum öffentlichen Raum. Die Bar25, die ja der Vorläufer des Holzmarkt-Projekts war, war eher ein halböffentlicher Bereich, zu gewissen Zeiten zugänglich oder auch nicht. In der Konzeptphase gab es einige Diskussionen, ob es öffentlich wird oder nicht. Man hat sich dafür entschieden, eine große Vielfalt an Nutzungen, eingebunden in eine Art Park, anzubieten.

26   **AH:** Mörchenpark.

27   **UG:** Mörchenpark, genau. Inwiefern denkst Du, dass das ein gut genutzter öffentlicher Raum wird?

28   **AH:** Also vom Prinzip—ich habe ja auch mit den Betreibern mehrfach gesprochen in den vergangenen Jahren—würde ich zunächst einschätzen, dass es, wenn man dem folgt, was sie sagen, ein öffentlicher Raum wird. Es ist natürlich ein privater Raum aber er wird öffentlich zugänglich sein. Also nicht wie die Bar25 zu bestimmten Zeiten und mit Zugangskontrolle, sondern, so wie ich das verstanden habe, rund um die Uhr. Da gibt es ja eben dieses Kreativdorf, der Mörchenpark. Sie werben ja auch damit, dass sie öffentlicher Raum sein wollen, gerade der Mörchenpark als urban gardening und Begegnungsprojekt. Ich glaube, es ist an der Stelle schwierig, zurück zu rudern. Ich könnte mir vorstellen, dass im Laufe der Jahre da vielleicht doch eine nächtliche Schließung für Bereiche passiert wenn sich, ich sage mal, Vandalismus oder ähnliches einstellt, der sich nicht kontrollieren läßt, dann wird man da irgendwelche Mittel ergreifen müssen. Gleichzeitig ist aber auch so, dass es eine Klientel ist, die eine 24h-Nutzung macht, sodass man davon ausgehen kann, dass eine gewisse soziale Kontrolle vorhanden sein wird. Also insofern gehe ich nicht davon aus, dass der Bereich wirklich von der Zugänglichkeit her kontrolliert oder beschränkt wird. Ich glaube vielmehr, dass es sich zu einer relativ selbsttragenden Einschränkung entwickeln wird, wer den Raum nutzt, einfach aufgrund der Interessen, die dort im Raum verhandelt werden bzw. aufgrund der Angebote. Also ich gehe davon aus, bestimmte Gruppen werden den Raum meiden oder eben aufsuchen, wie das an vielen Orten der Stadt ist. Ohne das wertend zu meinen. Das ist eben ganz klar: wenn es ein Ort wird, der eher liberal und freiheitsdenkend ist und vielleicht mit entsprechender musikalischer Untermalung aus der elektronischen Musikszene, dann ist das eben vielleicht nicht für jedermann das entsprechende Umfeld.

29   **UG:** Die Gruppen, die dieses Projekt umsetzen und die, die sie damit ansprechen wollen, wie würdest Du sie beschreiben? Das scheint mitunter eher einseitig …

30 **AH:** Also ich würde jetzt nicht unbedingt sagen, dass es einseitig ist. Ich kenne sehr viele Leute aus unterschiedlichen Milieus, sage ich mal, die jetzt z.B. die Bar25 oder den Kater Holzig aufsuchen oder aufgesucht haben und die wahrscheinlich auch potentielle Klientel für Mörchenpark und die neue Bar25—oder wie sie dann auch immer heißen mag an der Stelle—sein werden. Das ist zum Teil vielleicht ein jüngeres Publikum. Wobei man sagen muss, die Bar25 ist ja auch ein paar Jahre her. Also die Klientel ist mitgealtert, hat aber nicht unbedingt das Interesse an den Idealen und an der Lebensart verloren. Also auch die Leute, die die Bar25 betrieben haben, die irgendwann gesagt haben: also permanent im Bauwagen ist vielleicht auch nicht mehr so das richtige mit Familie. Es muss nicht das top ausgebaute Penthouse mit allem Komfort und Putzfrau sein aber ein gewisser Komfort, gerade mit Kleinkindern, ist dann schon nützlich oder eben komfortabel. Sodass sich die Prozesse, wie man selbst die Orte bespielt und damit auch deren Angebote, verändern. Es soll ja z.B. die 24h-Kita geben.

31 **UG:** Ist die noch im Gespräch?

32 **AH:** Sie war auf jeden Fall immer im Gespräch, ob sie denn wirklich kommt, wird man sehen. Das sind ja auch immer Fragen der Finanzierung. Der Bedarf ist auf jeden Fall da. Es wird sicherlich eine gesellschaftliche Diskussion geben.

33 **UG:** Auf die bin ich gespannt.

34 **AH:** Ja, finde ich auch spannend. Das ist jetzt … aber mein Gott, warum nicht. Ich denke da wird sich vieles entwickeln aber es wird sicherlich eher ein beschränkter Personenkreis bleiben. Wobei ich mich jetzt frage, ob sowas wie das Kulturforum oder irgendwelche anderen Orte in der Stadt, die öffentlich sind, z.B. nehmen wir das obere Ende vom Ku'damm, also Richtung Westen raus: ist das ein Raum für alle? Kann man dann auch sagen, ja ist es, das ist ein öffentlicher Raum. Es gibt Cafés, es gibt Geschäfte und so weiter und so fort. Aber das Angebot ist sicherlich für viele Leute nicht ansprechend. Aus verschiedenen Gründen. Weil es nicht ihre Szene ist, weil es nicht ihre Preiskategorie ist. Also ich bin der festen Überzeugung, Stadt soll gemischt sein aber das bedeutet nicht alle an einem Ort, immer, zwingend. Es gibt eben Orte, die sind gruppenspezifisch.

35 **UG:** Das Umfeld ist eher zweigeteilt: zum einen die Kreuzberger Seite, von der sicherlich viele das Gelände nutzen werden und zum anderen die Plattenbaustruktur nördlich des Holzmarkts. Ein ganz anderes Wohnpublikum aber mit unmittelbarer Nähe zum Grundstück. Siehst Du dort Potenzial, dass auch andere Gruppen angesprochen werden könnten?

36 **AH:** Ja, das weiß ich nicht. Also zum einen ist es vielleicht nicht im Interesse der Betreiber und zum anderen ist es nicht in dem Rahmen, den sie mitbestimmen können. Faktisch ist es eben so, dass bestimmte Personengruppen auch wenn sie ein Angebot vorfinden würden aufgrund dessen, was sie davon erwarten und sehen, es gar nicht—sozusagen—ausprobieren. Also wenn man sie jetzt ganz gezielt anfangen würde zu bewerben dann würden sie vielleicht gar nicht hinkommen. Also ich kann es nicht einschätzen. Es wird sicherlich auch einige geben, in dem Bereich, die das nutzen werden. Und wenn man jetzt so Stereotypen aufmachen will: das sind ja nicht alles arbeitslose HartzIV-Empfängerinnen, die Alkoholprobleme haben und den ganzen Tag nichts tun und nicht das Klientel sind, sondern das ist auch da ein sehr buntes Publikum, sehr gemischtes inzwischen ja auch. Es hat sich ja in Berlin auch ein gewisser Wandel in den Bevölkerungsstrukturen getan, sodass ich mir durchaus vorstellen kann, dass auch da ein Publikum ist, was dorthin geht, weil gerade die Plattenbauten, sind nicht mehr so unattraktiv für Studenten, für Familien.

37 **UG:** Es scheinen eher bildungsnahe Planer- und Nutzergruppen zu sein.

38 **AH:** Ja, je nachdem wie man es halt sieht. Ich glaube sowas wie der Mörchenpark ist tendenziell eine Bildungseinrichtung, zumindest ist das der Anspruch, so wie ich es verstanden habe. Das heißt, der wird sicherlich auch über den lokalen Kontext hinaus für Familien mit Kindern interessant sein. Ähnlich wie die Prinzessinnengärten. Wo findet man Orte, an denen man Natur in der Stadt erleben kann? Wo man durch das selber Gärtnern einen Bezug zu Lebensmittelkreisläufen bekommt? Ich denke, dass solche Orte dann durchaus sowohl ein Bildungsschichtpublikum anspricht wie auch Leute, die da vielleicht nur entspannen wollen. Ich würde das erstmal nicht so eng sehen. Ich glaube, dass sowas wie der Club viel fokussierter ist.

39 **UG:** Ich muss nochmal nachhaken. Du hast schon eine Art indirekten Ausschluss angedeutet, also nicht durch Zugangsbeschränkung, sondern dadurch, dass sich eine Gruppe mit einem bestimmten Motto findet. Wer könnte dort ausgeschlossen werden?

40 **AH:** Wie gesagt, ich glaube ein Großteil dieser Exklusion ist oftmals selbstgewählt. Also [das passiert] nicht immer nur direkt, sondern oftmals aufgrund von einem fehlenden Zugehörigkeitsgefühl. Ich finde, das Thema kann man gut an einer Kneipe oder einem Lokal festmachen. Also es gibt ein Café, eine Kette: clean, alles ist durchstrukturiert, sauber. Da geht mehr oder weniger jeder rein und je nachdem was sie für ein Bestuhlungsangebot haben, kommen da auch Studenten rein, um sich zwei Stunden hinzulümmeln. Oder wenn man merkt, es ist so bestuhlt, dass es eben auch gar nicht

so gemütlich ist, es lädt nicht ein, auf den Stühlen länger als eine halbe Stunde zu sitzen—das ist ja teilweise auch gewollt—dann wird man es anders nutzen. Es bleibt aber prinzipiell für alle offen. Wenn man jetzt eine Eckkneipe irgendwo hat, wo draußen dransteht „Futschi 1,20" und um 10 Uhr morgens sitzen schon drei Leute draußen mit dem ersten Bier, die sich lallend und vielleicht schon etwas lauter anschimpfen, weil sie sich über das Fußballspiel von gestern Abend uneins sind, dann wird es Leute davon abhalten, dort reinzugehen selbst wenn da dransteht „Hier gibt's auch Limonade." Weil man einfach denkt, nee, das ist jetzt nicht meine Klientel, da will ich nicht rein. Genauso wie es eben auch Leute gibt, die auf der Suche nach einem billigen Bier sind, weil sie vielleicht ein geringes Einkommen haben. Die an einem Laden vorbeikommen, der sehr schick aussieht und ohne auf die Karte zu gucken davon ausgehen, dort wird es kein billiges Bier geben. Dann sitzen da vielleicht auch nur junge Leute drin und damit sagen sie automatisch, das ist nicht mein Publikum, die werden mich alle komisch angucken und schließen sich damit selber aus. Man weiß es aber nicht. Viele scheuen dann auch den Schritt, das auszuprobieren. Und ich glaube, dass solche Prozesse dort genauso stattfinden. Die finden einfach grundsätzlich statt.

41   **UG:** Die Kneipe ist ein interessanter Vergleich. Der Unterschied dabei ist natürlich, dass das Projekt einen wesentlich größeren Maßstab und den Anspruch hat, maßgeblich Stadt mit zu entwickeln unter der Prämisse wir eignen uns Stadtraum an.

42   **AH:** Es ist und bleibt aber ein privates Grundstück, was eventuell bis zu einem gewissen Grad ein öffentliches Geh- und Wegerecht beinhaltet.

43   **UG:** Aufgrund der Großzügigkeit der Projektentwickler, die sagen, wir bieten öffentlichen Raum an. Das Projekt will eine Alternative zum Projektentwickler-Städtebau sein, wie wir ihn sonst bei Mediaspree kennengelernt haben. Nur sind sich diese Alternativ-Projekte in ihrer teilweise ausschließenden Gruppenstruktur nicht auch immer ähnlich?

44   **AH:** Das weiß ich nicht. Also betrachtet man mal die ganzen Projekte, die versuchen, günstigen Wohnraum in Eigentumsstrukturen zu schaffen—aber nicht Privateigentum, sondern Gesellschaftseigentum. Jedes Hausprojekt ist eine Gesellschaft und wenn man das Haus verlässt, verlässt man auch die Gesellschaft. Man hat kein privates Eigentum erworben aber damit es dem Markt entzogen wird, wird es ein Eigentum. Diese Projekte sind sehr unterschiedlich bezüglich Größe, Struktur, ob es Einzelwohnungen sind, ob es Gemeinschaftsräume gibt, ob es Neubauprojekte sind oder wie auch immer. Man wird aber glaube ich immer tendenziell Leute mit einer gewissen Lebensauffassung finden, die dieses Angebot überhaupt wahrnehmen oder sich dafür interessieren, die vielleicht auch überhaupt—wenn wir mal in der Diskussion bleiben—mieten. Die sich überhaupt mit dem Thema auseinandersetzen, weil es sie was angeht. Wenn ich jeden Monat 10.000 Euro verdiene und im Eigentum wohne, dann interessiert mich das Mietenthema nicht. Wenn ich Eigentümer von 10 Häusern bin dann wird mich das evt. auch nicht interessieren … also vielleicht ja, vielleicht auch nein. Was ich meine ist, es gibt einfach unterschiedliche Lebensrealitäten, was ja auch gut ist. Und diese Gruppen haben zwangsläufig nicht viel miteinander zu tun, weil sie unterschiedliche Interessen haben. Und sie schaffen sich Orte, an denen sie ihre Interessen ausleben. Das bedeutet, dass damit sofort Räume entstehen, die eine bestimmte Färbung haben und dadurch für andere Gruppen nicht mehr interessant sind. Also banal: wenn ich Punker bin und den ganzen Tag Punk hören will dann werde ich nicht in den öffentlichen Raum gehen, wo evt. den ganzen Tag Elektro gespielt wird, mag er noch so schön und öffentlich zugänglich sein. Weil ich dann sage, nee, also der Ort ist schön aber bitte könnt ihr mal Punk spielen. Wenn ihr Punk spielt komme ich sofort. So, das ist eine Kleinigkeit, sage ich jetzt mal. Oder das Mörchenpark-Angebot, das spricht vielleicht Familien mit Kindern an, weil es ein Bildungs- und Freizeitangebot ist, was man am Tag machen kann. Also für Leute, die Kinderbetreuung machen und nicht arbeiten und tagsüber händeringend Aktivitätsmöglichkeiten suchen mit den kids, teilweise auch im niedrigschwelligen, nicht kostenintensiven Bereich. Wenn man dann dort so etwas findet, wird man dort hingehen. Und da werden evt. auch Leute sagen: „Also Kindergeschrei geht mir sowas von auf die Nerven" und nicht dort hingehen. Das heißt also einfach, es gibt Ausschlusskriterien aus meiner Sicht, die nicht in irgendeiner Weise böswillig sind, die aber immer greifen, immer wirken werden.

45   **UG:** Du hast eben die höhere Einkommensschicht beschrieben. Was ist mit denen, die sehr wohl öffentlichen Raum und leistbaren Wohnraum wollen, sich vielleicht auch eine Genossenschaft vorstellen könnten aber das gar nicht kennen, die Möglichkeit nicht sehen oder vielleicht auch die Bildung nicht haben, um sich einzubringen?

46   **AH:** Ich weiß nicht. Ich meine das kommt dann sehr darauf an, ob sie durch irgendetwas erreicht werden. Es kommt darauf an, ob sie sich mit dem Problem auseinandersetzen. Also wenn wir jetzt klassisch beim Arbeitslosen, vielleicht Langzeitarbeitslosen sind, für den die Mietenproblematik oder Geldfragen wichtige Themen sind, bleibt halt die Frage, inwieweit richtet [man] sich in bestimmten Strukturen ein oder ist daran interessiert, diese Strukturen zu verändern und sich andere Angebote zu erschließen. Und ich kann ja—wenn ich z.B. ein kostenloses Bildungsangebot mache und das in Flyern aushänge—nicht beeinflussen, ob das jemand liest oder nicht. Ich kann nicht beeinflussen, wer das liest und wer es nicht liest, wer darauf anspricht. Ich kann viel optisch, gestalterisch usw. tun.

Trotzdem hängt es am Ende sehr stark vom Einzelnen ab, wieweit man sich um sowas kümmert.

[…]

55 **UG:** Glaubst Du, dass Projekte wie der Holzmarkt, bei dem sich eine Gruppe zusammengefunden hat und es in einem langwierigen Prozess geschafft hat, das Projekt selbst in die Hand zu nehmen und ein ambitioniertes Konzept zu entwickeln, eine neue Möglichkeit sind Stadt zu entwickeln? Ein Ausweg aus dem Projektentwickler-Städtebau? Ist das ein Kompromiss oder eine Alternative?

56 **AH:** Also ich denke, es ist mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit ein anderer Weg, ein neuer Weg. Ob er besser ist, will ich zu dem jetzigen Zeitpunkt gar nicht sagen, weil man erst am Ende der Entwicklung oder wenn die Entwicklung ein Stück weiter ist, sagen kann, was dort für ein Raum oder für Nutzungen entstehen. Was dort für Zugänglichkeiten und für Öffentlichkeit entsteht. Ob am Ende ein paar wenige verdienen oder ob das wirklich ein anderer Ort ist. […] Niemand wird solchen Projekten absprechen, dass sie kostendeckend arbeiten müssen, dass sie ein gewisses Profitinteresse für Erhalt, Instandhaltung, oder sogar Weiterbau haben dürfen. Was solche Projekte ganz klar aufzeigen: wie kann man Stadt entwickeln, wie kann man Orte schaffen, die nicht nur nach Renditeerwartungen funktionieren. Das ist sicherlich etwas, wo wir in den letzten Jahren einen großen Schritt vorwärts gemacht haben, […]

[…]

63 **UG:** […] Inwiefern glaubst Du, dass das Holzmarktgrundstück, was ja eher ein Nischengrundstück am westlichen Ende von Mediaspree ist, sich dazu angeboten hat, dass so ein Projekt dort entstehen kann?

64 **AH:** Also ich glaube, das hat nichts mit dem Nischendasein zu tun, sondern mit der zeitlichen Entwicklung. Das hat was damit zu tun, dass die Bar25 dort war und dass die z.B. ihre Schließung zu einem Zeitpunkt hatte, als der Protest gegen Mediaspree schon in vollem Gange war. Als die öffentliche Debatte und die Wahrnehmung für den Verlust solcher Orte z.B. durch die Renderings, die für bestimmte gesellschaftliche Gruppen nicht so attraktiv wirken, gegeben war. Gleichzeitig ohne richtige Perspektive. Es gab zu diesem Zeitpunkt nicht wirklich einen Investor. Zumindest war es nicht so, dass jemand sagte, hier ist der Koffer voll Geld, wenn ich darf, fang ich morgen an zu bauen. Es gab zwar Interessenten für das Grundstück, die hat es vorher auch schon immer gegeben, aber passiert ist trotzdem nichts. Es gab eine aktive Gruppe, die diesen Raum bespielt und gestaltet hat, die ihn vielen Leuten zugänglich gemacht hat, die zeitweilig als Arbeitgeber bis zu 100 Arbeitsplätze hatte und damit auch für den Bezirk eine gewisse Bedeutung hatte. Ein politisches Gewicht. Ein sehr gut laufendes wirtschaftliches Unternehmen, was nicht heißt, dass sie wahnsinnig viele Rücklagen gebildet haben aber zumindest war es, glaube ich, kein Negativgeschäft, was sie dort betrieben haben. Was ihnen ja auch die Möglichkeit gegeben hat, so schnell zum Kater Holzig auszuweichen. Eine gute Vernetzung. Ein hohes soziales Kapital seitens der Betreiber. Und nicht nur das, sondern eben auch einen hohen ideologischen Anspruch, an der Stelle aktiv zu werden. Die Betreiber vom Oststrand, zum Beispiel, die tendenziell auch viel mehr hätten machen können, sind politisch nicht so aktiv geworden. Sie haben ihre Zwischennutzung gemacht und sind mehr oder weniger stillschweigend abgezogen. Während z.B. das Yaam, was ja auch ein Verein ist, viel stärker die Öffentlichkeit sucht und eine Protesthaltung gegen die Verdrängung einnimmt, was ja jetzt hoffentlich auch zu einer längerfristigen Perspektive geführt hat. Das bedeutet also, das sind schon sehr unterschiedliche Gruppen. Gleichzeitig gab es in der Ecke lange Zeit wenig Entwicklung: die Eisfabrik stand lange leer, der Kater Holzig stand vorher lange leer, das Kiki Blofeld, das lange bestand bevor das Spreefeld entwickelt wurde. Und mit dem Spreefeld war auch klar, dass ist jetzt keine normale Entwicklung, sondern das ist so ein alternativer Entwickler. Das bedeutet, das Umfeld ist relativ günstig. Nebenan das Radialsystem mit einem kreativen Betreiber. Es ist eine Ecke, die auch im Forum Stadtspree und durch die Stiftung Zukunft behandelt wurde, bei dem relativ viele Akteure mit einem anderen Interesse zusammenkommen.

65 **UG:** Wobei auffällig ist, dass zunächst v.a. das nördliche Ufer bespielt wurde.

66 **AH:** Ja, gut das ist auch die bessere Lage, das ist die Sonnenseite.

67 **UG:** Ist das der einzige Grund?

68 **AH:** Nein, das ist nicht der einzige Grund. Es war auch eine Frage der Zugänglichkeit. Das Kiki Blofeld war lange Zeit auf der Südseite. Der schwarze Kanal war lange Zeit auf der Brache an der Ecke, hat sie durchaus auch bespielt—ein Theater. Da war durchaus Öffentlichkeit als eines der sehenswerten Off-Theater der Stadt, natürlich nicht zu vergleichen mit den großen Häusern aber für ein interessiertes

Publikum durchaus spannend. Aber eben eine Nischenzugehörigkeit und deswegen auch nicht soviel Aufmerksamkeit. Dann gab es die ganze Reihe der Strandbars, die vor allem auf dem Mauerstreifen waren wodurch die Nordseite stärker belebt wurde. Und dann die Frage der Zugänglichkeit—mit der BSR. Ist ja immer eine Frage, wer sind die Grundstückseigentümer, kriegt man überhaupt einen Vertrag zur Zwischennutzung. Vielleicht hat man das auf der Südseite so nicht bekommen. Dadurch gab es eben eher eine Belebung der Nordseite.

69   **UG:** Die Besonderheiten dieses Grundstücks sind auch die zwei Ebenen: unten die Stadtebene und oben die Bahntrasse. Das ist ja auch ein Perspektivwechsel. Ich bin ein Stück weit abgeschlossen durch den Fluss und die Holzmarktstraße, eingezwängt und doch prominent, von oben einsehbar und total öffentlich.

70   **AH:** Ja, klar aber natürlich auch ein gutes Grundstück, um einen Club aufzumachen, weil es ein abgelegener und tendenziell lauter Standort ist. Es gibt natürlich Wohnbebauung drum herum aber …

71   **UG:** … aber mit einer gewissen Distanz. Dieser von der Holzmarktstraße gerahmte Streifen hat bereits einen Sondernutzungsaspekt. Das zieht sich ja bis zur Jannowitzbrücke. Insofern ist das schon, denke ich, eine gewisse Besonderheit des Grundstücks, die bereits die erste Zwischennutzung begünstigt.

72   **AH:** Das ist sicherlich eine Besonderheit dieses unfertigen Ortes aber man muss sagen, dass der gesamte Bereich schon seit den 90ern als Zwischennutzungshochburg bespielt wurde, und zwar vor allem in den bestehenden Gebäuden, also auf dem Bahngelände zum Beispiel mit Ostgut, und dann gab es die Busche, das Matrix, das Rocket, und weiß der Geier … tausende von Clubs, die ein Gebäude genutzt haben und dadurch diesen Standort entwickelt haben. Ich glaube insofern war es ja auch durchaus naheliegend sozusagen auf der Seite … dort war die Zwischennutzung viel stärker. Stärker als auf der Kreuzberger Seite, wo es verhältnismäßig weniger Clubs gab, war es dieser große brachgefallene Bereich, der Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten offenbart hat.

73   **UG:** Ist Dir ein vergleichbares Projekt bekannt, bei dem eine Gruppe in Eigeninitiative die Planung und Umsetzung in ähnlicher Größenordnung übernommen hat?

74   **AH:** Tendenziell macht das jede Baugruppe.

75   **UG:** Die generieren aber wirklich Eigentum, da hat dann jeder seine Wohnung.

76   **AH:** Ja, aber es gibt ja auch genossenschaftliche Baugruppen, die durchaus mit öffentlichen Räumen arbeiten. Also das Grundstück ist relativ groß, das stimmt schon. Das ist sicherlich eine Besonderheit aber z.B. das ExRotaprint hat auch ein relativ großes Gelände. Ansonsten gibt es wenig so große Entwicklungen in Berlin, noch dazu dass die Betreiber nicht die Eigentümer sind. Es gibt Orte wie das ganze RW-Gelände, was eine Eigentümerstruktur hat, die sich viel darum kümmert. Dadurch haben sie eine andere Handhabe auf die Planung. Ansonsten solche großen Orte wüsste ich erstmal keinen.

[…]

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