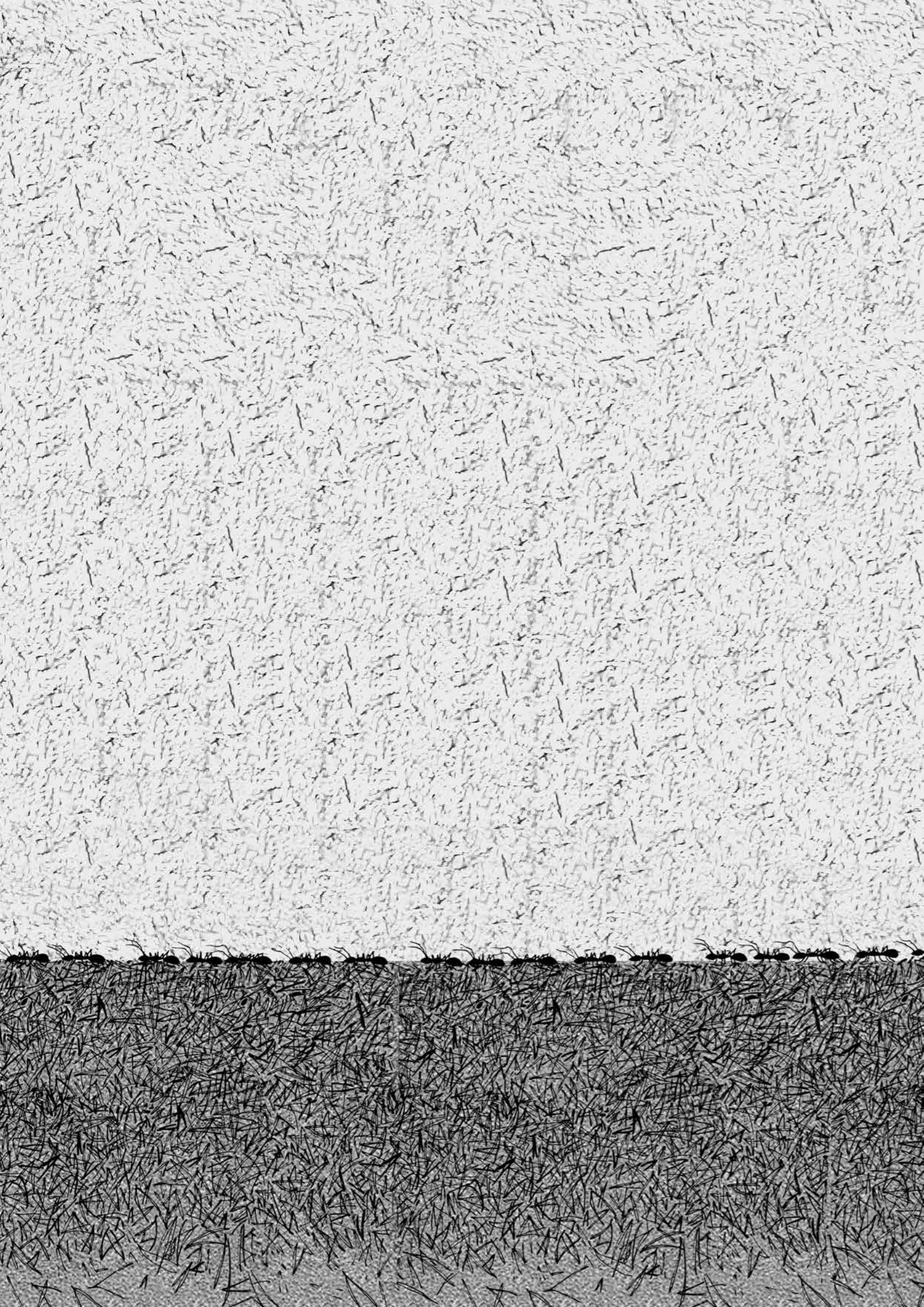


CUT

CONTEMPORARY
URBAN THEORY



AN ANTHOLOGY



CUT
Contemporary Urban Theory

2015

Preface

This is the third issue of the student magazine CUT. The essays are the result of the course Contemporary Urban Theory, given within the master program Sustainable Urban Planning and Design at KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm. This year we have explored three different themes within urban theory: Do It Yourself Urbanism, Spatial Justice and the City and Urban Politics. Within each theme of choice the students have read a book and were given the assignment to apply and discuss the book in relation to other literature and a specific urban situation.

This magazine is a compilation of the students' essays, representing diverse perspectives and experiences reflecting the students' backgrounds in different academic disciplines and from different cities of the world. As teachers we have encouraged the students to explore different styles of writing – ranging from the more traditional academic tone to the personal and experimental. The students have found images to accompany their essays or made their own illustrations.

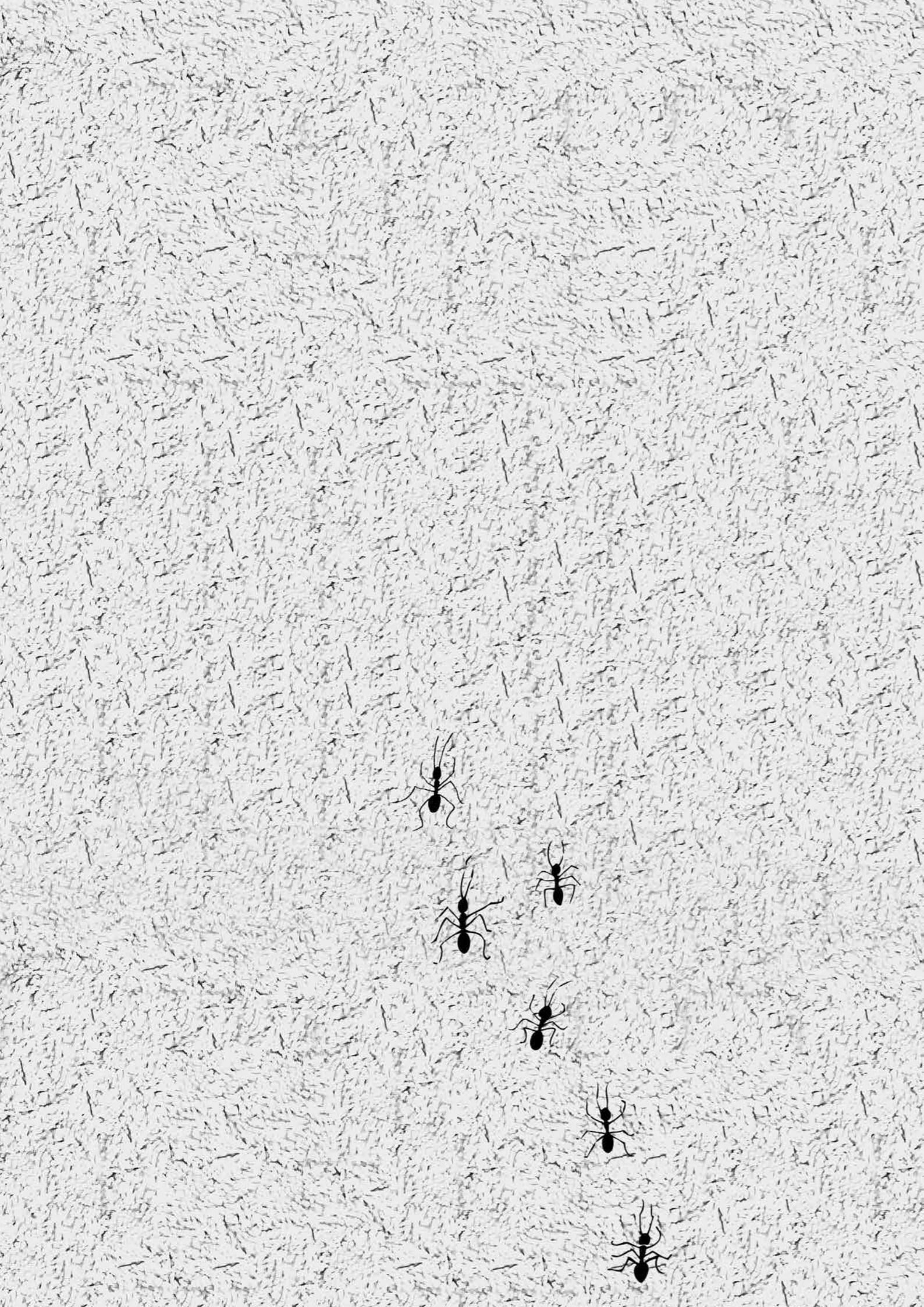
We are proud to present this collection of essays, however, would like to emphasize that the opinions expressed in the essays are the authors' own. An editorial board, consisting of six students, has been responsible for compiling the essays, making the cover illustrations and the overall theme of the magazine. We are grateful for their ambitious work! Graphic designer Chris Knox has made the templates and assisted us in the design and making of the magazine.

We hope that this magazine will give you a glimpse of what is, and will be, at stake for urban planners and designers in the coming decades.

Karin Bradley, Sofie Rådestad & Maria Ärlemo

Teachers and researchers at the Division of Urban and Regional Studies,
KTH Royal Institute of Technology

Stockholm, 18 December 2015



Anthology

Ants populate the entire world. Large groups of ants live together in colonies. Within these superorganisms, ants work, live and reproduce in an organized and structured manner. Ant societies are always matriarchies — consisting of queens, working sterile males and for short periods fertile males. Almost all societies have male workers that provide food, build roads and tunnels, that take care of the offsprings as well as guests. In some societies sterile female workers also exist. In some societies the work load is divided between smaller and bigger workers. Key for the functioning of ant organizations is that each individual ant keeps in line and plays the role that has been given to them, for the continuation of the system is dependent on it.

However, at the same time there exist many differences across ant societies. Differences may spark on the focus of ants' behavior. With some societies focusing on infrastructure — building roads and tunnels leading in and out of the den. Some societies cultivating its ecology — specializing on growing local vegetation that keep the den together. Other societies growing in a multipolar structure — letting the ant population divide and organize into many dens with close affiliation in such a way that they make up a nation.

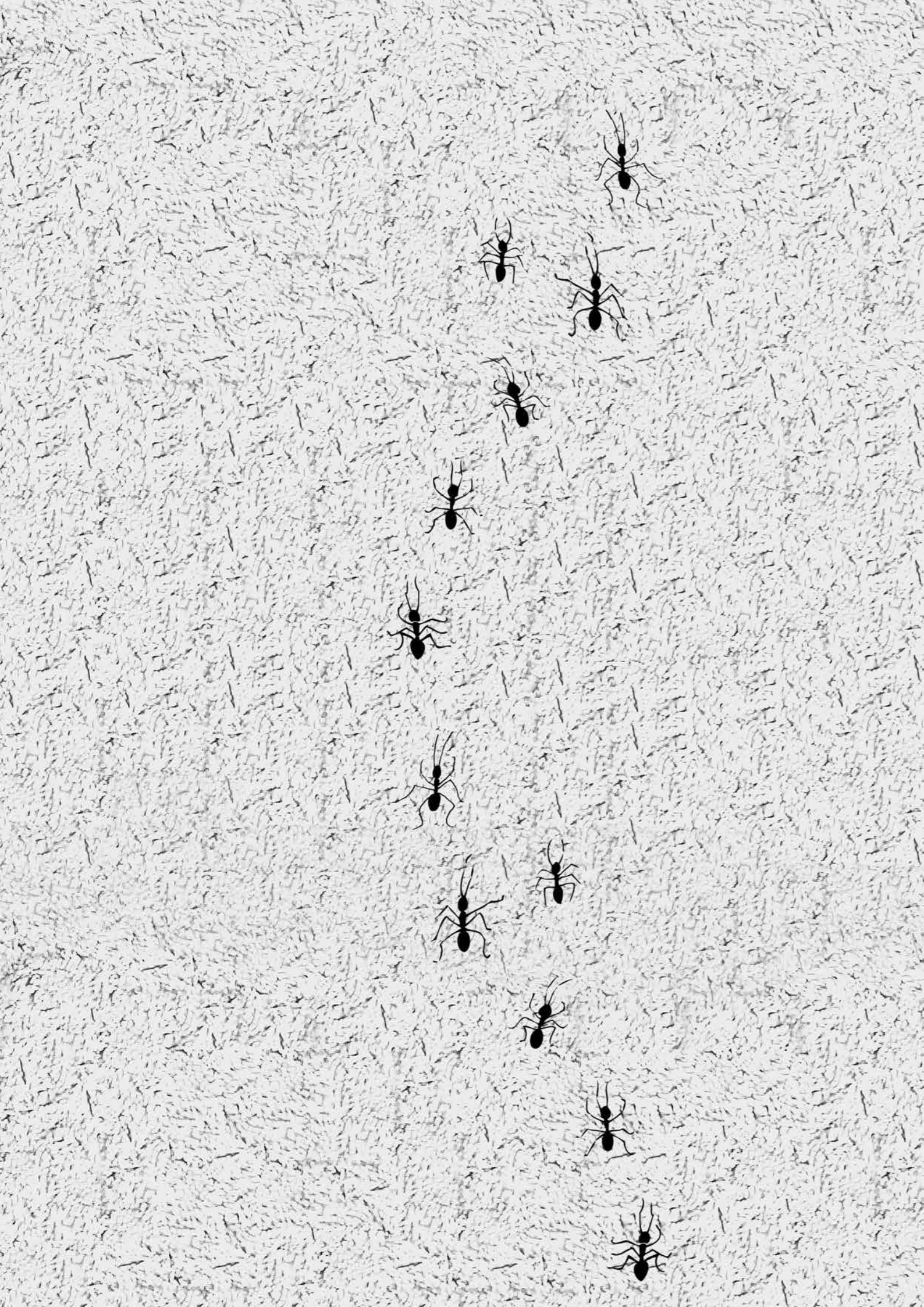
Many parallels can be drawn between the way ant colonies and human cities work and function. On the eye, both cities and ant colonies may appear as densely populated clusters of activity, without any sense of movement or direction. Just as well, closer scrutiny may unearth complex systems such as division of labor, hierarchical structures of power and rules set for order. Although cities, just as ant colonies, differ across the globe in ways of organizing these structures they all share the base of making up conditionality for all beings within respective society, which inevitably all lives need to be adapted in accordance to. This ensure that the greater whole functions properly. Then what happens if the system glitches? Or if a part of it wants a radical change? Although ants are often thought of as servile, systemic and strictly hierarchic, anarchy may also erupt when ants engage in war with termites, if a queen goes to mad and destroys her own eggs, or when colonies are threatened by the outside world in the form of floods or forest fires. Within the human society change may be prefaced by a critical uprising from below at the right point in time, vast eradications of the population by those in power or from outside threats or disasters. These might mark a restructuring of conditionality for the population.

In this collection of essays on urban theory, the parallels between ant and human society form a grounding for a multi-faceted understanding of the urban. The essays are divided according to three themes which seek to capture the urban experience from different aspects with relation to its complexity. It explores Urban Politics, a theme which gives insight into the order and the consequences brought by hierarchy and rules. It scrutinizes Spatial Justice, highlighting unequal opportunities within the set hierarchy and its correlation with location within the city. Lastly, it investigates Do-It-Yourself - such as anarchy which takes the form of small human initiatives that hack the set rules and recreate the urban experience. We hope you will enjoy this anthology of texts and bear in mind what the power of many can bring about.

Daniël Bossuyt, Erika Fagerberg, Eirini Farantatou, Amanda Hammer, Stefania Kapsaski and Sara Malm: The student's editorial board

Master Students at the Urban Planning and Design Program,
KTH Royal Institute of Technology

Stockholm, 3 January 2016



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Do-It-Yourself Urbanism

A practice which applauds *an(t)archy* in its witty form. It is a positive force which seeks to hack the current system and bug it with its own interpretation of what is desired within the society.

This chapter paints a myriad of examples of what might be brought about when the power of imagination blows through the society, strengthening the inhabitants to act.

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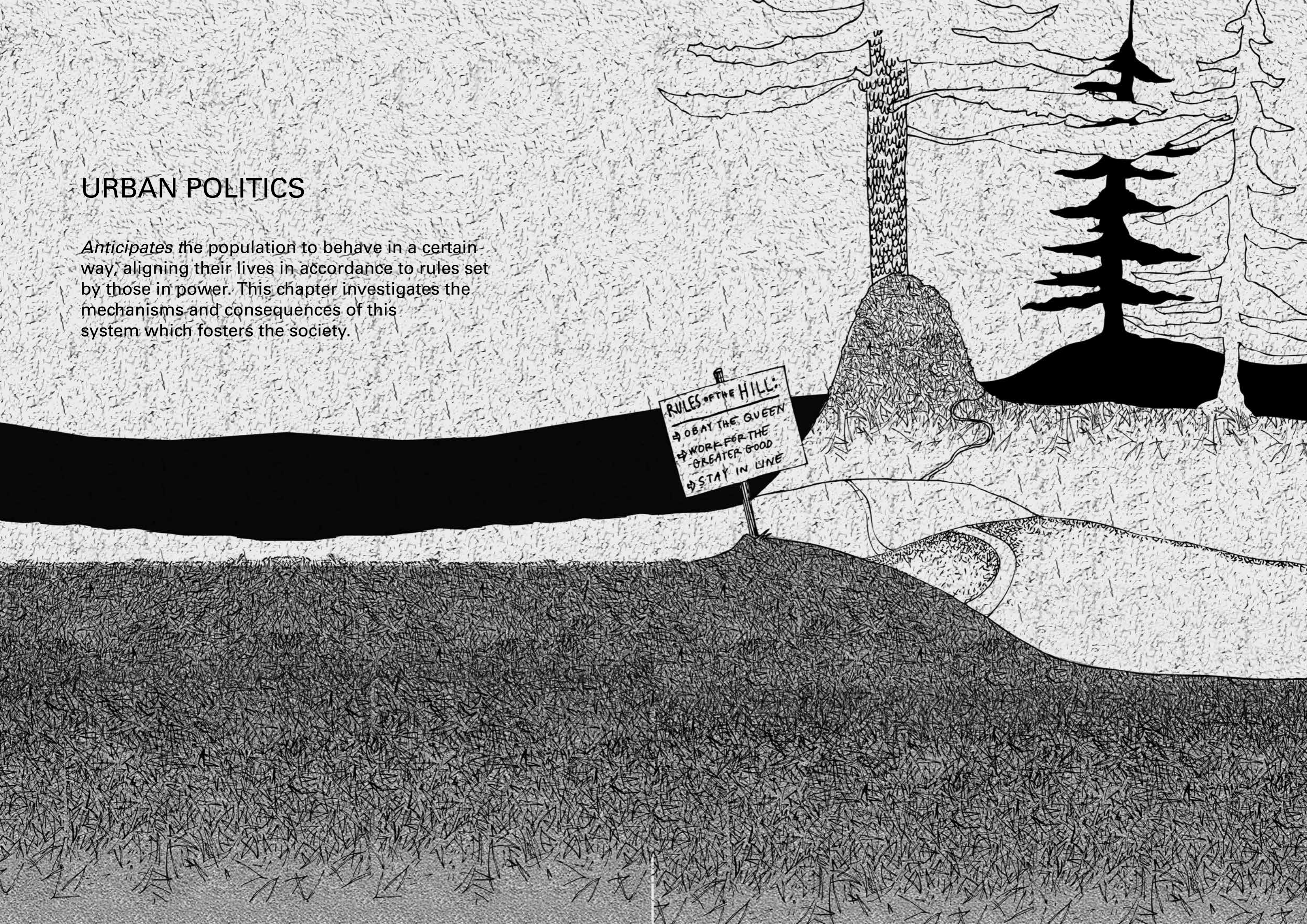
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URBAN POLITICS

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Un-representing and Repressing Urban Planning

Lilly Lwam Abraham

Planning theory is shaping the way we are planning our cities around the world. Discourses signify rules and conditions of existence that control what is possible to state about a certain phenomenon, and planning discourses constitutive an agenda for what is possible to think and say, and hence do. Planning theory and the discourse shaped in interplay between different actors do affect the outcome of the planning. The argue that discourses produce a perception of the reality, is connected to Rancière's concept of 'distribution of the sensible', and further used to explain my gained conviction of the importance of representativeness. This article delivers a summarizing critical review of the theory delivered in my education program of sustainable planning regarding social aspect, and leads to a conclusion stating that lack of trust in planning activity and the planner profession can be associated to the lack in representativeness and the unrepresentative shaping of planning discourses and theories.

As a master student doing her last year at the international master program in Sustainable Urban Planning and Design at KTH in Stockholm, Lilly Lwam Abraham is constantly trying to explore the social aspects of sustainable planning. Her interest has led her work into reflecting upon justice, racism, feminism, politics, inclusiveness and representativeness.

During a timeframe of five years in school studying sustainable urban planning and observing the field in practice, I have realised that representativeness is crucial and key for social sustainability in urban planning. In all my observations and investigations, regarding inequality in urban planning, I have recognized that representativeness often is the lacking cause. I will further introduce where I am coming from, through a summary of what I have gathered as interesting from this education program, and how my conviction of the importance of representativeness in urban planning has developed during this time frame. Further I will connect it to Rancière's (2014) definition of 'distribution of the sensible', interpreted as the perception of reality shaped and formed by theorists and planners through the planning discourse.

'Distribution of the sensible'

When she reached the first hills of the Italic Mountains, she had a last view back on the skyline of her hometown Bookmarksgrove, the headline of Alphabet Village and the subline of her own road, the Line Lane. Pityful a rethoric question ran over her cheek, then she continued her way. On her way she met a copy. The copy warned the Little Blind Text, that where it came from it would have been rewritten a thousand times and everything that was left from its origin would be the word "and" and the Little Blind Text should turn around and return to its own, safe country. But nothing the copy said could convince her and so it didn't take long until a few insidious Copy Writers ambushed her, made her drunk with Longe and Parole and dragged her into their agency, where they abused her for their projects again and again. And if she hasn't been rewritten, then they are still using her.

"I call the distribution of the sensible the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it. A distribution of the sensible therefore establishes at one and the same time something common that is shared and exclusive parts. This apportionment of parts and positions is based on a distribution of spaces, times, and forms of activity that determines the very manner in which something common lends itself to participation and in what way various individuals have part in this distribution."

(Rancière 2014:7)

According to this definition of the concept 'distribution of sensible', one can understand Rancière's concept as a way in which roles and modes of participation in a common social world are determined by establishing possible approaches of perception. Thus the distribution of the sensible sets the divisions between what is visible and invisible, sayable and unsayable, audible and inaudible (Rancière 2014). Furthermore, it functions like a categorical framework that determines what can be thought, made or done. In other words, the distribution of sensible produces a system of self-evident

fact of perception based on what is considered as true. As a planner, using this concept, I make the direct connection to the discourse shaping in planning. According to Foucault (1972), discourses signify rules and conditions of existence that control what is possible to state about a certain phenomenon, and planning discourses constitute an agenda for what is possible to think and say, and hence do. One can argue that discourses also produce a perception of what is true. Discourses are spoken and written communications and could be explained as specific ways to talk about and understand the reality (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000). Based on discourses and reality as socially constructed, language and action, idea and reality are woven together to create the accepted truth

Planning and the planner's role

The first three years of my education mostly consisted of tough technical and mathematical subjects. The courses also educated in the Swedish planning process, regulations, economy, and eventually the planner's role and planning theory. Here the planning concept was further examined and researched. Planning favours an active and complex system that is characterized of a set of connections that together forms a complex unit (Taylor 2005). The planner's role was discussed out of rational planning and the top-down planning, where the public interest is seen as one-dimensional (Larsson & Jalakas 2008). Critics say that rational urban planning lack knowledge about the cities function. Citizen participation was widely discussed, out of Arntein's ladder and power relations. The planner's role is based on competence such as knowledge of reality and the ability to manage complex systems, composition and communication. A successful urban planner should focus on citizen perspective and involve the local inhabitant in shaping their site. The planner should also be aware of history, culture, identity, and social and economic dynamics. This awareness is crucial for a sustainable development, they said. But representativeness however was not discussed. Furthermore, planning theory is a way of guaranteeing that planning can be explored and examined from various interests' perspective. This course regarding planning theory in the third year of my education really caught my interest in the social aspect of urban planning, and I chose to handle this subject in my bachelor thesis.

Commodification of culture

The idea of culture as an answer for a city's growth is about the creative class, and is related to economic development (Florida 2012). According to Florida (2012), the creative class creates open and dynamic environments, which in turn attract more creative people as well as businesses and capital. According to this theory, the creative class is the driving force behind economic growth and therefore they become the society's dominant class in terms of influencing measures. This concept has been criticized by the idea that it contributes to gentrification, the process of revitalization and rebuilding associated to inflow of middle-class or wealthier people into areas that often displaces

poorer residents. In some cases, for e.g. in the peripheral areas of Stockholm, this process can be argued to contribute to displacement of the locals instead of taking advantage of the cultural and creative class that exist or can be originated in the area. The culture of the area becomes a commodity through commercialization of culture (Harvey 2009). Commodification of culture is the process in which culture is made into a commodity in a market. I chose to focus on culture activities in the Swedish suburb when writing my bachelor theses, and my conclusion reckoned representativeness. To support the intention that culture activities should help to achieve social equality and justice, a more representative political strategy is preferred. It should also take into account the risk of gentrification and base on and see the existing potential in the regarded areas. A representative management contributes to a more responsive and equal political planning process (Tahvilzadeh 2011).

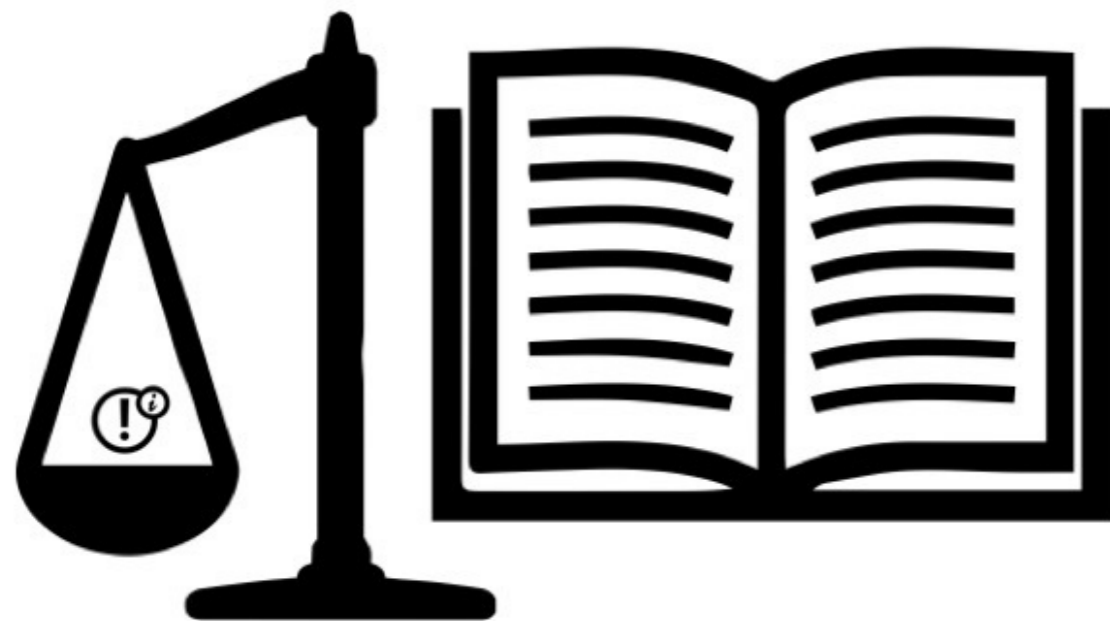
Participation and citizen perspective

I chose an orientation in sustainable urban planning for my following two years in education. Participation and citizen perspective in development of urban planning documents was studied during one course regarding future studies and forecasts. Central parts of participation and citizen behaviour in urban developing future visions and documents were studied. Here, equality and welfare are highlighted objectives. However, scenarios are sometimes used as governmental mental behaviour therapy (van der Heijden 1996). Further, when planners listen and report it is important to remember that they are people who function out of their own social positions and characters (Eckstein 2003).

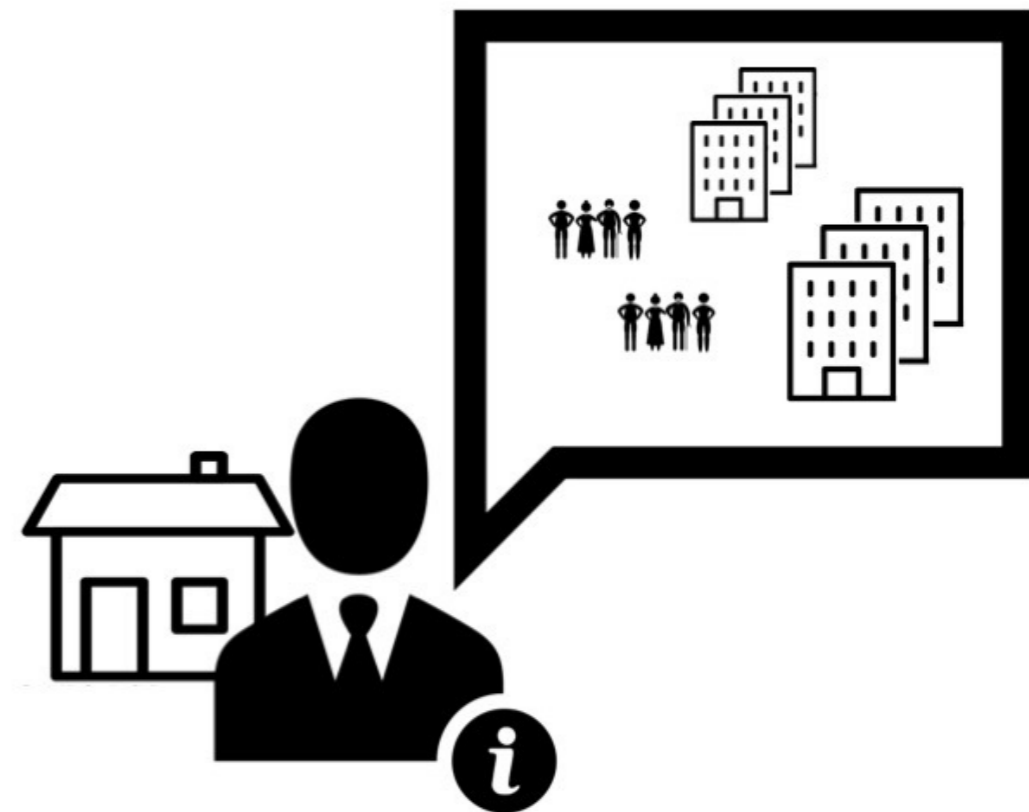
A feminist aspect in planning was, first ever in the education program, introduced in this course. As Haug (2000) raises: we will never reach an equal society in any sense without resolving the patriarchal structures of the non-feminist, male, technology oriented planning of today. Feminist future visions, according to Gunnarsson-Östling (2011), are diverse and focus on the well being of all humans, and are needed as a contrast to hegemonic male and western-technology oriented futures. Women and non-westerners are generally excluded from these professional activities and issues relevant to them are often ignored. When included, they are often viewed as victims, rather than drivers for change. During this course, my conviction of the importance of representativeness was further amplified.

Social planning

Social sustainability is one of the three (environmental, economic approaches of sustainable development, representing topics like equity, livability, and health. I would argue that it is also the most undefined and vague segment, and therefore sometimes hard to put in practice when planning for social sustainability. During a course regarding science theory and research methodology, I chose to focus on social planning. Social planning is a particular way of approaching policy (Kahn 1979). Social policy are by some



Unrepresented creation of fact
Source: The Noun Project: <https://thenounproject.com>



Shaping of information through selection of theory
Source: The Noun Project: <https://thenounproject.com>

professors defined as more concerned about the communal environment and provision of social amenity, and for others more concerning welfare of the citizens (Titmuss 1974). We know that social interactions are fundamental needs of people (Townsend & Polatajko 2007) and social activities with different social roles gives meaning and a sense of belonging in the community (Hammell, 2004). Social capital can be defined as the sum of trust and confidence that individuals in a society have for each other (Rothstein 1998). The theory of social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that enables coordination and cooperation of mutual benefits (Putman 2000). Putman argues that declining memberships in civic institutions can lead to a weakened civil society. Norms and networks of civic engagement powerfully influence the performance of social institutions and successful outcomes are more likely in civic engaged communities. The norms and network of civic engagement also affect the performance of representative government; they are strongly correlated with social trust and facilitate coordination and communication that allow dilemmas of collective action to be solved. It is argued that, practices that differ from our modern, technological way of interacting should be implemented for better social capital (Putman 2000); this also concerns planners working with citizen participation. Social partnership planning is one significant strategy for encouraging democratic processes (Child 2003), through cooperation and interaction between sectors. So-called cross-sector partnerships are successful in solving social issues. They create a shared vision based on trust, and can produce benefits at individual, organizational, sectorial and societal levels (John & Parker 2005). To build on this theory of cross-sector partnerships and its importance, one can argue that it can be extended to cover representativeness in government. The local inhabitants can be seen as one big important main sector, and collaborations with and representativeness of the inhabitants are crucial. I would argue that declining representativeness in civic institutions leads to a weakened civil society.

The shaping of (planning) discourses

In the course regarding planning theory and urban governance, topics like the power of discourse, the professional roles and organizational cultures were discussed. As cited in the beginning of this article, the concept of discourse refers, according to Foucault (2002), to a variety of statements concerning a certain phenomenon – in form of speech, writing and actions. The statements could take the form of discursive activities on the planning field. Discourses create problems and solutions that implicate in attitudes, norms and values in the planning and by the planners (Tunström 2009). Knowledge and perceptions are constructed in social interactions and the imaginary arrangement may in time adapt an objective character and become so settled that they are taken for the true and real (Torfing 2001). Thus they control what is possible to state about a certain phenomenon. The rules and the discursive practice can result in exclusion, categorization and acts in which we create meaning and context. A discourse, however, is never final since it is constantly reproduced in social interactions (Foucault, 1972).

Power struggles are central in the discourse shaping, since different groups have different influence in the shaping of the dominant discourse. Further, power defines what gets to count as knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2002), and knowledge is transferred by structure and confirm-structure, the same way power is legitimized (Haugaard, 2003). Actors shaping discourse and thereby our understanding of certain phenomenon, are powerful, and struggles within a discourse or between competing discourses could appear. There is a connection between the ideas that are spread in the planning discourse and the result of what is actually planned and built (Tunström, 2009). Publications may be referred to and given the status of “truth”, and further gain a formal status in the planning context, and work as political tools as they can affect readers even outside the planning process. In my project article, regarding conflicting perspectives of Swedish marginalized suburbs, during this course I concluded

that the official debate by professional planning authority is misrepresented and has a corrupt affect in the planning practice, since the discourse neglects inhabitants’ perspectives. Today’s public planning debate and discourse gives a negative perception of these suburbs, which affects the planning practice and the inhabitants in those areas. There exist a belief in a more involving planning process and discourse with help of collaborative and communicative planning, where the democratic process, citizens’ influence and the planning role is emphasized (Healey, 1997). Central aspects of communicative planning are deliberative process and consensus building. However, critic is raised towards the consensus goal and its neglecting of power structures that exists independently of institutional transparency (Agger & Löfgren, 2008).

Concluding discussion - the lack of representativeness

The mistrust for government, institutions and professions are increasing and planning systems and planners have not been immune from this growing sense of mistrust which not only has implications for planners as professionals, but also for planning as an activity (Swain & Tait 2007). The lack of trust in planning activity and the planner’s can be associated to the lack in representativeness and the unrepresentative shaping of discourses and theories that create problems and solutions, norms and values, and further implicate attitudes that forms truths eventually considered as knowledge, in the planning contexts. The perception of reality can be discussed out of Rancier’s (2014) concept of ‘distribution of the sensible’, the created truth formed by theorists and planners through the planning discourse. In other words, I argue that, the creation of truth by the unrepresentative elites paves the way for mistrust.

Politics, according to Rancière, revolves around “what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time” (2014:8). Consensus, he argues, reduces

politics to the police, which is the social order of implicit rules and conventions that determine the distribution of roles in a community and the forms of exclusion which operate within it. Mouffe (1999) claims that when we accept that every consensus always entails some form of exclusion, we can begin to visualise the nature of a democratic public sphere in a different way. A democratic approach that recognizes the forms of exclusion that they embody instead of trying to hide them under the cover of rationality or morality, is recommended.

Planning theory is shaping the way we are planning our cities around the world. The planner’s role and the discourse shaped in interplay between different actors do affect the outcome of the planning (Alexander, 2010), hence also the planning policies. In planning and urban development, perceptions and interpretations are produced and reproduced and eventually settled and taken as accepted knowledge and true facts. One clear example is the general professional negative perception/truth of the Swedish marginalized suburbs that strongly differ from the inhabitants and the real representative’s perception/truth. While certain recent planning theories have tried to take into account social difference and multiculturalism, there is not yet enough recognition of just how deep difference can be, and how frequently planners find themselves in situations characterized by conflicting rationalities (Watson 2003). This understanding has importance in planning theory and ethics. Contemporary planning often advances the interests of social elites and dominant groups, at the expense of weaker groups. The researcher and planner’s role, both personal and professional, also affect the planning process and result by selection, knowledge and discrimination (Tunström, 2009).

Non-westerns are underrepresented and generally excluded from professional discourse shaping and planning theory, and therefore also the planning practice. This indicates the importance of representativeness in planning discourse and research. By giving power to and including actors with a background in the

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Areas that are misinterpreted in the professional discourse (for e.g. the Swedish marginalized suburbs), we could gain a more correct perspective of the area and provide a reasonable and fair professional official discourse, which further could lead to more open political planning process.

areas that are misinterpreted in the professional discourse (for e.g. the Swedish marginalized suburbs), we could gain a more correct perspective of the area and provide a reasonable and fair professional official discourse, which further could lead to more open political planning process.

Planning as a method of determining policy under which developments may take place for the best interest of the people in a given area (Bunzel, 1961) is a continuous process, not a single act (Kahn, 1979). Problems that planners deal with – social problems – differs from problems that scientists and engineers deal with. Social problems could be explained as never solved, but re-solved (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Gans (1961) argues that planners should aim to provide maximum choice instead of deliberately try to create a specific social pattern. I argue that maximum choice is crucial for a robust and open sustainable social environment, and that representativeness in form of collaborations and interaction might be a useful method. As cited before, planners listen and report as people who function out of their own social positions and characters (Eckstein 2003). With this stated, one can conclude that it would be beneficial and even necessary to actually hire people of different groups in society, representing the specific areas, as planners.

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The argued lack of representativeness in planning systems, activities, and discourses has been verified to me through my education, in the education and outside. A feministic approach was introduces once and late during all these years, and yet the issue of racism (structural racism) have not been reflected upon or mentioned one single time.

The argued lack of representativeness in planning systems, activities, and discourses has been verified to me through my education, in the education and outside. A feministic approach was introduces once and late during all these years, and yet the issue of racism (structural racism) have not been reflected upon or mentioned one single time.

Thus we explain our planning issue with conceptualisations like gentrification, urban regeneration, revitalization, spatial justice etc., I would argue that these aren’t planning problems, but societal problems that reflects globally and that this mistrust in authority could be solved and mastered through nuanced and truthful knowledge of the governing structures, and representativeness in their respective professions. By questioning hierarches, polarizations and constructed truths, and opening up for influence from outside the dominant discourse, we can reach a more comprehensive and reality based perception. The distribution of the sensible and thus the perception of reality need to be questioned and related to representatives. But we must start by understanding the basic problem: that all the conceptualized problems in planning theory stated above, applied in real practice, are oldfashioned repression.

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Losing my Faith in Consensus Reflections on On the Political (2005) by Chantal Mouffe and its Implications for Urban Theory

Daniël Bossuyt

Planning is increasingly characterized as postpolitical. This condition particularly shines through in the phenomenon of sustainable urban development. Sustainability is everywhere and it is difficult to find anyone who opposes it. At the same time, true political discussion is foreclosed as sustainable urban development never puts into question the growth imperative of urban development and promises a happy alliance between economic growth and a nature in balance.

Planning is increasingly characterized as postpolitical. This condition particularly shines through in the phenomenon of sustainable urban development. Sustainability is everywhere and it is difficult to find anyone who opposes it. At the same time, true political discussion is foreclosed as sustainable urban development never puts into question the growth imperative of urban development and promises a happy alliance between economic growth and a nature in balance. This essay argues that theories of postpolitics have a broad explanatory power but do not excuse us from engaging in middle-ground investigation. As these theories are at a high level of abstraction, they are of less use in explaining differences across and within cases of urban politics. It does not suffice to dismiss every consensus in urban planning as postpolitical. Theories of post-politics and environment are useful to explain a wider trend perceived in urban contexts in which everyone agrees on the necessity to do something about the environment, without hurting the growth imperative too much. Yet one must remain wary to dismiss every form of consensus as ‘postpolitical’. Urban theory could profit from contextual middle-ground understandings of the postpolitical condition.

Consensus is a political condition. It is a political condition because it is a condition that is created by political action. It is a political condition because it is a condition that is created by political action.

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Holy consensus

Growing up in the Netherlands I used to consider consensus as holy. Illustrative of importance of consensus in Dutch politics is the verb *polderen* (to polder). Derived from the word polder which describes the low-lying dike-protected lands that make up the country, the verb means to engage in consensual decision-making. It doesn’t take an etymologist to see the relationship. Consensual decision-making is not unique to the country I grew up in though; it characterizes most Western liberal democracies since the nineties. The premise that rational individuals reach agreements through talks and deliberation finds widespread appeal throughout the Western world.

Conversely, it is usually assumed that polarization and nonconformity are detrimental to our societal order we usually assume. Yet for Belgian philosopher Chantal Mouffe they’re not. In *On The Political* (2005) she firmly rebels against the idea that consensual politics are beneficial to democracy. According to her, consensus has done our democracies more harm than good. Reading her book made me question the self-explanatory goodness of consensus that I had grown up with.Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, western democracies ended a time in which there was an end to ideological differences. For some thinkers such as Anthony Giddens this was a reason to proclaim there would now be room for ‘truly liberal’ democracies. As politics would have to squabble around left-right differences, people could now engage in true debate and arrive at consensual solutions on what is best for society. This type of consensus politics has been described as Third Way, ‘moving beyond parties’, radical centrist, and by theorists such as Chantal Mouffe as postpolitical.

At the core of Mouffe’s argument lies the idea that conflicts are inevitable and cannot be evicted from politics. By denying the agonism inherent to human life, conflicts will take on an antagonistic character. As such, every opposition to consensus becomes a fundamental challenge to the nature of democracy. Differences between left and right become differences between good and bad. Therefore, the denial of conflict is a dangerous practice. She makes a case for transforming antagonistic confrontations into agonistic confrontations. In other words, we must not allow conflicts to take on a friend-enemy by negating contradictions. Instead, conflicts must be given a place within our democracy. The deafening consensus welcomed by scholars such as Anthony Giddens hinders this. Consensus for Mouffe is an illusion. Achieved through decision-making and technical expertise, it does not represent an ‘optimal form of politics’ (a hopeless delusion), but is in fact a form of hegemony: the agreement on a neoliberal societal order in which markets are put first and beyond democratic control.

Impossible consensus

What has been described as consensual politics is a form of ‘postpolitics’. To restore democracy it is important to move from



Polder – a low-lying tract of land enclosed by dikes – near Oudewater, the Netherlands, Onderwijsgek (2012)



The Stockholm Royal Seaport is drenched in the win-win rhetoric characteristic of 'sustainable urban development' projects, I99Pema (2011)

politics to the political. In order to understand what Mouffe means by this it is important to outline the difference between 'the political' and 'politics'.

Usually – I mean in policy science textbooks – politics is defined as the process through which decisions are made. Different actors engage with an issue at different points through deliberation to arrive at a decision. In textbooks you could find a flowchart in which an issue is put on the agenda, decided upon, implemented and taken back for feedback. Another way to define politics is to define it as a process of who gets what, when and how. For Mouffe, such conceptions represent 'politics'. They refer to the superficial conduct of democratic politics that takes place in parliaments and other institutions. Contrary to this lies the idea of 'the political'. Here it is not so much a matter of how decisions are reached on individual issues, but far broader questions about power and conflict. Both of which are inherent to human society. Rather than being about single issues, this also encompasses what is allowed to be at stake. 'The political' in the classic political science sense relates to issues of agenda-setting or discourses. It is not only about what is discussed, but also what we are allowed to discuss.

The postpolitical condition refers to a situation in which the political is foreclosed. This means that the growth and markets first logic may not be put into question; around this issue there exists a widespread consensus. What remains of politics are incremental quarrels about the flavour of economic growth you would like. There is nothing left to choose. In the post-political condition problems that remain are framed as conflicts of a technical nature that can be solved in a 'best' way. Conflicts, while conceptually irreconcilable, are framed in neutral technical ways, to be solved by expert deliberation rather than political confrontation. Paradoxically, conflicts are both depoliticized yet still highly political. This is because every consensus represents hegemony. In the case of the post-political condition, this is the

unchallenged hegemony of growth-first neoliberalism. Mouffe argues (2005: 34) that framing conflicts technically sidesteps fundamental conflicts, effectively making it difficult to challenge the hegemony. The postpolitical condition has been used to explain a wide variety of phenomena, ranging from declining trust in institutions, the war against terrorism, but also the rise of right-wing populist parties. These parties question the norm, are excluded from consensus, and thus take on a moral rhetoric. Conversely, they are framed as the bad in comparison to our democratic good. Consensus is not the way to deal with societal cleavages, instead it makes them worse.

False promises

Although some pretend the opposite, planning is a profoundly political process. It doesn't come as much of a surprise that post politicization has also left its mark in this field. I believe two aspects of postpoliticization are of particularly useful to describe what happens in the field of urban planning, one is the process by which the political is evicted from the democratic sphere and the other is omnipresent consensus.

One author that has been especially strong-voiced with respect to postpolitics in urban contexts is Erik Swyngedouw. This Belgian (yet another) has argued that sustainable urban development is a key field through which the postpolitical condition is worsened. While everyone might have concerns about the use of sustainability as a guiding concept, his stance really takes the cake. The promise of sustainable urban development is based around an idealistic conception of nature. In this concept, nature is seen as harmonious at heart, yet put out of balance through human conduct. In this narrative, this equilibrium has been put out of balance through our behaviour, but may be put back to a 'sustainable' state through a range of technical solutions. In this respect, it has many similarities to the idea of ecological modernization which believes any environmental problems may be overcome through technical innovations.

Sustainable development is a child of post-politics particularly because it does not question the socio-economic order of things. In other words, it promises environmental care and preservation of our quality of life without fundamentally questioning the economic conditions that have led to a situation of climate change in the first place Swyngedouw argues. Moreover, no one really appears to be against. Truly, everyone appears to be in favour of sustainability. As Swyngedouw (2007: 2) states in one of his witty moments: "Greenpeace is in favour, George Bush Jr. and Sr. are, the World Bank and its chairman (...) are, the Pope is, my son Arno is, the rubber trappers in the Brazilian Amazon are, Bill Gates is, the labour unions are." And who wouldn't be in favour of sustainability? Social equity, environmental stewardship, and economic prosperity are all noble policy goals, regardless of one's political orientation. However, as Mouffe has stated, conflicts are inevitable. Sustainable urban development invokes win-win-win scenarios, exactly because questions of 'the political' are left out of the question. In practice though, planners will always have to reconcile between different goals and find a balance between competing interests. In the post-political condition this is framed as a technical issue, while in effect it remains a political one. The nature' is saved through technical solutions, but only within the neoliberal status quo. It is not asked what nature is saved, by whom and to whose benefit.

Stockholm Royal Seaport

In Stockholm the eco-district of Stockholm Royal Seaport (*Norra Djurgårdsstaden*) is a particular eye-catching example through which to investigate the phenomenon of post-politics and sustainable urban development, or so I thought initially. It has been noted before that in Swedish urban discourse on planning for sustainable cities, there is scarcely any room for conflicting perspectives. The postpolitical condition is a pertinent characteristic of Swedish urban discourse (Tunström & Bradley, 2014).

Stockholm Royal Seaport is a large brownfield to the east of Stockholm which is being redeveloped into a mixed-use zone. Former docks and industrial area are being transformed into fancy residential apartments and offices. A total of 12,000 new homes and 350,000 new workplaces will be created in a project that is expected to be finished by 2030 (Website Stockholm Royal Seaport). After a decision made by the municipality in 2009 the project acquired a strong sustainability focus (Lorentz, 2015). A range of indicators have set sustainability targets for the area. The city works closely together with developers, consultants and academia to realize these ambitious targets.

On a cursory reading of the development, the project bears many postpolitical characteristics. There is a widespread consensus on the necessity of the project. It is framed as a scenario in which everyone wins: good for people, good for the environment, and good for the economy and decision-making is done in close alliance with private actors. At the same time, the project bears an environmental profile but hardly questions the logic of economic growth. In fact, it is seen as a key area in Stockholm's growth strategy as it will provide housing and establish its international reputation in environmental technologies (Stockholm Stad, 2007). Moreover, discussions in the project hardly touch upon questions of who is to live in this area. As the investment costs are quite high, the cost of renting or buying in this area will correspond to pay-off the investment. Nonetheless, the project's environmental pretense has already received quite its share of critique. It promises to be a fossil free district by 2030, but skirts around the issue of system boundaries by not taking into account the expensive cost of building materials, people's consumption materials or all the traffic running through.

Limits on postpolitics

In many facets, the Stockholm Royal Seaport bears the marks of the post-political condition. Superficially, sustainability is widely agreed on and as a project it is drenched in win-win rhetoric. On

the other hand though, this does not tell us anything about how consensus about sustainability is achieved. Moreover, within ‘sustainability’ there is a lot of variation. Not only across different municipalities, but also as a concept is adopted and implemented by actors over years.

Even though actors converge over the necessity of sustainability or an environmental profile, there still remains a large vacuum within those concepts that can be filled in within a myriad ways. This also shows through the example of sustainable urban development across different municipalities. Differences exist between municipalities in the extent to which they adopt and implement sustainable urban development (Portney, 2003). In other words, the validity of the post-political condition does not excuse us from exploring how sustainable profiles come about and how within such projects contradictions are dealt with. In the event of the Stockholm Royal Seaport, the environmental profile has only been something that was adapted later on in the programme. Although the city had been planning to build in the area for a longer period of time, the project had been stalled by a range of conflicts between the regional government and the city administration over issues such as preservation of environmental areas and noise concerns. It was only until 2009 that the project took on an environmental profile, after the city council had decided they wanted it to be part of it. In the years past, coalition changes and intra-coalition disputes have also lead to shifts in what was to be considered to be important.

Admittedly, in broad lines the Stockholm Royal Seaport does not challenge the growth-first imperative of urban development, but at a more micro-scale there are contradictions, both within the city hall as well as within the planning process. To state that postpolitics “elevates the scandal of democracy to new heights” may cause a stir (Swyngedouw, 2008: 10), but does not explain how conflict is silenced, what perspectives are taken into account or how sustainability may be used to build consensus.

Paying attention to particularity

The point I would like to make here is that sweeping ‘post-political’ explanations do not excuse us from empirical enquiry. The writings by Mouffe, Swyngedouw and others have a large appeal but do not explain how postpoliticization plays out differently in different contexts. Just as with that other all-pervasive macro-concept in urban theory, there exists a lot of space for contextual variation (Peck, 2015). Furthermore, consensual urban planning cannot simply be dismissed as a hundred percent post-political. It is too easy to either state something is post-political or being truly political. There are two issues at stake: first I think it is important to be wary for the ease at which ‘postpolitics’ may be used to explain every context in a convergent sweeping fashion. The second is a too simplified understanding of postpolitics, it is easy to dismiss every consensus as a ‘scandal of democracy’ and not truly political while the actual practice might be much more variegated

and heterogeneous. Further work on post-political theorizing could possibly benefit from an approach in which is moved away from more demonstrations of this theory. I believe it could be useful to instead look more into how unique features of different institutional contexts affect this general social process differently. The point here is not to overemphasize particularities in a relativist sense, but to show how macro forces may take on different forms in different places.

Reading *On the Political* shattered my belief in the unquestionable goodness of consensus, but I remain hesitant about its use in social analysis. Postpolitical theories are useful to explain phenomena from a broader perspective, but could benefit from empirical engagement at a lower level of abstraction.

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Let’s Agree to Disagree

Erika Fagerberg

In this essay I would like to explore the result of interpreting the increased nationalism and the burning of immigrant facilities in Sweden, through the lens of the writings of Chantal Mouffe. In her book *On the Political* (2005), she forwards the thesis that the consensus idealising trend is de-politicising and infact facilitates the growing ground for an antagonistic polarization, resulting in an increase of nationalism and terrorism. Traces of this mechanism can be observed everywhere around us, both on global, European, national and urban level. In this text I mention the recent attacks on asylum shelters as only one example, but there are of course many more. What would happen if we reformulated the problem by considering differences and conflicts as natural phenomena? If we, instead of seeing these occurrences as a glitch in an otherwise evolved machinery, saw them as a part of a natural reaction and made efforts to create processes to handle them? By changing the perspective, would we come to see these events as a result of a society that lacks proper channels for expressing these conflicting standpoints in a safe and constructive way?

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Collective identities

We always define ourselves in relation to an Other. What makes up you only ever becomes clear by contrasting it to something else. Or rather, someone else. When including someone into a group, you do so by defining who is left out. With every form of inclusion there will therefore always be a form of exclusion; with every “we” you create a “they” (Gunder 2005). In the movements of disadvantaged groups this is recognized as an important part of how to strengthen their causes through attaching themselves to a collective identity. This can be observed in Sweden during the late 19th century, when the workers interests created what became the social democratic party, and with it gained strength for their interests by being able to define themselves in opposition to the bourgeois (Socialdemokraterna, 2015). Since the socialist movement for workers rights in the late 19th century, however, the polarisation between left and right wing politics have grown less and less pronounced (Landguiden 2015). In Sweden, as in many other European countries, we can see a steady gravitation of the political party lines towards a broad central point. Perhaps one of the most clear examples of this took shape in the winter of 2014, when the Swedish government and its opposition agreed on what was called the December Deal, effectively forcing an artificial unity between the parties in several questions.

Striving for consensus

Advocates of various post-political world views would say that the society and mankind has taken a step further, evolved beyond the dichotomy of left and right (Mouffe 2005, pp. 45-63). That instead, thanks to a neoliberal reality and an increased globalisation, the individual is put at the centre. The image of this individual is a flexible one, for whom the role of collective identities is hopelessly outdated. According to Giddens the disappearance of collective identities is tied to the individualisation which is the core of a reflexive modernity (Ibid, p. 49). They do no longer attach themselves to one collective identity as in the past, but rather, changes affiliations with several groups over time. This is made possible by an increase of knowledge and scepticism that allows them to act in a rational way, weighing different perspectives against one and other. Largely thanks to globalisation, we are subjected to more knowledge and more perspectives than before. The individual has, according to these post-political viewpoints, learned how to doubt the idea of an ultimate truth. If one’s “truth” can be questioned or interpreted in multiple ways, that also leads to one developing an ability to consider other people’s perspectives and their “truths”. One such interpretation is deliberative democracy, lead by theoreticians such as Habermas (Tahvilzadeh 2015). Deliberative democracy is frequently encountered within the field of planning and public participation schemes. As explained by Nazem Tahvilzadeh during a lecture on the topic (ibid), the ideal of deliberative democracy lies in that individuals can come to a consensus based on rational communication. Discussions are conducted with the help of knowledge and empathy, where people strive beyond



Does a political centre provoke violent reactions?
Illustration: Erika Fagerberg

self interests to find an end satisfying the common good. With the help of rational thought and empathy, these theories quite effectively argue that no real antagonism, nor real conflict, has to occur, because there is no longer any real we/they relationship to speak of. If you truly make an effort to understand the other, the boundaries disappear.

The increase of nationalism

Contrary to the claim that we live in a post-political world where the polarisation between left- and right wing identities is outdated, Mouffe argues that not only is this need to attach oneself to collective identities an intrinsic part of being human, but a vitally important factor to consider when trying to understand the mechanism behind phenomena such as nationalism and extremism (Mouffe 2005). Just as in many other European countries, we have had a trend of parties striving towards the middle, drawing closer and closer towards a broad centre. And just as in other European countries, we have seen a massive upswing in the support for our nationalistic party, the Swedish democrats. According to Mouffe this would be interpreted as a result of the political system not offering enough alternatives for various conflicting interests to side with:

“Democratic politics needs to have a real purchase on people’s desires and fantasies and that, instead of opposing interests to sentiments and reason to passions, it should offer forms of identifications conducive to democratic practises. Politics has always a ‘partisan’ dimension and for people to be interested in politics they need to have the possibility of choosing between parties offering real alternatives. This is precisely what is missing in the current celebration of ‘partisan-free’ democracy”

(Mouffe, 2005, pp. 28-29)

Terrorism

According to Giddens, expressions of violent or fundamentalist standpoints are explained as temporary glitches in the system. Given enough time they are assumed to disappear, through an increased modernisation and more knowledge (ibid, pp. 35-46). Chantal Mouffe makes an interesting observation when she points out that by writing these groups of terrorists or fundamentalists off as less evolved, they are in effect excluded from the modernized society. Just like that, Giddens is in fact creating the we/they dynamic that he is trying to argue no longer exists. “We”, the modernized society, and “they” in form of the extremists (ibid, p. 48-51).

The possible solutions to a problem shifts and changes with the way you phrase the problem, as Mathur’s work on floodplains shows (Mathur 2015). In her work she makes the point of the problematic results of seeing floods as a catastrophe, instead of as part of a natural cycle. By doing the latter she was able to suggest designs and approaches that had been impossible when the flood had been the enemy. Similarly, I believe what Mouffe is doing by treating antagonism as a natural part of what make every person human, is to change the formulation of the problem in a drastic way. According to Mouffe, our identification with groups and collectives is just as relevant today as ever. If there are no legitimate channels to express conflicts through, they will turn violent (Mouffe 2005). Instead of trying to avoid confrontation and conflicts, as is the implication of both theories such as deliberative and reflexive democracy, she stresses that what we should do is to construct formats that allow these differences to be expressed in ways that doesn’t jeopardize the larger democratic project. If we fail to do so, and instead strive towards a consensus based approach, we will see more examples of these conflicts taking a violent, antagonistic form. That is when we see examples such as the burning of the asylum shelters all over Sweden. And we must see them as a failure to channel specific interests. If we continue down a road of



The criticised actions of SD in relation to the asylum shelter arson.
Illustration: Erika Fagerberg

eliminating conflicts we risk creating the very thing we set out to battle: a growing ground for fundamentalism and extremist thinking (ibid.).

“[...] the absence of an effective pluralism entails the impossibility for antagonisms to find agonistic, i.e. legitimate, forms of expression. It is no wonder that, when they explode, those antagonisms take extreme forms, putting into question the very basis of the existing order”

(ibid., p. 82)

If we instead look at these violent acts of terrorism as the product of an ongoing de-politicization, this means a fundamental change in the formulation of the core of the problem. The way of going about the political project would require a change. We should then put our focus on creating processes and systems that allows the antagonistic nature to be channeled into a form where the disagreements can remain but take a less violent form. As expressed by Mouffe: “Adversaries do fight - even fiercely - but according to a shared set of rules” (ibid, p. 52)

Discussion

So if a system has been established where the conflicting parties share a set of agreed upon rules, they can respectfully keep on disagreeing but manage to resolve their conflicts before they reach a violent state. As I mentioned earlier, with any inclusion there is an exclusion, and every system will have to draw the line somewhere as to which groups they do and do not recognize as legitimate. This is exactly where my struggle with Mouffe’s On the Political becomes apparent. Who is considered a legitimate party? Who is not? Who decides on these limits, and because there always will be limits, how do you stop there being violent reactions to them? In her text Mouffe defines the “legitimate” groups as those who can agree on the fundamental basics of the democratic project and can disagree within this system without

destroying it. At the same time, however, she mentions how concepts that are brought up in this system, such as human rights, can be interpreted differently depending on in which cultural context they exist (ibid, p. 85). Dignity, for example, might not be the same thing for a person living in Sweden as it is in Sudan. Does this not also leave room for a variation in the interpretation of the democratic project? Let me give an example to better illustrate my point. If conflicts of interests are to be seen as natural, then we must find safe ways to channel them. One of these ways is already established, and can, I believe, be found in the political system. Here the basic idea is that opponents with various interest meet each other on an agreed upon field, with decided rules. They are (at least in theory) advocates for a various set of different and conflicting interests. The way issues are settled is by means of voting. What happens to this system when a change occurs? How do we ensure that the system remains legitimate in the eyes of the opponents?

When the Swedish Democrats (SD) entered the parliament in the autumn of 2010, the established parties reacted, perhaps naturally, by solidifying the we/they relationship. For a while, there was no limit to the ways the parties distanced themselves from the newcomer. One of the first examples of this was when the current left party leader Lars Ohly during the election day refused to sit in the same room as the newly elected leader of the Swedish Democrats (SvD 2010). The reaction of the left wing party leader was perhaps the most extreme example of the reactions to SD during this time, but far from the only one. The traditionally more conservative parties made efforts to exclude them in negotiations. Whether one approves of the view of the Swedish Democrats or not, the fact of the matter is that the Swedish Democrats had been democratically elected to represent a group with conflicting interests. Was it the responsibility of the other parties to respect this fact and treat them as a legitimate opponent? To Ohly, this act was an important demonstration. Clearly SD did not fulfill the requirements to be

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considered a legitimate opponent in the eyes of the left party, as they did not stand up for the values that the democratic project arguably stands for. You could argue that giving them the time of day would grant legitimacy to a group that in the long run would work to destroy the fundament of the democratic system.

The Swedish Democrats is a party of mainly one interest, the immigration. The party was originally started by former members of nationalistic and racist movements, but claim that they have evolved beyond this background, now mainly interested in questions of traditions and “Swedish values” (DN.se 2011). They still, however, take a clear stand against multiculturalism and wish to lower the right to seek asylum significantly (Sverigedemokraternas principprogram 2011). There has been suggestions of ties between the Swedish Democratic values and the violent acts of burning the asylum facilities, so when a politician of the SD-party released a document with the locations of the asylum shelters to the public, it was seen as a facilitation of this violence (DN.se 2015). No matter my own individual standpoint, I lack an explanation to this complexity in On the Political. Mouffe touches on this question to some degree:

“Conflict, in order to be accepted as legitimate, needs to take a form that does not destroy the political association. This means that some kind of common bond must exist between the parties in conflict, so that they will not treat their opponents as enemies to be eradicated, seeing their demands as illegitimate.”

(Mouffe, 2005, p. 20)

It is clear to me that she uses the democratic framework as a set of “rules”, but if it is possible to interpret also that in different ways, then which point of interpretation of the democratic project do we depart from?

Concluding thoughts

There is no point in trying to create a world where there is no conflict between people, that much is apparent. Instead of treating conflicts as mistakes, or yet-to-be-evolved, extreme cases, we should see them as natural reactions to a lack of legitimate ways to channel differences. By rewriting the idea of the conflict, we manage to change the idea of the problem at hand, and only then can we begin to tackle it. The task becomes not to eliminate differences, but to construct a system where conflicting standpoints can be expressed in a safe and constructive way. The challenge in undertaking this project lies, in my opinion, in the very definition of its limits. Who is a legitimate opponent? Who is allowed to participate, heard and taken into consideration, and who is left out? If we need to play by rules, then who is allowed to sit down and define what these rules should be? These are without a doubt loaded questions which will bring many conflicting opinions in their tracks. But it is a conflict we should not be afraid to recognise. We should face it head on.

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Drawing from Kim Dovey’s book “Framing Places: “Mediating power in built form” (1999), this essay discusses the notion of power as the bipolar of ‘power over/power to’ through the theoretical approach of the corporate tower. Tall buildings had for long been romanticized (skyscrapers). However today they have become a building form that nurtures global antagonism as a symbol of economic growth and attractor of investment connected to its symbolic imaginary of domination and hierarchy (power over). This common view of the tower as an authoritarian form is revisited through the example of Torre David, the tallest slum in the world in downtown Caracas, as an inverted fantasy. The corporate tower, abandoned and unfinished since 1994, is turned into an ingenuity of informality and a celebration of the other, framing empowerment (power to) and claimed citizenship. The other here refers to the type of population that is often pushed to the outskirts of a city as the centers become an arena for investment, commercialisation and accumulation of profit.

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/freim/ / pauə/ Frame Power

This essay is going to discuss the built form as a metaphor for power and its presence in the cities. Drawing from Dovey (1999), as power is defined the bipolar of ‘power over’ and ‘power to’. ‘Power over’ refers to human relations which can be parasitic (Dovey, 1999) and involves a lot of the concept of domination and control of some people over others. The other side of the notion refers to power to, as the capacity to bear power, “to imagine, construct and inhabit a better built environment” (Dovey, 1999, p.9). As a consequence, ‘power to’ refers to empowerment and emancipation which can be either given top down or created bottom up. Power is produced by the constant interplay between agency and structure where the first refers to the previously mentioned capacity to bear power while the latter includes the procedural aspect, naming the formal system of rules and resources (Giddens, 1979, cited in Dovey, 1999). As a form of domination it doesn’t have to be material or economic but power can be legitimised through symbolic, cultural, non-economic capital (Dovey, 1999) and this is where it interferes mostly with architecture and urban design.

The concept of power has been widely analysed and discussed within the field of social and political sciences. Architecture and urban design as fields that deal with the urban realm and human affairs, often borrow concepts and definitions from other locales in order to support their practices. It is often discussed how the built environment can influence the public and vice versa while there is a constant need to interpret the mechanisms of such processes. Kim Dovey (1999) investigates through textual and spatial syntax how issues of power can be understood in physical form. Discourse as a method of analysing the language reveals hidden connections or interests while space syntax reveals potential relations of hierarchy within the form. Speech and form are connected as according to Bourdieu “divisions shape visions, positions shape dispositions” (Bourdieu 1990, cited in Dovey, 1999, p.103). In other words, the way space is divided somehow defines how we view the world and similarly how our positions fit the space -a room, a building, the city- define our social life. As a consequence, form frames meanings revealing connections with established orders or borders among people (Dovey, 1999). This is quite logical if we consider that space is created for specific purposes and bears the respective interests of different groups like status, profit, power, amenities, rights, freedom. As an example, the corporate interest in stimulating consumption becomes obvious in specific choice of built forms, like the shopping centers or with typologies of squares that can be filled with relevant activities, framing the way we perceive the space and act in public.

The connections between power and built form are both programmatic and discursive, especially in forms that are inherently hierarchical both as a social structure and as a built environment. However, the built form is just a mediator and not a generator of power. Always people are those who



Inside the corporate tower, framing its inverted imaginary. Collage by Eirini Farantatou.

oppress people, places and form is how this social relation can symbolically be narrated (Dovey, 1999). As Dovey argues “because buildings and places frame life, they become available at certain moments as the tools and media of oppression and of emancipation” (Dovey, 1999, p.86), where oppression refers to power over and emancipation to power to.

The corporate T(p)ower: deconstructing the symbolic P(t)ower

High rise buildings used to be called as skyscrapers, which carried a romantic fantasy about trying to reach the sky. Nowadays, they are more connected to their utility as places of financial exchange and profit. As our societies move beyond the welfare state, they become more dependent on corporations. Under these circumstances, power shifts from political to economic and its symbolic value is embodied in the shape of the tower. This specific building form accommodates the activities of a globalised economy framed in cities which act beyond the borders of their countries. Towers dominate the skyline of a city and along with their clean form and a specific materiality, often connected to a high-tech aesthetic (Dovey, 1999), they offer a prestige. It is widely discussed how cities enter in a global antagonism over acquiring the tallest towers, often built by star architects (Huriot, 2012). This means that they can attract investments and thus become more powerful, “the higher the tower, the more effectively it symbolises a second form of prestige: the prestige of power” (Huriot, 2012). It doesn’t matter that the taller a building the less efficient in terms of productive surface is, “it becomes more valuable in terms of symbolic capital, the attributes of symbolic, aesthetic or mythological aura” (Bourdieu, 1977, cited in Dovey, 1999, p.107).

Towers have been established with the imaginary of distinction, they create value by being a landmark both within the urban space and as part of the city’s skyline. This mythology of uniqueness becomes the new cultural clothe of capitalism (Dovey, 1999) through the politics of identity and difference.

Like the structure-capitalism also the agent-corporate tower is by nature authoritarian. It bears clear hierarchies and the whole myth that surrounds it is about domination and patriarchy (Dovey, 1999). The size of a corporate tower can be intimidating especially due to the asymmetrical visibility. It is quite unequal the fact that who gets to be in the corporate tower (especially at the corner office which typically is the office of higher executives) can have a panoramic view of the city, practising control and power over. This can be easily correlated to Foucault’s concept of panopticon, as a structure that offers agents the ability to see without being seen while the subjects are seen but cannot see (Dandeker, 1990, cited in Dovey, 1999) and like that are disciplined. The corporate tower is the ultimate symbol of power over of liberalism and market domination.

Apart from the symbolic hegemony, the corporate tower can have further implications for the urban realm as they cause less intensity at the street level. They are accused of being “killers of the urban life” (Dovey, 1999, p.120) but even within the structure social interaction is not facilitated as the occupants are more related to global networks (Huriot, 2012). As cities become arenas for investments and accumulation of profit further practices enter the public realm and depoliticise the scenery. They are constantly marketed as clean environments, without any conflicts and under constant beautification. To achieve this, policies related to slum clearances and urban regenerations are going hand in hand with the desire for investments. Power over is legitimised through these processes which entail the displacement of population, the Lacanian ‘other’, who bear characteristics that can be described as unproductive, disturbing and profitless towards a powerful city as described above (Gunder, 2005). This leaves open a discussion about the cities which brand themselves as stimulators of diversity and multiculturalism while in reality what they seek for is homogeneity and harmony (Gunder, 2005).



Activities within informality: the improvised gym framing the city from the top. Original photograph by Daniel Schwartz (2014).

Centro Financiero Confinanzas aka Torre David

In downtown Caracas, Venezuela, there is a 45-story office tower standing incomplete in the city’s skyline. It was meant to be the financial center of Caracas, but due to the death of its developer construction was halted. Followed by the economic crisis in 1994 the building was completely abandoned. Standing there semi-completed and empty, it has become the informal home for 2.500 people (Romero, Diaz, 2011). The building started being squatted in 2007 due to the massive house shortage that the country is facing. Torre David, by the name of its developer, is one of the tallest buildings in Latin America and the third highest in its country (Grant 2010).

Many have claimed that Torre David is the highest slum in the world. The living conditions are really bad and extremely dangerous since there are no fences or guardrails to define the boundaries of the building and the emptiness lying beyond them. Several accidents have occurred urging the residents to build walls and thus completely block the view, the sun and the air coming in. It lacks several basic amenities like an elevator, water infrastructure and even walls. However, out of necessity ingenuity is born. Water is transported up to 10th floor while one can go several floors up by motorbike. The residents little by little have built small houses with brick walls and other materials within the building creating very weird architecture (Grant, 2010). Torre David is a very lively space almost like a city. Many are those who live and work within the tower. For example, every floor has a small convenient store, there is a beauty salon, even a dentist. At the top floor, with panoramic view of the city an improvised gym is set up by the leftover materials of the unconstructed elevator.

Torre David is a small society with its own economy and established social networks. There are many people who have moved in because they can find opportunities like Mr. Hidalgo from Colombia (Romero, Diaz, 2011). A group of architects called Urban Think Tank (U-TT) have extensively observed and mapped

out Torre David, its stories and its situated structures while the result of their research was documented and widely exhibited. Their work raised controversial discussions and criticism, nevertheless they managed to give an insight to the current situation and unveil its inside mechanisms to a broader audience. The occupation of the building although initially was kind of encouraged by the government of Chávez it wasn’t generally viewed positively. For example the head of urban planning at the municipality of Caracas had stated that “it’s a symbol of anarchy, a symbol of a lack of government and of public inefficiency” (Grant, 2010). In 2014, the Venezuelan government decided to bring an end to the occupation and they plan to restore the tower’s initial use as commercial center and office tower of Chinese interests (Urban Think Tank, 2014). The 700 families have started to be relocated to a social housing project which takes place 50 km outside Caracas.

Inverted Fantasy: Empowerment of the other

demiurge / di:mjə:dʒ, 'dɛm-/

Something (as an institution, idea, or individual) conceived as an autonomous creative force or decisive power. From ancient Greek demos / di:mɒs/ which refers to the people and ergon /er'gon/ which refers to the work or construction, creation.

Centro Financiero Confinanzas was never meant to be inhabited, however Torre David is thriving with life and it has been observed that within it a small city is created with all the complexity this entails. It is not a utopia nor a den of criminality (Urban Think Tank, 2014). It is rather the fantasy of a home for those seeking a way out of poverty and trying to claim their space within the city. The residents in order to cope with poverty and the extreme conditions in the building are organised within smaller communities with their own leaders. Although they live in informality, the 700 families have become self-organised

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in order to defend themselves against the system that initially marginalised them. The symbolical connections with the corporate tower are many and one cannot fail to recognize the mirroring. The corporate tower is the symbol of economic growth but Torre David is framing the lack of resources and the implications of capitalism proving that constant profitability and abundance have their negative side. Jackson has mentioned that we live in "a world of infinite resources [...] still characterised by islands of prosperity within oceans of poverty" (Jackson, 2009, p.4), this is the reality of our economy. Torre David is the inverted fantasy of the authoritarian corporate tower. Inhabited by those who are normally displaced from the city, constantly neglected and bound to live within a perpetuated system of poverty, it rises as a symbol of power to, of empowerment of the other.

Torre David is a 'demiurge', a true creation of the people, bottom-up and opens a discussion on what happens if a modern city fails to adapt to the true needs of its people. The 700 families by exercising their right into housing appropriated what was latent and disregarded by the current regime and created a new contract of citizenship, through participatory and conflictual relationships. From Torre David another city emerged different and contradictory to the one the corporate tower advocates for, "an engine of capital accumulation" (Purcell, 2014, p.149). Lefebvre's concept of right to the city can be narrated through the example of Torre David translated as the right in the creation of the city, the participation in the urban process and a way to challenge the system. This concept openly refers to appropriation of space, "in claiming a right to the city, inhabitants take urban space as their own, they appropriate what is properly theirs" (Lefebvre, 1996, cited in Purcell, 2014, p.149). After all, Torre David belongs to the state since the bankruptcy of 1994 and therefore one could argue that state property is public property.

Torre David was built in order to be the emblem of entrepreneurial Venezuela and instead it became the symbol of its decline (Romero, Diaz, 2011). However by connecting the previous arguments Torre David although a shelter of poverty is not at all a negative imaginary. It is rather a cry of our global reality standing out from Caracas' skyline narrating a symbol of emancipation and human ingenuity under difficult circumstances. The population that all over the world is seeing their rights being trespassed and then displaced outside the city centers have here gained their sovereignty sending a powerful global message. Nevertheless, they too are going to face oblivion as Caracas tries to rebuild its economy and gain power using the same tools as every other city in the world.

As an epilogue

The story of Torre David became widely known through the research work of the Urban Think Tank. Through extended documentation and curating of exhibitions around the world, Torre David managed to be raised as an issue and become a narrative of the common imagination. After all, architects as well as urban designers are imaginative agents, they have "the capacity to stimulate desire and to enlarge the public imagination [...] crucial to the discourses of power" (Dovey, 1999, p.13) as well as through their practice they can give voice to marginalised populations. Mr. Hernández, resident of Torre David spoke out loudly the common feeling of the 700 families "Society hates us, and the government doesn't know what to do with us. Do they really think we want to be living in the Tower of David?" (Romero, Diaz, 2011). No matter the analysis and the concepts of empowerment and claimed citizenship, people didn't actually inhabit Torre David out of choice. They are the marginalised victims of the structure-capitalism, the same system that left the tower incomplete, abandoned and latent of use. The building became both an agent of dignity for those seeking space in the city as well as a demonstrator of the real image of buildings after economic crisis. Yet, all over the world the antagonism for capital, symbolic and economic, is still strong and ongoing no matter the risk and the constant uncertainty for the future vitality of our cities. One wouldn't advocate over the continuation of the living conditions at Torre David. It is a pity though that cities constantly repeat the same mistakes by destroying already situated economies and social networks in the name of prosperity and growth by displacing the other. Cities are branding diversity through eradicating populations who carry a diverse background and rich cultural capital. However, the example of Torre David is powerful enough to prove that any built form can serve interests for which they were not intended (Dovey, 1999) and from framing oppression can instead be mediators of empowerment, 'power over' can become 'power to'.

Don't Shoot the Messenger! Looking Beyond Anti-Expo 2015 Protests

Laura Gioanetti

The recently concluded Expo 2015, having this time Milan as stage, has seen since its proclamation in 2007 strong opposition and the raising of a social movement of protest. Since the beginning such protests have been demonized by institutions and media as subversive, undemocratic and nostalgic and so pictured as illegitimate. Basing on the political theorization given by Chantal Mouffe on current society, we will however see how the protest can be looked at from a different perspective, allowing us to understand the how and why of its manifesting, not to jump into superficial judgements. It will therefore be shown how the protest in exam and its stigmatization can be read as product of the dynamics proper of the hegemonic power, which incapable of producing agonism leads to the raising of antagonism out of the political system.

Laying the stepping stones

In order to understand the argument here proposed is first essential to synthetically clarify which are basis of discussion and their contents. The starting point is the adoption throughout the whole essay of the perspective of the political theorist Chantal Mouffe, known for her critique of deliberative democracy, which however will be complemented with other contributions. Basic theory of Mouffe is that the triumph of the neo-liberal democracy and its deliberative approach, due to its proposition of a political approach and practices which respect democracy in its form but neutralize the substance of politics and so the essence of democracy, has led to a crisis of democracy (Mouffe, 1999; Mouffe, 2005). She identifies at the origin of the problem the fact that the deliberative approach believes in creating, through free discussion, a universal rational consensus. It believes in the embracing a multitude of perspectives and values which, even if contrasting one from the other, when combined are however able to create "an harmonious and non-conflictual ensemble" (Mouffe, 2005:10).

The consensual approach in fact, for the aim of achieving harmony, eliminates the component of conflict from the political realm, which is however unavoidable part of social relations (Mouffe, 2005). Therefore, "instead of creating the conditions for a reconciled society" as advocated, "[it] leads to the emergence of antagonism" (Mouffe, 2005: 4). In such resulting condition the conflicting sides don't share the same ground and see each other as 'enemies' to fight (because threatening each others identity), and therefore in turn democracy is endangered (Mouffe, 2005). In order to safeguard democracy it is then recognized the importance of preserving the conflictual dimension in institutions and practices. This in fact, "by providing those conflicts with a legitimate form of expression" (Mouffe, 2005: 4), would manage to transform antagonism into agonism. With agonism, contrary to antagonism, the conflicting sides see each other as 'adversaries' sharing a common ground of mutual recognition of the legitimacy of 'the other side'. As result, by their acting according to accepted democratic procedures, it is not put at stake the substance of democracy itself (Mouffe, 2005).

However post-modern society has seen the loss of the political condition in which such transformation can happen: political multipolarism. Therefore, in absence of possibilities for antagonism to be exhausted through agonistic confrontation, antagonism arises. It in fact becomes the only mobilizer of 'passions' and only response to the deliberative 'denial' of active engagement of citizens (ibid.). In this context antagonism can then take many forms and interest different scales. We will see for instance how an example of antagonism can be seen in the protests against World Expo 2015, itself an event expression of post-modern society. But, in order to understand how the protests can be a manifestation of antagonism, it is relevant first to have an overview on what World Expos represent, the ideals behind and what they promote.

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The dark side of World Expos

The World Expo started in Paris in 1798 and since then the goal has been of showcase of technological innovations and celebration of the liberal model. However from the 60s it has become more strongly a mean for political, economic and social propaganda and celebration of the power of global neoliberalism (Allen & Cochrane, 2014: 1610). World Expos in fact promote 'advancement' through the Western ideal of globalization and creation of a unified and pacified world, which according to the neo-liberal view is proposed as the 'just way' to be universalized in order to implement a 'just global order' (Mouffe, 2005: 64, 91). Universalizing in liberal democracy comes down to persuasion (Rorty in Mouffe, 2005), and here is where the World Expo comes into play: a persuasive model of Western progress sold as applicable universally. As for mega-events in general, the persuasiveness of World Expos (as their embracement of consensuality and universality) is for instance manifested in the unrealistic promotion of it as "beneficial for all social groups and the [hosting] city in general" (Horne in Gotham, 2010: 198). Through this beliefs and their statement it is made attempt "to unify disparate groups and interests", so to win public support and in turn "mitigate or co-opt the opposition and otherwise weaken and neutralize resistance" (Gotham, 2010: 198).

Despite the effort in neutralizing opposition, they have always provoked community protest. This because, first of all, the underlying decision and organization process is usually conducted in undemocratic premises, with the government deciding to bid for hosting an Expo without consultation of the population. Secondly because, similarly, even the selection of the 'winning' city is conducted in the circle of the Bureau of International Exhibitions (an intergovernmental organization created to supervise international exhibitions) again with exclusion of the elective system. Moreover such events with the promotion of economical progress, boosting the image of the country, and improvements in urban form, imply the creation or strengthening of local injustices. Resulting is in fact for instance the "displacement of neighborhoods that were there before" by "wiping away what's there and putting something in its place that's better for the business community" (Minner in De Aenlle, 2015, May 1). But times are constantly changing, so what about Expo 2015? Has it been a crack in this trend?

With Expo 2015 Italy embraces the world

The answer to the above question is "of course not": the World Expo 2015, taking place in Milan, hasn't been of any exception from the just described dynamics. We can have the first glimpse of the no-change from how Expo has been depicted by the current Prime Minister Matteo Renzi few days before the official inauguration: an occasion of growth, "A pride for Italy", and the event through which Italy is "embracing the world" (Saviano, 2015). Thus the neo-liberal agenda is seen once again as the high aim to pursue, and of course through what if not the adoption of globalism and promotion of universalism (of which World Expos are manifestation)?

The same chosen theme for World Expo 2015: 'Feed the Planet, Energy for Life' has promised the promotion of the ideal of sustainable development, ecology and shared well-being at the global level. The promotion of an ideal of sustainability might entail a potential discussion and challenge of the hegemony in power, but in such context of western driven universalism it results again to constitute just a mean for imposition of the dominant economic model. Expo becomes once more the representation of the "conviction in western democracies that they are the embodiment of the 'best regime' and that they have the 'civilizing' mission of universalizing it" (Mouffe, 2005: 83). In line with the general dynamics, Expo 2015 has also implied extensive cementification in urban and extra-urban areas with privatization of public land, conversion of agricultural land and parks into exhibition areas, habitat destruction, fragmentation of the landscape.

This has led to the "distort[ion of] the urban structure and the livability of neighborhoods", but also to the "drain of resources from areas of social support, as the living, mobility accessible, culture" (No Expo.org, 2015).

Moreover, as per 'tradition', the initial decision to bid for having the Expo in Milan (definitive in 2007) has been carried out through a consensual decision among the different Italian government coalitions, but without any discussion by elective assemblies. Reflection once more of a reality of "democratic deficit without end" (Saviano, 2015). As confirmation is the declaration given with full pride by the, at the time, major of Milan Moratti (after the



Rellandini, Stefano (2015) Un manifestante durante gli scontri a Milano [Photograph; Caption of a Black bloc] At: <http://www.tpi.it/mondo/italia/proteste-scontri-milano-manifestazione-no-expo/un-manifestante-durante-gli-scontri-a-milano> (Accessed on 24.06.09)

selection of Milan as stage for Expo 2015): "I was sure we would have won. Ours has been a team work" (Ronconi, 2015). The major, initiator of the decision and exponent of the main centre-right coalition, found the obvious support of the President of the Region of which Milan is part Roberto Formigoni, from the same coalition. However she also easily got the assent from the at the time Prime Minister Romano Prodi, founder of the main centre-left party, and from the at the time Minister of foreign Affairs Emma Bonino, leading member of the centre-left Italian Radicals.

Such easiness has been the natural consequence of an Italian politic system where bipolarism has ceased to exist. The government is in fact composed by coalitions basically sharing the same ideal, which results in the avoidance of productive conflict. This context, where the distinction between right and left doesn't exist and "politicians of both sides share out the same cake" (Andriola, 2015, May 3), is typical of the current deliberative democracy, and is the same cause identified by Mouffe for the raising of antagonism (Mouffe, 2005; Mouffe, 1999).

But after all this talk about World Expo and its universalizing and persuasive power, and having had a hint of the 'dark world' it tries to cover and at the same time reveals, one question comes natural: have they really succeeded in 'fulfilling the interests of all social groups'? And have they been able to neutralize the resistance?

The dawn of the protests

Once more the answer is "of course not." Inevitably protests have raised, and if we look at Expo 2015 not just as a big feast but also for the social, economical, political and physical implications it has carried we don't have to be surprised about it. The World Expo in exam has in fact been an occasion, as Gotham (2010: 199) would say, to bring to the surface inequalities and antagonisms latent in society, bringing them to the attention and enhancing the "contradictions of [...] structures of domination and subordination". This revealed contradictions, similarly for instance to the case of Louisiana Expo (Gotham, 2010), can be seen in the acting of the organizers in considerable secret, the lack of transparency and democracy in the practices through which the process has been conducted, and the lack of liability. Contradictions are moreover

seen in the misjudgment of the negative environmental impacts, the voluntary exceeding on expected benefits, and the engaging in self-serving rhetorics (Gotham, 2010).

All of this has "galvanize[d] opposition groups and provided a window of [...] opportunity for activists to advocate for social justice and a more inclusive and democratic decision-making process" (Gotham, 2010: 210). In turn contestation has risen. The protest sets "its roots in the widespread sentiment against the great works, against the exploitation of the territory and the mortification of every democratic process of choice" (Pisa, 2015). It therefore has criticized Expo 2015 as a model, as an "emblem of a system of land management that goes beyond territoriality, which uses the logic of the big event, the state of exception, to put its tentacles in every corner of the city and society" (No Expo.org, 2015). It has also contested its being a "feeder of a mechanism, which is already consolidated in Milan, of gentrification and privatization, with dispossession and transfer of wealth from the public to the interests of a few private individuals, at the expense of of the needs of the community and the rights of living" (No Expo.org, 2015b). The motives for contesting Expo 2015 as just seen are multiple and motivated, what we still have to understand is: how have protests needed to manifest and why? What can we see behind?

Beyond the protests

In the Italian context into exam, with the "impossibility for 'voters' of identifying with a differentiated range of democratic political identities" (Mouffe, 2005: 69) and to feel represented in decision concerning their future, it was likely that the empty space left would have been filled by the raising of alternative forms of expression and aggregation. This is indeed what has happened, determining the creation of a local social movement (commonly known as No-Expo). It has indeed found its strength in the capacity of mobilizing the 'affective dimension' and 'citizens passions', otherwise neglected by the hegemony in power (Mouffe, 2005). This has been able to create a cohesive protest out of a 'multitude', transforming the conflict between oppositional groups and hegemonic order, as Musil (2014: 332) would say, "from being hidden to being observable".

At the core the movement is a challenge of the hegemonic practices (of which in a way it reflects the order), by putting itself as oppositional identity and therefore showing its antagonistic character. Such movement can then be seen as manifestation of the antagonism (part of our ontological condition) that, in response to impossibility to be played agonistically within the political system, steps out institutions and practices and arises in its grass roots oriented and extra-parliamentary dimension. It hence poses itself in antithesis to the current hegemony, seeing it as 'the enemy' to be destroyed. This is translated also in the vision that the hegemonic power has of such opposition: an 'enemy' considered as illegitimate and to be condemned. As according to Mouffe (2005) the two 'sides', the No-Expo movement on one hand and the Expo (as representation of the hegemonic system) on the other, become then not 'adversaries' sharing a symbolic space and recognizing each others authority, but 'enemies' that don't share common ground and aim at eliminating each other. In this perspective we can also analyze and understand the strong criminalization that has been carried out by the political institutions and the medias against the No-Expo movement. It has in fact been created a rhetoric of demonization of the movement, which has been depicted as anti-democratic and 'evil'. This because it has been considered as putting into question and so threaten the identity of the 'good' hegemony that the Expo represents. Therefore the demonization has assumed the aim of 'crushing' the opponent, typical of enemy political relations (ibid.). In this case moreover from this 'ideological' threat has been also possible the translation in a 'physical' threat, which has given the pretext for a more intense and effective denunciation. The No-Expo movement had in fact organized a demonstration march (the MayDay parade), to take place in many public spaces of the city of Milan in concomitance with the inauguration of the World Expo 2015, as ultimate expression of the carried protest. Despite the declared pacific nature of the demonstration, this has constituted an occasion for 'the hegemony' to instill fear of the movement and its 'evil' nature, due to the potentiality of devastation of the city that a urban demonstration might have (with high generalization). The rhetoric of demonization, by referring to past events (even of different nature), has in fact picked up on the possibility for the protest to 'put the city on fire', with the intent to instill preoccupation and through this put the movement in bad light (so succeeding in its criminalization). It is in this this context that we then hear declarations from the media such as: "Capacity of interdiction and damage ten times higher than that of the G8 2001 in Genoa" (which saw the raise of powerful jacquerie), or "Alarm for the opening of Expo" (Jeremiah, 2015, March 30). The moving of the attention to the safety threat has been a "weapon of mass distraction", to 'authorize' the confinement of dissent to threat and therefore make it a "matter of the Penal Code" (Bonini, 2015, April 27).

The threat however has unfortunately partially revealed as true with the demonstration turning into violence. Even if this has

involved a really small part of the protesters (probably acting out of a nihilistic rage ending in itself), this has determined the automatic raising of disdain reactions from the public opinion and has in turn given the pretext to put in bad light and condemn the whole movement, lumping everything together. However, with no intention of justifying violence, the same violent outcome could be seen from a different perspective. If we in fact leave apart the mask of morality and we stop looking at the responsible with disdain, but we try instead to understand them, we might see them as carrying the message of a dysfunctionality in the current system. From this perspective we might then end up in blaming not just them, as messengers, but also the same system that has produced them. As relevantly pointed out by Giannulli (2015): "Did you like eliminating or reducing to the edge the channels of transmission of the political question (political parties, unions, etc.)? Did you like producing the depoliticization of the mass, promoting the culture of hyper individualism? Well, the result is the urban jacquerie." In this perspective become obvious as even the so demonized violence, although never the solution and not to justify, is the same representation of antagonism that the peaceful majority of the movement embodies. The violent form can be seen as antagonism assuming an extreme form, and an ultimate expression of the potential for antagonism to put in danger democracy of which Chantal Mouffe has been warning us about.

As a conclusion, and aim of the whole essay, i would like us just to reflect on how easy it is to condemn movements and violence when we look just at the surface. However, despite the different parameters of interpretation we might use, behind each manifestation of such kind there is always a void that we have to understand in order not to confine us in a just apparent democracy and in order to make confrontation a potential of improvement. In other words: don't shoot the messenger!

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Oppressive “Sustainability” and Democratic Crisis in the Case of Stockholm

Sara Malm

Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport are two famous Swedish urban districts which are exported as sustainable models to be copied. Making use of theory by Doreen Massey and Chantal Mouffe, I argue that the “sustainable development” as adopted in these cases feeds into a post-political project — being a practice of domination. The connotations of sustainability has become wealth, health and employment; a narrative which favors the already favored and excludes those already unfavored. In this sense “sustainable development” washes the ugly face of market driven development and segregation with a nice facade, whilst denying the inequalities that the project itself builds upon. By using the unquestionable and “good” concept of sustainability other alternative trajectories and differentiating hegemonic practices are delegitimized and pushed away. As such, “sustainable development” feeds into a dominating post-political practice and brings a democratic crisis. Current mass movements are viewed as a potential for reactivating conflicting hegemonic practices to come back to the scene.

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Questioning Sustainability

When I started my Master in Sustainable Urban Planning and Design it became increasingly evident to me that the trend of sustainability within urban development is questionable. From my previous studies I bring a critical perspective on global relations to the table. Not surprisingly I find the same dynamics of center and periphery; dominator and the dominated; within the urban sphere. To me it's simply a matter of scale. In the same sense as Massey (2005) highlighted the similarities between modernization and globalization, I find the way that sustainability is adopted in urban development to have the same connotations of a “grand narrative”. Although many aspects of the urban development, policies, municipalities, etc are part in the play; this essay seeks to highlight the consequences of a grand narrative in terms of its connotations as well as what is excluded. I will exemplify my points by Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport and thereafter I discuss the grand narrative as a form of domination which also entails a dominated outside. I will mainly draw upon theory posed by Doreen Massey (2005) and Chantal Mouffe (2005).

The outline of the essay is; firstly, a reasoning around the main theory I draw upon to highlight the post-political project as oppression. Secondly, a partial presentation of the initial content of “sustainable development” — mainly focusing on its concern with social equity — to set the scene for how sustainability in terms of equity can be scrutinized in the case of Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport. Lastly, follows a discussion about how the concept of “sustainable development” feeds into a post-political project of domination; a practice which inevitably entails a dominated outside.

The post-political project as oppression

Although using somewhat different terminology I think that the theories brought forth by Massey (2005) and Mouffe (2005) tag into each other. In my point of view, Massey's outlining of the globalization “project” and its marketing as a “grand narrative” marks, what Mouffe calls, a post-political practice which forecloses conflicts about different narratives or trajectories in such a way that only one path is left legit.

Massey (2005) highlights that the grand narrative denies the multiplicity of trajectories — which she argues is a reality within the globalization or modernization experience. In the denying of other trajectories, the project becomes a form of domination as it states the single trajectory to be the only existing and that some are simply ahead of others. Massey clearly objects to this standpoint, stating that “[t]here are multiple trajectories/temporalities here. Once again, as in the case of modernity, this is a geographic imagination which ignores the structural divides, the necessary ruptures and inequalities, the exclusions, on which the successful prosecution of the project itself depends” (Massey 2005: 84). Adopting the same line of thought on sustainability it would imply that spreading of the concept is a



Hammarby Sjöstad — the model for sustainability, Accessed: 2015-12-07, Link: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/81/Hammarby_Sjostad.jpg

project of domination; which both is dependent on and denies the inequalities created through its process.

Mouffe (2005) highlights the mechanisms of identity formation and exclusion; which are denied in the post-political project. She states that “the creation of an identity implies the establishment of a difference, difference which is often constructed on the basis of a hierarchy” (2005: 15). The creation of a “we” always entails an excluded “they”. So as well in political practice. This implies a conflictual reality in which different groups formulate identities based on what is excluded — and in the field of the political, it implies “hegemonic practices” which seeks to establish a certain order in a fluctuating world. She writes that “every order is political and based on some form of exclusion. There are always other possibilities that have been repressed and that can be reactivated. The articulatory practices through which a certain order is established and the meaning of social institutions is fixed are ‘hegemonic practices’” (2005: 18). In a working democracy, differentiating hegemonic practices coexist and fight their battles within democratic channels — having the outcome of a temporary establishment of a certain order. However, the battle never ceases and no current hegemony is to be seen as fixed or final (Mouffe 2005). What is predominant is the always prevailing conflict between differentiators. Machiavelli states that “[i]n each city are found these two different desires . . . the man of the people hates being ordered and oppressed by those greater than he. And the great like to order and oppress people” (Machiavelli quoted in Mouffe 2005: 7). If no other, at least the conflict between the dominator and the dominated is prevailing within each set hegemony. Mouffe (2005) puts this conflictual never-ending process in contrast to today's post-political project — stating that “[w]hat defines the post-political perspective is the claim that we have entered a new era where this potential antagonism has disappeared. And this is why it can put in jeopardy the future of democratic politics” (2005: 7). Mouffe (2005) paints the picture of the post-political world today and argues for its democratic crisis. It is an order which forecloses collective identities mobilized on passions in favor of an individualistic rational approach. The intention to end political conflictual relations simply move the antagonism inherent in identity formation from the traditional political arena to the arena of a “moral register” where the identity formation is based on “good” or “bad” (Mouffe 2005). This post-political project implies a grand narrative of what is good or desired and what is bad or undesired. I argue that this grand narrative is connected with many different concepts; such as globalization scrutinized by Massey or as sustainability in urban development today. Important to highlight is the aspect of power and domination within the establishment of a fixed content of these concepts. Carl Schmitt states that “whoever has true power is able to determine the content of concepts and words” (Schmitt quoted in Mouffe 2005: 87). Just as argued by Massey, the project of a grand narrative such as globalization or sustainability is a project of domination and inequality. As I see it, if a concept such as

sustainability is used simply as a “good” concept which has an established fixed content beneficial to those of relative power — then there inevitably is an excluded outside of those that do not benefit, but rather relatively loose or experience repression in the process.

Mouffe (2005) argues that when the post-political project seeks to eradicate political conflicts; they are simply displaced. They are hindered from being fought through democratic channels and needs to seek elsewhere to be expressed, such as in mass movements outside the traditional arena of political parties. The very denial of the inherent conflicts between different identity formations based on passions “is what is at the origin of the rationalist approach's incapacity to come to terms with political mass movements, which they tend to see as an expression of irrational forces or a ‘return to the archaic’” (2005: 24). An example of how this is expressed in a national context is the raise of nationalist parties that clearly are playing on the passions when formulating a “we” of the “people” which are against the “establishment” — something that in Europe has been met with the explanation of them being backwards or simply uneducated (Mouffe 2005). Another, more resent, example of how the political institutions struggle today are the municipalities' relation to mass movements within citizen dialogues. Mathias Wåg (2015) claims that there is a fear amongst municipal personell of organized movements participating (Wåg in Lindblom et al 2015). Furthermore, Rami Al-khamisi (2015) describes the involvement of a mass movement; painting a picture of participation in which the municipality didn't take the considerations of the movement seriously (Al-khamisi in Lindblom et al 2015). In 2005 Mouffe posed the question “[h]ow long will it take before citizens completely lose faith in the democratic process?” (2005: 63). I dare say that the examples from citizen dialogues presented above and furthermore in the book, “Medborgardialog — demokrati eller dekoration” (Lindblom et al 2015), which they are derived from, indicates that this is currently happening in the Swedish context. This would in a way mark a point of opportunity to let passions and collective identity formulations to enter the society in a legit way again. The oppression of different trajectories and the denying of it within the post-political project simply pushes alternative hegemonic practices away from the scene — however, the conflicts still exist and alternative claims och practices has the potential to be reactivated.

“Sustainable Development”

Approaching the concept “sustainable development” has the potential to become a doctoral thesis in itself. However, its relevance for this essay is delimited to giving a short introduction of its content when established by the UN 1987, especially highlighting its implications for social equity, and then give some insights of critique as to its adoption in Stockholm today. Initially sustainable development was defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development as “development that meets



Megafonen — reactivating democracy by voicing an alternative hegemonic practice, Accessed: 2015-12-07, Link: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/Bana_Bisrat_from_Megafonen_at_demonstration_against_Swedish_migration_policy_in_Stockholm.JPG?uselang=sv

the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UN 1987: 41). Regardless of this famous sentence’s vagueness, it also came with some clarification as to the direction of this development. One of them concerns equity, stating that:

“—physical sustainability cannot be secured unless development policies pay attention to such considerations as changes in access to resources and in the distribution of costs and benefits. Even the narrow notion of physical sustainability implies a concern for social equity between generations, a concern that must logically be extended to equity within each generation.”
(UN 1987: 41)

I dare say that the initial ambition of equity within the definition of sustainability has been watered down in today’s interpretation of the concept. Scrutinizing of this trend is beyond the scope of this essay, however the Brundtland definition of sustainability serves a good departure point and frame of discussion when going into the case of Stockholm.

Within urban development in Stockholm both Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport are internationally marketed as sustainable urban districts, resulting in models mimicked around the world (Ignatieva & Berg 2014; Gaffney et al 2007; Stockholm Stad 2015a). Josefin Wangel (2013) highlights that not everybody afford to live in these areas because of the high prices, which inevitably leads to increased segregation. Some part of the high prices can be derived from the increased environmental standard, however far from all of it. Rather, both costs for sanitizing the land (since the areas are former industrial sites) and costs for infrastructure drives up the value of the land. On top of that you of course have the logic of the market as well as the comparably big sizes of the apartments which drives the costs even higher due to its central location and many square meters per apartment (Wangel 2013). So, if not everyone has the possibility to live in the area — what can be said about those that do? Stockholm Stad (2015b; 2015c) gives some figures to add to the picture of Hammarby Sjöstad. The average income in the area 2014 (from age 16) was 421.000 SEK/year; the same figure in the city was in 2010 332.100 SEK/year. Comparing the unemployment rate in 2014, Hammarby

Sjöstad measures 1.7% and the city 3.7% (Stockholm Stad 2015b). Furthermore, the unhealthy rate of the area in 2014 was 9,5 whilst in the city it was 18,9 (Stockholm Stad 2015c). The conclusion by these figures is that Hammarby Sjöstad inhabitants have a higher salary, are less sick and are to a larger extent employed than the average inhabitant of Stockholm. If this is the reality of the most famous districts marketed as sustainable in the Swedish context — what kind of narrative is supported?

Feeding into a dominating practice

Sustainability is today a concept which is broadly recognized as something desirable; by organizations, nation states and to some extent companies. I argue it to be viewed as a “good” and unquestionable desire. When the connotations of this desired concept includes the wealthy, healthy and employed it simultaneously excludes others. The identity of “sustainable development” and who it is for is marked against its outside — those that are less wealthy, less healthy and to a larger degree unemployed. Although the aim of a sustainable development probably isn’t one of domination, it becomes problematic when its implementation feeds into an unequal practice. What is at the heart of the matter is that the sustainable districts is marketed as models, as a forefront, as something to be copied. The story echoes with Massey’s theory about the grand narrative. The “sustainable development” has become a one snapshot, a one trajectory, which inevitably excludes other possible alternatives. Here, one could develop an interesting line of thoughts in relation to Swyngedouw & Heynen (2010) and how they merge environmentalism with marxism as to show how the relation between human and “nature” is socially constructed and always entails a dimension of power structures including unequal distribution of benefits from the order that is being set. (Swyngedouw & Heynen 2010) What can be said in relation to the grand narrative of sustainable development in Stockholm today is that it feeds into an unequal city development in which the market value of land and property is the main driving factor. The concept of sustainable development becomes in favor of those that already are favored. It feeds into an increasing segregation and the grand narrative of sustainable development is set as a post-political hegemonic practice — giving a nice facade of forwardness and denying the inevitable ruptures, inequalities and trajectories which the project itself builds upon.

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What about the dominated?

So, what happens with the excluded; the outside towards which “sustainable development” has formulated its identity? As I argued above, I see the concept as being a part of the post-political project — tapping into its grand narrative. In this sense “sustainable development” becomes a part of a bigger project, which all together depends on and at the same time denies the inequalities it builds upon. It is a post-political project of domination, in which those of wealth, health and employment are favored as being included into its “good” connotations. Underlying the project I say there is, as in the example of Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport, forces such as land values and property values. In the name of “good” concepts such as sustainable development, the forces of the market is enabled to “wash” its ugly face into a vocabulary of the moral register. Those left outside from the benefits of sustainable development can easily be pushed aside as delegitimized irrational or backwards people. I would say the terminology of NIMBY’s is a case of this. In this practice the entire question of different trajectories or realities are denied and the issue of class is completely eradicated from the picture. Mouffe (2005) writes that “[c]lasses have disappeared and the key terms today are those of ‘inclusion’ and ‘exclusion’. Society is viewed as basically composed of middle class; the only exceptions are a small elite of the very rich on the one hand and those who are ‘excluded’ on the other” (Mouffe 2005:62). In the denying of class and different experiences within the post-political project, which “sustainable development” tags into, the inherent conflicts over meaning and its different hegemonic practices are repressed. However, they still exist and the potential to reactivate them is always prevailing. What is at stake in the reactivation of different hegemonic practices is what channel it will go through and what level of antagonism or violence it will take.

As has been mentioned, Mouffe already makes the link between the post-political project and the raising of nationalist parties. I have also shortly presented the existence of mass movements in relation to current citizen dialogues. In my point of view, mass movements such as “Megafonen”, “Högdalens Vänner” and “Allt Åt Alla” in Stockholm; are examples of how hegemonic practices are raising within the city. They offer the perspective of alternative experiences within the post-political project. They fight

for social justice and puts up resistance against gentrification and the shutting down of public services and space. Al-khamisi (2015) states that the millionprogram housing areas has been discriminated and stigmatized for decades, hence making it possible for municipalities to mute their demands in a way that wouldn’t be possible in housing areas where the inhabitants have higher income (Al-khamisi in Lindholm et al 2015). As the mass movements are hitting the streets; demonstrating and occupying public houses as a way of raising their voices enough to be heard — the post-political project continues. I argue that allowing different hegemonic practices to be expressed through democratic channels would have to include the voices of the mass movements. Voices that talk about oppression and the downside of urban development. The downside of a grand narrative which also includes the sustainable development brought by projects such as Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport. As I see it the concept of sustainable development is highjacked into the post-political project — if one were to take it seriously, it would remember its roots of equity and open up the battleground for different hegemonic practices. After all, the relation between human and “nature” is political in the sense that it (re)produces power structures and there are an endless number of ways that it could be structured.

Planning Beyond Politics

Post-political Strategies in the Case of Kvillebäcken

Maria Strandberg

Political theorist Chantal Mouffe argues that we find ourselves in a post-political condition, where the frontiers between left and right have been blurred and conflicts are seen as a “thing of the past.” Post-political tendencies and the striving towards consensus can also be found in contemporary urban planning practice, which tends to neglect that different groups have different interests and that planning solutions might not be beneficial for everyone. Kvillebäcken is an area in Gothenburg currently undergoing a redevelopment process. In the former small-scale industrial area numerous existing activities had to give way to the city’s new ‘sustainable’ district. This essay discusses the argument made by Mouffe in relation to the regeneration of Kvillebäcken and suggests a way forward where conflicts and different interests are given attention in a political debate around urban development.

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Planning as a political activity?

Planning is an inherently political activity where multiple interests have to be taken into consideration and trade-offs between different alternatives have to be made. Thus, what is seen as important and what should be prioritised is necessarily a political issue. At the political arena the neo-liberal logic has a hegemonic status and ideological conflicts are set aside in order to put forward ‘rational’ consensus decisions that are supposed to benefit everyone (Mouffe 2005). Drawing on the argument by Mouffe, it can be said that urban planning has been depoliticised. Contemporary planning is often perceived as a neutral activity where the result will benefit everyone and where social and environmental sustainability do not conflict with the overall aim of economic growth. Consensus is built around specific political demands, and we can all agree that we want ‘sustainability’ (Swyngedouw 2007). This post-political approach to planning ignores that costs and benefits are unevenly distributed.

Swedish urban (re)development projects are often marketed as socially and environmentally sustainable, while in practice they are only accessible for a small part of the population and ecological footprints are not necessarily being reduced (see for example Wangel 2013 on Hammarby Sjöstad and The Royal Seaport in Stockholm). Loit (2014) argues that social strategies often are adapted to market based economic incentives, which results in planning projects that increase the socio-economic polarisation. Kvillebäcken is a former industrial area in Gothenburg, currently undergoing a redevelopment process, framed as the city’s new sustainability flagship. The new development has been preceded by a planning process ignoring different interests resulting in a displacement of the previous activities in the area. In this essay the regeneration of Kvillebäcken is discussed in relation to the argument that a consensus culture forecloses any open conflicts and debates at the planning arena.

The contemporary post-political condition

According to Mouffe, “the belief in the possibility of a universal rational consensus has put democratic thinking on the wrong track” (2005:3). The argument is that in the liberal democracy of the Western world, declaring prosperity for everyone, universal human rights and promoting common sense over conflict and debate, the political division between left and right has been replaced by moral thinking of right and wrong. However, striving for consensus around political decisions and the rejection of ideological divisions in politics is not a proof that we are “beyond politics” in the sense that we already live in a world of equality, harmony and human rights. Rather, Mouffe (2005) argues that the view on the current political and economic system, neo-liberal capitalism, as inevitable and the only possible option actually challenges democracy since it neglects different interests, prevents multiple voices from being heard and leads to the loss of passion in politics and legitimacy of democratic institutions.

In consensus oriented politics, the basic principle is that deliberation can lead to common agreements accepted by everyone. Mouffe opposes this view, referring to Schmitt who states that “every consensus is based on acts of exclusion” (2005:11). To claim that people can leave their interests aside in order to reach rational decisions leads to the pacification of conflicts and neglects power structures. Another danger with the consensus perspective is that politics might be perceived as a technical issue to be solved by experts. This can be seen in the shift from government to governance, where decision-making is performed by a multiple of public and private actors with the aim of preventing conflicts. This is, according to Mouffe (2005), a managerial view on democracy that neglects that decisions always are disadvantageous to some people and that dissensus and disagreement are inherent parts of politics. Since politics is “not an exchange of opinions but a contest for power” (Mouffe 2005:51), to acknowledge conflicts is a necessary starting point for democratic politics, which, in turn, requires the definition of an adversary.

Mouffe (2005:9) distinguishes between ‘politics’ and ‘the political’, where politics is the set of practices and institutions that creates and organises the societal order. The political is “the context of conflictuality”, or the dimension of antagonism, that is fundamental for society and human life (ibid.). For Mouffe collective identities and the recognition of pluralism are central for a democratic political debate. Collective identities are formed around a ‘we’, that requires a distinction and formation of a ‘they’ (Mouffe 2005:15). The we/they distinction can take antagonistic forms, and thus the challenge is to establish tamed antagonistic, or ‘agonistic’, relations. Agonistic relations emphasises the positive aspects of conflict and the participants are adversaries rather than enemies, accepting the opponent’s standpoint as legitimate (Mouffe 2005). The individualistic liberal democracy prevents the acknowledgement of collective identities, or a we/they relationship, which forecloses any agonistic confrontation. Mouffe (2005:21) argues that “political channels for dissenting voices” are necessary in order to avoid antagonistic confrontations. Within the neo-liberal hegemony no possible alternatives are shown and no arena for the manifestation of conflicts and for expressing diverse opinions is provided. The lack of political alternatives creates general distrust in political institutions and paves the way for right-wing populist parties (Mouffe 2005). According to Mouffe the division between left and right in politics must be reintroduced and real alternatives must be put forward and debated. She is critical to the way that liberal democratic politics are played out, but she is a defender of the parliamentary democratic system. Her view is that ‘real’ democracy is challenged by the consensus orientation of the contemporary political debate, stating that the solution lies in a pluralistic democracy that recognises social division, legitimises conflict and uses the democratic arena as a space for bringing “plurality of interests and demands” to the fore (Mouffe 2005:120).

Consensus-oriented urban (re)development

In many parts of Europe, urban planning has gone through a shift during the last decades. Since planning quickly adapts to the dominant societal ideology, the neo-liberal change in politics is also prominent in planning practice (Allmendinger & Haughton 2011). This shift implies vision based planning with an increased focus on city branding and international competitiveness in order to promote economic growth; different governance arrangements where private and public actors jointly are performing urban development projects as well as an “evacuation of the political” where consensus seeking processes has replaced debate and disagreement at the planning arena (Swyngedouw et al 2002, Allmendinger & Haughton 2011). Environmental protection and social justice are incorporated in ‘fuzzy’ sustainability strategies, as long as they do not conflict with the overall agenda of promoting economic growth (Allmendinger & Haughton 2011). Even if the ‘buzz word’ social sustainability is commonly used, redistributive social policies are being replaced with the assumption of trickle-down effects (Swyngedouw et al. 2002). The promotion of ‘win-win solutions’ is a way the consensus-orientation is expressed. The assumption here is that economic growth will benefit everyone, and thus no conflicts between social and economic targets are identified. Brorström (2015) argues that conflicts between the different sustainability dimensions are hidden in strategic sustainability work due to the desire to reach consensus around a common vision.

Stakeholder participation of private sector and non-governmental organisations is seen as a new form of democratic and transparent governance. However, Swyngedouw et al. (2002) argues that democracy rather might be undermined since important principles of accountability and formal representation are circumvented. Furthermore, elite coalitions are common and public participation processes are often highly formal, excluding socio-economic weak groups (ibid.). The involvement of different stakeholders in planning is partly due to an increased focus on ‘delivery’, or speeding up the processes (Allmendinger & Haughton 2011:93). Development projects are often publicly financed and directed at revaluing urban land and closing the rent gap, and local authorities adopt an entrepreneurial approach “aimed at identifying market opportunities and assisting private investors to take advantage of them” (Swyngedouw et al 2002:553). In this way planning becomes management, coordination and policy-making rather than a political activity promoting debate and negotiation between conflicting interests.

The case of Kvillebäcken

Kvillebäcken is a former small-scale industrial area in Gothenburg, currently undergoing a redevelopment process. It is located approximately 5 minutes with tram from the city centre and is part of the larger redevelopment project Centrala Älvstaden (The Central River City). The area is planned and developed in a consortium, a public-private partnership model consisting of seven private developers and the municipally owned corporation



Transformation of space in Kvillebäcken: “with a little imagination you can see the sun set behind the rooftops”. © Katarina Despotovic, with permission from the photographer.



Photo taken from the same angle a couple of years later: apartments and office buildings under construction. Rent gap closed. © Katarina Despotovic, with permission from the photographer.

Älvstranden Utveckling (Kvillebäcken 2011). The ambition has been to create a socially, environmentally and economically sustainable ‘mixed use’ district with around 2000 new apartments, shops, offices and services. It is supposed to be a model for sustainable urban development and strengthen the position of Gothenburg as a ‘forerunner’ within the area (ibid.). The sustainability strategy is however mostly focused on environmental aspects, consisting e.g. of life-cycle analyses of buildings, application of the city’s programme for environmentally adapted construction and demands on energy use. Social strategies are limited to providing 25% rental apartments, lightning in public space and accessibility to public transport stops and services (ibid.).

Before the redevelopment process started the area consisted of various small-scale activities, such as car mechanics, second hand shops, restaurants and mosques. Despotovic & Thörn (2015) has studied the regeneration of Kvillebäcken from a power perspective by mapping the displaced activities and interviewing the owners. Their mapping shows that only one (1) of the around 50 activities, a butcher’s shop, has been able to stay in the area after the regeneration, which was due to the fact that the owner had connections at different levels in the city and possessed the resources to fight for a spot in the new market hall in the area (Despotovic & Thörn 2015). Many of the activities had temporary building permits, which were terminated by the municipality even if the shop owners or organisations owned the land themselves, wanted to stay in the area and also had been promised to by the municipality at an earlier stage (Despotovic & Thörn 2015).

Early in the process, in the late 1990s, the diversity of the area was seen as an asset to be preserved and of importance for the city. In the early 2000s the discourse changed and an image of the area as run down, slum, criminal and beyond control of the authorities was created. It was even referred to as ‘the Gaza strip’ by the local media. However, according to the local police criminal activities were concentrated to two illegal clubs, of which one

was located outside the planning area (Despotovic & Thörn 2015). According to Despotovic & Thörn (2015:240) the municipality started to end building permits and buy and demolish buildings long before the detailed plans were approved. In this way the area came to be perceived as an empty and abandoned space. At the project web page it is now stated that “previously unilaterally used central land is now used for housing, which is very positive for a sustainable development of the city” (kvillebäcken.se, author’s translation). Political directives about creating an ‘understanding’ between the involved public and private actors in the consortium were given in order to speed up the process, and the process has been criticised for lack of transparency and for violating the principle of public access to documents (Despotovic & Thörn 2015).

Kvillebäcken in a context of post-political planning

Seen in the light of the analysis by Mouffe (2005), it can be argued that a post-political discourse has characterised the development process of Kvillebäcken. A biased image of the area, suiting the interests of the municipality and the involved developers, was presented and disagreements and different interests were hidden behind a façade of ‘sustainable urban development’. The fact that many of the existing activities wanted to stay in the area was ignored by the municipality and by creating an image of a run-down area in desperate need of rescue, a potential political discussion about other development alternatives was foreclosed. No room for an agonistic confrontation was made, and no arena where the different concerned actors could make their voice heard was created. Instead the only actor who managed to stay in the area had to use other, antagonistic, means, Despotovic & Thörn (2015:137) describes how the owner of the butcher’s shop performs a “coup” against the consortium plans in order to get the spot in the market hall.

The governance model of the development process gave private actors a substantial influence over the planning process, and directives of speeding up the process together with the fact that the negotiations partly took place behind locked doors might be a factor influencing the lack of public debate and protests connected to the displacement. Not all the people and organisations operating in the area had the resources to fight for their rights, and the quick process gave a limited time frame to organise any resistance. As Swyngedouw et al. (2002) argues, the governance model might have undermined the democratic influence on the development since it excluded the existing actors from the planning process. Governance models increases the institutional complexity and the division of responsibility becomes unclear. Non-transparent processes where it is not possible to access documents declaring the decision making process obstruct accountability. The lack of channels for public debate and possibilities for influence on the planning process can be seen as an expression of planning as a technical issue rather than a political activity (Mouffe 2005).

The transformation of Kvillebäcken appears as quite brutal, and it seems reasonable to ask if this is a unique example or if similar processes take place in other locations. Establishing a discourse describing the area as problematic appears to be a common strategy in order to legitimise the relocation of existing inhabitants or activities in an area. Allen & Cochrane (2014) point out such strategy in relation to the regeneration of London East End before the 2012 Olympic Games, and Thörn (2013) describes a similar process before the transformation of Haga in Gothenburg during the 1960-70s. The official standpoint is that the redevelopment of Kvillebäcken improves the previously “unilateral” use of central land. Central land is a valuable asset in contemporary cities, and cities earn money from selling to the highest bidder. To change the use of the land might be a way of closing the rent gap, in line with the argumentation of Swyngedouw et al. (2002).

The regeneration of Kvillebäcken has resulted in the displacement of many activities and the measures for social sustainability are weak and not directed at improving the access to the area for different social groups, but the area is still framed as socially sustainable. Both the process and the result ignore different interests of the urban population and conflicts are neglected on behalf of promoting a hegemonic story of the sustainable urban district with the purpose of branding the city. Or as Gunder (2005:87) puts it: “planning obscures the agonistic conflict of difference between actors in society by creating a shared fantasy, or illusion, of common policy issues requiring address for the future city”.

The case of Kvillebäcken

Inevitably, planning has to make choices between conflicting alternatives. Since contemporary urban planning tends to neglect that there are no rational win-win solutions, the question is how to bring dissensus and debate back into planning? Can the concept of ‘agonistic confrontations’ inform planning practice? Mouffe suggests that platforms for political debate where difference and conflicts can be manifested in agonistic relations are needed in order to counteract the consensus orientation in politics. She is however not very specific on how the deficits of the liberal democratic system should be handled in practice or how the system needs to be adjusted in order to allow agonistic debate. Mouffe makes clear that consensus decisions ignore power structures but she is not clear on how power relations should be managed when it comes to her own suggestion. Even if an arena for public debate is provided equal opportunities for participation among different social groups is not guaranteed and unequal power relations might resist, which is something that must be considered.

However, despite the issue of power discrepancies, allowing a debate where different voices would be heard in the case of Kvillebäcken would have had the potential to generate an

alternative outcome. The municipality had a clear idea of what to create, consensus was formed around a vision where no space was left for the existing activities and no strategies for social justice were incorporated, but the result was still framed as socially sustainable. A planning process including other stakeholders than private developers and the promotion of a debate around different alternatives apart from those suiting the neo-liberal sustainability agenda would make alternative visions and a different result possible. As Mouffe argues, to open up for alternatives might also be a way to mobilise collective identification and passion in politics, which might be a way to increase the legitimacy of planning institutions. Strengthening the democratic arena is an important task for the future. Recognising demands from different social movements an incorporate them into planning processes might be a way of increasing diversity in the process and widening the planning agenda.

Urban planning concerns everyone in society and I believe that it is dangerous to perform planning in non-transparent private public partnerships in order to produce quick results, rather than debating a wide range of options for the future urban development. An important responsibility for planning is to meet the needs of different social groups, why an important factor for a politicised urban development is the political will to redirect a market oriented planning and put clear political demands steering the development in a more just direction. The excluding result of contemporary planning is not the only option.

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A Building Designed to Make you Lose Track of Time and Place

A Spatial Analysis of Mall of Scandinavia

Dennis Söderholm

Every once in a while the death of mega-malls is announced. However, new shopping malls are opened all the time. The modern-day shopping mall displays a very complex spatial system, compared to the first shopping malls that were built in the 1950s. Despite this, many of the original ideas and principles still remain, although in a much more elaborated form. The shopping mall is a space that tries to make the visitor lose track of place and time. Kim Dovey analyzes shopping malls, among other manmade structures, in his book *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (1999). Based on this book, this article analyzes the spatial structure and reveals some of the tactics used to control human behavior in Mall of Scandinavia – a recently opened mega-mall in Stockholm, Sweden. Although just being one case, many of these principles are used in one way or another in shopping malls all over the world.

This text begins by introducing the theory and background of mega-malls. Thereafter Mall of Scandinavia is briefly introduced before digging into the analysis of its spatial structure. Finally the mall's relation to the surrounding city district is analyzed.

From mall to mega-mall

The paragraphs of the following text section summarizes and highlights the background and theoretical framework of malls as presented by Kim Dovey in *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (1999).

Having its roots in two urban commercial inventions of the latter half of the 1800s: the shopping arcade and the department store, the modern day shopping mall saw daylight in the mid-1950s. The idea is attributed to an Austrian-American architect named Victor Gruen. The idea was simply to artificially generate flows of pedestrians in car-based suburbs by making them pass an arcade on the way to a department store, which functioned as a 'magnet'. It is known as the 'dumbbell' plan: two large 'anchor stores' are placed on each end of an arcade with smaller shops (see figure 2). This way customers would pass the smaller shops on their way from the parking lot to the anchors, thus generating high pedestrian flows with a high rental value. This distraction of the customer's original intentions to manipulate her into impulse consumption is known as the 'Gruen transfer'.

Today's shopping mall is a much more complex space than the 'dumbbell' plan and it contains many anchor stores and multiple arcades connecting them. Often modern shopping malls consist of several interwoven 'dumbbells'. Customers can also enter from several directions and also directly into an anchor store without passing the arcade. Shopping malls are also placed next to anything that functions as a pedestrian 'magnet'; museums, amusement parks, cinemas, and other attractions. In fact, many shopping malls are attractions themselves.

Despite shopping malls growing more complex and access points multiply, the manipulative control of pedestrian movements is clear. Once inside the mall there are many paths to choose from, often in a 'ringy' fashion. Car parks are never part of a ring and access from the car park is usually lineal with less economic activity along these lines. The ringy structure gives the mall a high level of permeability, something that Jane Jacobs discovered was important for urban street life too.

The shopping mall is actually an inverted city that has recreated urban public life in a private space. But unlike the city, the shopping mall sets its own rules; the mall completely controls the rental market within it and it chooses a mix of shops which will maximize profit. The shopping mall can actually control the self-destructive problem that exists in urban areas: a high mix of functions attracts people, which raises rents, which forces those functions that contributed to the positive mix in the first place out of business. Anchor stores get cheaper rent because they

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The opening day of Mall of Scandinavia, that took place in the evening, was described as chaotic. Two hours after opening the doors no new customers were let inside as 20,000 people already crowded the mall and there were difficulties to move around (Cardona Cervantes 2015). (Photo by the author)

attract visitors. Small shops on the way to car parks are cheaper because people pass them only when arriving or leaving. They are often rented to conveniences like dry cleaners or banks or for stores that attract a particular range of customers, like pet stores and optics. They function as mini-magnets to attract these special groups to the shopping mall. The highest rents are charged in the core of the 'ring', where impulse buy prevail. These spaces are occupied by clothing, gifts and accessories. The shopping mall thereby creates convenience (many shops in one place) and inconvenience (difficult to reach the store you came for) at the same time.

The diversity in the shopping mall is of course not genuine. Shop fronts, special offers, product placement and opening hours are strictly controlled. Advertising is controlled to avoid visual saturation. Those who are best coped to deal with this are formularized chain stores. While there is no real competition within the shopping mall, shopping malls compete aggressively with other shopping malls and shopping districts.

Psychologically, the shopping mall stands for safety and predictability: the climatic conditions are always the same and there is an illusion of no crime or poverty in the shopping mall. Also the walking environment is completely safe compared to city traffic. At the same time the shopping mall gives the impression of vibrant public life and harmonious community. The transition from the outside to the inside is important in creating this illusion. The car park is a dull and rational space from where the customer enters a free-flowing space full of pleasures. The shopping mall is designed to lose yourself. There are no clocks and views to the outside world are rare. The exit never has an 'exit' sign. Shopping fatigue is temporarily cured by attractions like fountains and different events. The shopping mall blurs the sense of time and place also on a larger scale: different historical styles are mixed and tastes and imagery from all over the world are present in the shopping mall.

The shopping mall controls behavior within its premises. Anything outside the norm is excluded, like eccentricities, poverty, demonstrations and anything that disrupts the festive atmosphere. Despite this, the shopping mall tries to be the 'town square' by allowing certain community events, political rallies and festivities. Some malls even use attributes linked to town squares and streets. The difference between public and private becomes more blurred as libraries, churches, museums and social services move into shopping malls.

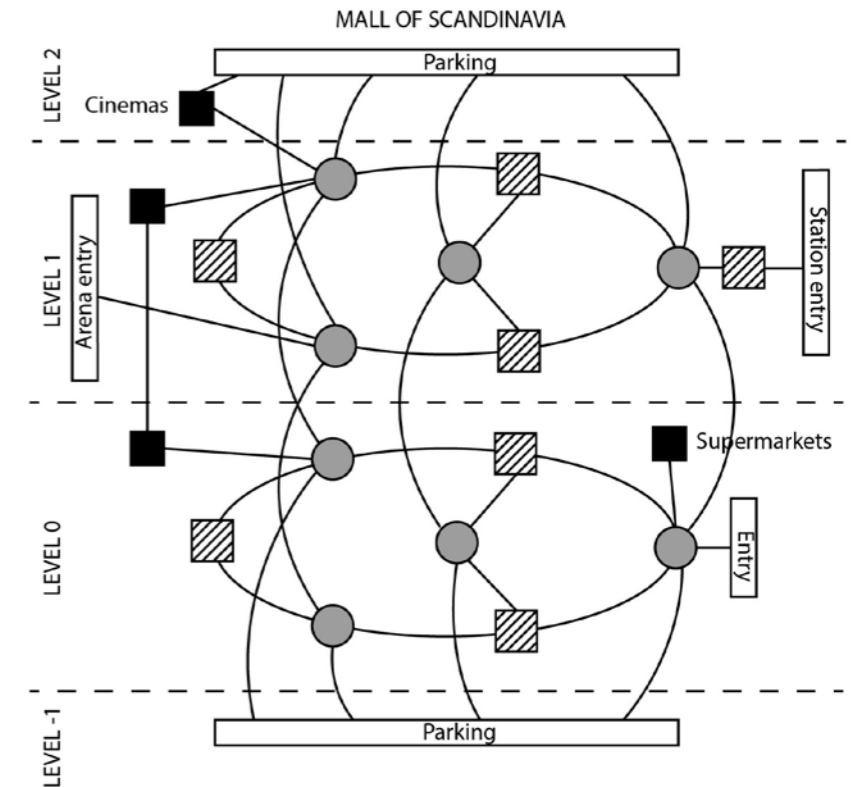
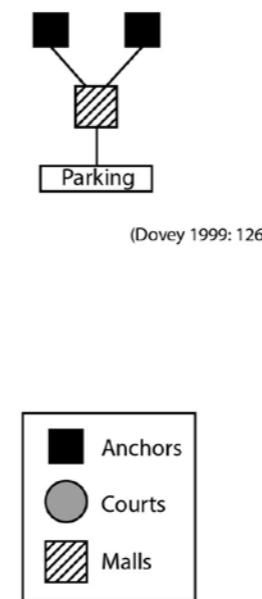
Mall of Scandinavia: what and where

Mall of Scandinavia is a shopping mall located some 5 km northwest of downtown Stockholm, Sweden, in the municipality of Solna. It opened its doors to customers in mid-November 2015 and offers 230 shops on a gross leasable area of 101,500 m². It also contains a cinema with 15 screens (Arenastaden 2015a; Unibail-Rodamco 2015).

The mall – that claims it is the largest in Scandinavia – is located by Solna commuter train station, a seven minute train ride from central Stockholm. The mall also boasts 3,700 indoor parking lots (Mall of Scandinavia 2015), which are reachable from the north-south E4 motorway. Reachability by walking or bike is not really mentioned in any documents.

Mall of Scandinavia is part of an urban development project called Arenastaden ("Arena Town"). Arenastaden's most important landmark is Friends Arena – also dubbed "Sweden's national arena" – a multipurpose indoor stadium which hosts both football games and concerts. It can hold up to 75,000 spectators, but usually 50,000 during sports games (Friends Arena 2015). Arenastaden also contains 15,000 work places, a number which is planned to double by 2020, and it is home to 4,000 inhabitants (Arenastaden 2015b). The arena and the mall are located next to each other.

THE MALL GENOTYPE



The mall genotype compared to Mall of Scandinavia. The diagram illustrates the depth of the structure, i.e. how many segments away a segment is located from an entrance point as well as the connections between segments. 'Malls' refers here to shopping arcade segments.

The anchor in Mall of Scandinavia is a two-storey department store. The diagram doesn't show the real (geographical) location of segments, it only shows their connections. (Illustration by the author)

A spatial analysis of Mall of Scandinavia

We can begin our analysis by looking at the pompous name, Mall of Scandinavia. This is of course a clear reference to Mall of America, the biggest mall in the United States, and one of the icons in the business (Mall of America 2015). There are of course tens of other malls named 'Mall of [toponym]' in the world, but Mall of America is probably the most known. The name is also a reference to the fact that the mall claims it is the biggest mall in Scandinavia (Mall of Scandinavia 2015). The biggest mall in the Nordic countries seems to be Itis in Helsinki, with just 1,500 gross leasable square meters more than Mall of Scandinavia (Itis 2015).

Dovey (1999) uses space syntax diagrams to analyze shopping malls. The idea behind it is to analyze the depth of the structure. For instance in the classic 'dumbbell' shopping mall of the 1950s the anchor stores are located in the deepest part of the diagram, which means that the customer has to pass several other segments before she finally gets there (see figure 2). Today's shopping malls are much more complicated structures. There are no longer just a few entrance points to the mall, but more than ten. Therefore I have decided to alter the space syntax diagram a bit and have added a few more dimensions to it. This way the diagram is more readable and it also adds some new dimensions to be analyzed. Despite these alterations, the original intention of the diagram, to analyze the depth of the structure, can still be read. It's just that the depth of the structure varies a lot depending on which entrance you choose.

In my diagram of the spatial flows of Mall of Scandinavia (see figure 2) you can see that the mall consist of two shopping floors (level 0 and level 1) and the indoor parking is placed both below and above these floors. No parking is located outside the mall building. Pedestrian entrances are located at each end of the mall, one towards the commuter train station and one towards Friends Arena. Both pedestrian entrances take customers to

level 1. There is a third pedestrian entrance, a bit of a side entrance, to level 0 from a street lined with office buildings just outside the mall. Dovey (1999) noticed that courts and malls are on average two segments away from car parks. For Mall of Scandinavia the courts are the first segments you reach, the malls are the second segments.

Mall of Scandinavia has a circular character, or in fact triangular: There are three main courts and malls between them. Three courts of course form a triangle, but the movement is uninterruptedly circular in character. Between two of the malls there's a smaller side mall with a small court in the middle, the fourth court. Each court connects the two floors through escalators as well as the above and below ground parking. Level 1 has an extra mall added between the main circle and the commuter train entrance. This is of course because this entrance has a constant flow of people. Having a similar mall added towards the Friends Arena entrance would make less sense, since the arena is empty most of the time and this entrance generates very little traffic on normal days.

The main pedestrian entrances are to the top level. This is most certainly done because humans are more likely to descend than take the escalator one floor up. Of course the topography of the surrounding structures helps too: the arena is raised and the railway passengers are already lifted one floor up on a bridge above the tracks. Through reoccurring openings in the floor/ceiling customers constantly get a view of the floor above or below. This creates a constant reminder that there is more to explore. Shopping malls usually have a maximum of two floors, because you can then walk to the end on one floor and back on the other. Walking a third floor wouldn't make logistical sense for the customer. Circular shopping malls don't have this problem, but they would still have to overcome human resistance to go up one more floor.

Mall of Scandinavia offers an almost completely free flow of people along its mall segments. There are no barriers or annoying interruptions and advertisement boards blocking the way. The courts are designed as some kind of minor interruptions and orientation points and they offer seats and some products are sold from stalls. Some shopping malls have even erased the walls between shops to create a completely free flow of people, but in Mall of Scandinavia you have to enter and leave each shop through a shop front.

Each mall segment in Mall of Scandinavia is subtly themed. Either according to a certain range of products or a certain price image range. This isn't clearly spoken out or showed, but it can be noticed when analyzing the placement of shops. Also the transition between these themes is soft and barely noticeable. Restaurants are on the other hand clearly put in one place and that place is close the entrance towards Friends Arena. Here there is clearly a thought that people visiting the arena will stop in the mall to have some food or a drink; the sports bar is placed just next to the arena entrance. Unlike some other shopping malls, the restaurants are not placed in a food court, but along the mall segments on both floors. Also here you can notice a subtle theming according to price range and style between the floors.

The pedestrian flows in Mall of Scandinavia are undoubtedly planned in accordance with Friends Arena. In order to get from the commuter train station to the arena you have to pass through the mall. You can walk around the building, but that would be longer and include walking down some stairs and then back up. And since the mall has a circular structure you can choose two routes. Perhaps one way when arriving and the other when leaving?

The use of anchors is less clear in modern shopping malls, especially when it comes to what to consider an anchor store. Traditionally anchor stores have been department stores, and indeed, the only department store in Mall of Scandinavia is located at the corner that is farthest away from entrances. Also supermarkets can be seen as anchors as they sell products that people need almost daily. In Mall of Scandinavia they are placed on the lower floor, although quite close to the commuter train station entrance, so not necessarily at the farthest away location, although not the most convenient either. Today many clothing retailers are considered anchor stores, although I have chosen not to include them in my diagram, because it is unclear where to draw the line between which store to consider an anchor and which store not. The location of the biggest clothing retailers is somewhat deeper into the mall structure seen from the main entrance. The circular structure of the mall of course evens out pedestrian flows in general as people are likely to make a full round rather than turn around halfway, which means the locations of anchors are less important than in other layouts.

Dovey (1999) claims that car parks might intentionally be designed as gloomy spaces in order to create a bigger contrast when entering into the dreamlike realm of the shopping mall. I have seen a trend in recent years that the visual image of car

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Privatization of Public Space: A Threat to Democracy?

Vanja Westerlund

John R. Parkinson, Associate Professor of Public Policy, describes in his book *Democracy and Public Space* the importance public spaces have for democracy. One thing that is brought up in the book is the ongoing privatization trend. A large amount of public spaces are today being privatized. The question is then what the results are when more spaces in the cities becomes private. Parkinson describes private spaces as not accessible to everyone, which basically means that some people are excluded from these spaces. Does this mean that the privatization of space that is going on actually is a threat towards the democratic society? Several persons along with Parkinson argue for this and underline that we need to take the privatization phenomena seriously. This question is something that I find really important and want to examine and discuss further. In the following article I therefore investigate privatization of space and the connection of this to democracy. I use Stockholm as an example study. In order to concretize what the theory brings up a small case study is done where I observe private spaces in Stockholm, for example the huge numbers of shopping malls that the city offers.

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Introduction

Tons of articles discuss public spaces in one sense or another. You might wonder why I chose to write yet another one that touch upon the subject as many have done before. Well, my answer to that is that there must be a reason why it is written so frequently about public spaces, and that may be the same reason why I felt eager to start reading Parkinson's book about democracy and public space. I think of public spaces as one of the crucial cornerstones in a city, and I guess that such an important part as public spaces never really can be fully elucidated.

Parkinson (2012) emphasizes how important the public spaces are and that they are a prerequisite for democracy. He further states "the dominance of large commercial interests in the production of space is linked with an important discursive shift in recent decades, and that is a shift from constructing the public as citizen to the public as consumer, as if shopping were all there is to public life" (Parkinson, 2012, p. 85). This quote caught my attention. In a nearby future I will hopefully work as an urban planner, which means that I will for example address the ongoing production of space in the city of Stockholm. In Stockholm a lot of spaces are private in some sense. Privatization of public spaces is an ongoing trend today (Haas & Olsson, 2013). A clear tendency according Catharina Thörn, researcher at the University of Gothenburg, is that public spaces are transformed into cafés and shopping malls. She also points out that public spaces will cease to exist when the space basically only is open to consumers who can pay for themselves (Thörn, 2006). What happens if the publicly open spaces become fewer and the private ones become more dominant? Will that affect the democracy?

Before I will go further with investigating this, some urban and global concepts needs to be defined and looked into closer. We hear and read about public spaces almost every day, but are we sure of the actual meaning of it? Naturally, there is no single unique definition but I will in this essay base my writing on the assumption that Parkinson does.

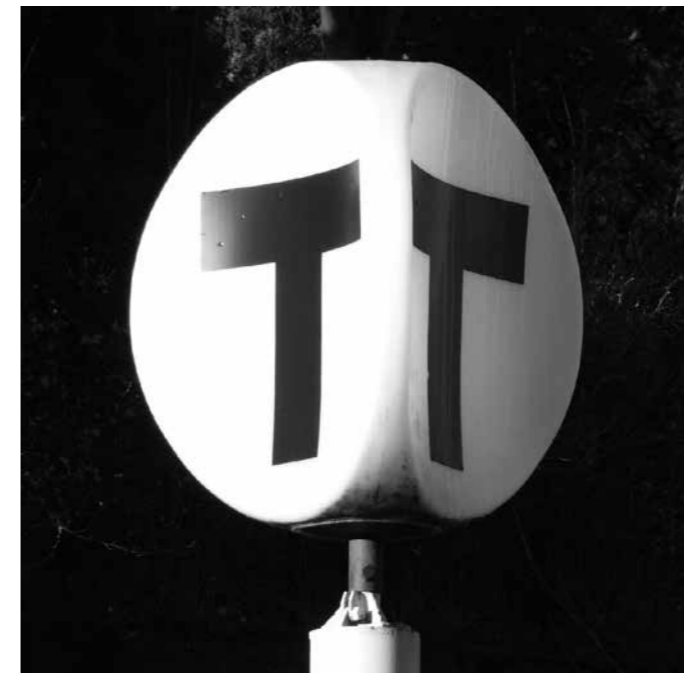
What is public space?

Before we start discussing the concept public space, I first have to make a distinction between space and place. These words are in themselves quite similar, but that does not mean that their purports are the same. Space is the built environment and geographical location while a place can be described as a space that is having humans and other representations in it. Space can be seen as a crucial resource that needs to be accessible for citizens (Parkinson, 2012), and is described as common public goods (Haas & Olsson, 2013).

Now when we have cleared that out and know what a space is, what is then a public space? Parkinson (2012, p. 54) defines the physical public space as something spatial that is "freely accessible space, particularly a space in which we encounter



The shopping mall Galleria in Stockholm (Ellgaard, 2014).



Subway sign for the subway in Stockholm (Ellgaard, 2013).

strangers." He argues that we encounter people we do not know and have not met before, that is usually described as bumping in to strangers.

What differs public spaces from private ones? Many conflicts arise between the distinction between public and private space since there is no such thing as one clear definition of the two concepts, but some distinctions can be made. One is that public spaces are freely accessible while private ones are not since they have limited access. Another is that the public spaces should be of benefit for everyone while the private ones are primarily of use for individuals and not the collective. A third distinction is that while public spaces are owned by for example the municipality and financed by collective resources private spaces are individually owned (Parkinson, 2012). One thing all public spaces have in common is that they are important for democracy (Parkinson, 2012). I will therefore in the next section of this article further discuss the connection between public space and democracy.

Democracy and public space

Parkinson claims that democracy is dependent on that physical public spaces are available (Parkinson, 2012). Before I go further with this connection I want to explain why democracy is something desirable. The usual answer is "democracy is a collective decision-making mechanism designed to help 'us' decide what to do, and to resolve disagreements over who gets what" (Parkinson, 2012, p. 25). Those decisions affect and should reflect the interest of the citizens and this is done without violence and dictatorship (Parkinson, 2012). Basically I think that explains why it is important for us to strive towards having democracies.

What is then the connection between the public spaces and democracy? Democracy is something that is being performed, not something that can be constructed. The possibility to demonstrate and to do other activities that require physical space is necessary in a democracy, since democracy involves activities (Parkinson, 2012). There are, according to Gehl, three different types of activities that can occur in public space. The first is necessary activities, like going to work, the second is optional activities, like taking a walk to enjoy the sun, and the third is

social activities, like meeting others in the public space. It is this type of interaction, the face-to-face interaction, that is essential for a democracy to work (Gehl, 1980).

What is then happening when public spaces disappear? I will further in the next section discuss privatization of public space, since that is an ongoing trend today (Haas & Olsson, 2013).

Privatization

Privatization is something frequently discussed today, and the discussions often concern that there are spaces that appear to be public but in some ways actually are performed as private, for example privately owned and controlled (Parkinson, 2012). "Privatization and the policing of public space is having significant impacts on people's ability, perhaps propensity, to engage with the public sphere as citizens rather than as shoppers, sport fans, consumers" (Parkinson, 2012, p. 171). Citizen's role as for example shoppers are today much more encouraged than as active citizens engaged in political issues. This is evident through for example that properties is being turned in to malls and gated communities rather than public spaces where people can for example demonstrate. Spaces available for these types of activities are becoming fewer (Parkinson, 2012). "We have reasons to think that democracy itself is put at risk by the individualist, capitalist political economy of space" (Parkinson, 2012, p. 85). Voronkova & Pachenkov (2011) point out individualism as a big threat to public spaces as well as the privatization trend. It is the lacking interest in the common good that is put at risk when the individualistic approach is dominant.

Privatization in a Swedish context

In a Swedish context the situation described above is happening here as well. The privatization trend is strong in Sweden (Thörn, 2006). A lot of public spaces is today reduced in favor of increased privatization and commercialization in Sweden (Regionplanekontoret, 2010). Strannegård, who is a researcher and has a PhD in Business Administration, discusses in an article in Svenska Dagbladet the ongoing commercialization of spaces. He points out that brands and commercialization of public space has become so dominant that it is actually difficult to distinguish it from something that could be called non-commercialized. Everything from airports, city centers, suburbs and internet is

nowadays formed for consumption. Train and metro stations are filled with shopping opportunities. Strannegård states that consumption is not just an activity in the city, but constitutes the essence of cities today and that shopping is facilitated by the construction of the city (Strannegård, 2002).

Parkinson gives turning properties in to large shopping malls as one clear example of privatization of public space (Parkinson, 2012). Today only the city of Stockholm has 35 shopping malls that together consist of an area for sales of 636 000 square meters (Bränström, 2015). Regionplanekontoret (2010) states that the privatization processes happening is a threat to these public spaces since private spaces create boundaries. Because of this there are spaces that are not open to everyone exists. They might formally be open but they are surrounded by both cultural and psychological barriers that make them experienced as inaccessible. They can be dominated by a particular group and that results in others feeling excluded. This exclusion can be based on, for example, ethnicity or class and can be reinforced by privatization (Regionplanekontoret, 2010).

My own observation of private spaces in Stockholm

With this in mind, I decided to take a trip around different areas Stockholm to look at the privatization trend described above. I realized that when I now move around in Stockholm after have read Parkinson's book I look at my hometown slightly differently. One example is the amount of shopping malls, that actually is striking. It does not matter which of the subway lines I take, they are full of old and new malls along the red, green and blue lines. They can be found both inside the centre of the city and in the suburbs. Just the mention some we have malls in different shapes and sizes in Kista, Sollentuna, Skärholmen, Täby, Nacka, Liljeholmen, Vällingby, Bromma, Farsta and Lindhagens plan. Even Södermalm is today host for four shopping centers, with three located along the same road Götgatan.

On the 12th of November this year another large shopping mall opened in Stockholm. It is named The Mall of Scandinavia and consists of an area of more than 100 000 square meters filled with shops, restaurants, grocery stores, restaurants and entertainment activities like cinemas and much more. The mall is owned by a listed company which already owns other

shopping centers here in Stockholm and holds a total of 83 malls worldwide (Mall of Scandinavia, 2015). While standing outside of this enormous building I feel quite small. The mall has generous opening hours, from early in the morning to late at night, but that does not mean that it is open to everyone during all those hours of the day. As I strolled around in the Mall of Scandinavia I passed several guards. Space that is characterized by commercialism is not open to everyone since the visitors are controlled by for example surveillance in form of security guards and cameras (Voronkova & Pachenkov, 2011, p. 199). On my way home after my tour around the malls of Stockholm I was as usual taking the subway. Parkinson (2012) describes public transport network as a mobile public space that is important to democracy in several ways. Since it offers to transport people it enables that citizens can engage in activities and meet people that not are located in their nearby area. While passing the entrance to the subway I am thinking if the subway in Stockholm can be described as a public space and realize that it is far from public. It is operated by the private company MTR since the year 2009 (MTR, 2015). The train stations and the trains are not accessible unless you have paid a fare. According to Parkinson's criteria for a public space I believe that the public transport system in Stockholm cannot be described as anything else than private. It is not at all accessible for everyone.

The subway fares in Stockholm is the third highest in Europe (Säll, 2015). Parkinson underline that the cost is an important aspect that affects the variety of people that can be able to use the public transport network. There's a risk that citizens will be excluded from these spaces if they cannot afford the fare. You cannot enter the platforms without having a ticket. By surveillance cameras and guards the ones that are using the public transport is in some way checked so that the owners can control that only travelers with a paid ticket that may reside. The similarities with how the malls are controlled are quite clear. This is something that has met lots of critique. How the public transport system is organized, owned and controlled raises resistance. There is, for example, a movement called plankanu that argues that the subway is a collective concern and believes that it should instead be financed by taxes and be free of charge so that it is available to all residents of the city (Planka.nu, n.d.).

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SPATIAL JUSTICE

Touches on the notion of unequal opportunities within a society, based on hierarchies according to location. Opting for spatial justice includes a passion to unearth these inequalities and inevitably questioning those favored within the current structure. As such, this chapter is highly *anti-hierarchical*. It might even give death to the queen.

Conclusion

We can conclude that there are large areas in Stockholm today that are neither inviting or open to everyone. These spaces are still often described as somewhere to meet in the city, like for example the shopping malls that offers everything from shopping to dining experiences and games. But what happens when not all city residents and visitors in the city can be at these spaces? If you are able to ride with the subway you will bump in and meet many people, but all of these have to meet the requirement that they can pay a high fee to enter. Gehl (1980) describes that in order for important social meetings to take place you actually have to encounter other people, and Parkinson (2012) rates these meetings as extremely important in maintaining a democracy. If not everyone can enter these spaces the social meetings will only include some groups in society, which means that other groups are excluded. Their experiences and backgrounds is something that also needs to be seen and heard in society.

I believe that if the amount of the private spaces becomes dominant, it could indeed be a threat to democracy in some sense. As more spaces become private in some aspects, it results in increasingly fewer spaces where we can meet and interact with other citizens without requiring, for example, spending money and fewer spaces where, for example, demonstrations can take place and where patches and posters can be put up without surveillance cameras and guards puts a stop to it.

With 35 shopping malls, I believe that Stockholm is a clear example that strengthen Strannegård's (2012) statement that consumption constitutes the essence of cities today. The phenomenon of spaces where visitors are encouraged to consume is inevitable in a society dominated by commercialism ideas. I do not think that the shopping malls and other private spaces in themselves are a direct threat to democracy. But I believe that when these types of sites take up most of the space in cities it starts to get scary. Democracy is threatened when one is looking at all the private spaces and realize that these surfaces are becoming dominant and small squares, parks and other important public spaces in cities disappear. We must ensure that there are spaces that in reality actually is available for everyone and not excluding some groups.

As the quote at the beginning of this article intimated, it is a discursive shift that have resulted in that the inhabitants no longer are described as citizens but instead is considered as consumers. Therefore I believe that it is particularly important to ensure that there still are gaps in the city, where spaces that do not have a capitalist ulterior motive or a private owner still are important elements within cities. It is the criteria in order to be able to strive towards a sustainable, democratic society where we can meet and bump into each other on the same premises.

It is important that we cherish our public spaces, as Parkinson says, I do not hesitate for a second that they have an important role in maintaining a democratic society. As an urban planner you have to work to ensure that there is a mix of spaces. The private spaces should not disappear, but be one part of a whole city and not be the dominant feature. Parkinson (2012) describes, as mentioned above, that the public spaces are becoming fewer. Therefore it is crucial that the trend of privatization of spaces in urban areas, such as can be observed in Stockholm, is taken seriously. When the next suggestions pops up if another mall in Stockholm should be built, I think we should ask ourselves, do we really need to have 36 shopping malls?

Unjust Suburbia

Staffan Ahlstedt

The riots in Swedish suburbs in the latter years are a symptom of social exclusion with spatial dimensions, and a deteriorating trust in democracy among the inhabitants of these areas. Using the three pillars of urban justice suggested by Susan Fainstein (2010), this paper points to the social injustice that exist in the big cities of Sweden today with regard to the inhabitants of suburbs with high concentration of immigrants. The paper also points out some ways for planners and public officials to intervene and achieve better conditions, where affordable housing seems to be one of the most important issues.

In the year of 2008 riots broke out in the suburb of Rosengård in Malmö, Sweden. Similar events have since taken place in other Swedish suburbs. The common denominator for these places is that they have an unproportionally high share of people with foreign background and the inhabitants in these areas predominantly belong to the lowest socio-economic classes. The riots put the finger on problems of social exclusion and deeply felt social injustice in these suburbs. This essay will point to some of these problems, seen through the lens of Susan Fainstein's notion of urban justice, and suggest some measures that could be taken to improve the situation.

The just city

In her book "The just city" Susan Fainstein (2010) presents a concept of social justice for the city, as well as strategies that can help planners and public officials to achieve greater social justice within their cities. Justice for Fainstein is very much about helping the least advantaged and the marginalised groups in society. Even if Fainstein criticises neoliberalistic policies for creating growing inequalities and social exclusion, she does believe that the capitalist state can be an instrument for redistribution, and in this way clearly stands apart from Marxist thinkers like Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey. Fainstein (2010) see three main pillars for urban social justice: equity, democracy and diversity. To achieve greater equity, we should strive towards greater material equity as well as greater respect for marginalised groups (Fainstein 2010). When it comes to democracy Fainstein stresses broad citizen participation in planning, especially among disadvantaged groups. Diversity in Fainstein's view has much to do with letting people from different societal groups live side by side in the city without any of them being oppressed.

Central to Fainstein's notion and concept of justice is the 'difference principle' of John Rawls, who believed that people in general would prefer a more egalitarian distribution of goods in society if they were not aware of what position in that same society they have (Fainstein 2010). Therefore his difference principle states that policies should only favour those who are more well off if they at the same time have advantages for those who are less fortunate (Fainstein 2010). However Rawls' principle is not a universal truth and has been criticized from various positions. The most obvious is of course the Libertarian position, whose advocates see it as a restriction of liberty, and point to how Rawls principle for instance might lead to taxation to the poor, which would mean the immoral taking of "just holdings" (Lamont & Favor 2014). More interesting is the critique from the Desert-based camp which claims that people "deserve certain economic benefits in light of their actions" (Lamont & Favor 2014). Desert theorists and Libertarians further argue that Rawls' principle ignores the explanations to how people ended up in the more or less advantaged groups. Fainstein does not mention these 'objections' to the difference principle in her book but I think these thoughts are worth considering, and will get back to them at the end of this essay.

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Housing blocks in Rosengård
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/whyld/6390468153/in/photostream/> (2011)



Cars set on fire during the riots in Husby 2013
 Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Second_day_of_Husby_riots,_three_burning_cars.jpg#/media/File:Second_day_of_Husby_riots,_three_burning_cars.jpg

The riots in Swedish suburbs

In 2008 riots broke out in the suburb of Rosengård in Malmö, Sweden. Young people threw stones at cars and buses, started several fires and attacked the police (Hansson 2008). In 2013 similar events took place in the suburb of Husby, Stockholm. A lot of cars were set to fire and a heavy combat between ferocious youth and the police raged for days (Lönnaeus 2013). Later smaller eruptions of the same kind has taken place in for instance Rågsved and Tensta, and other suburbs whose population mostly consist of people with foreign background. How can this happen? Why do they attack police and firemen, protectors of our welfare state? Why are they not grateful to the Swedish society who has welcomed them here (or their parents) and provided them with cheap rental flats to live in? Many researchers point to the social injustices manifested in these areas as well as a widespread alienation with the rest of the Swedish society (Schierup, Ålund & Kings 2014; Gerell, as cited in Lönnaeus 2013). Using Fainstein's three pillars of justice – equity, democracy and diversity, I will now point to some of these injustices.

Equity

The immigrants in the biggest Swedish cities are to a large part relegated to suburbs in the outer periphery of these cities. This is because these areas are the least popular to live in, and the immigrants do not have so many choices due to limited financial resources (Boverket 2010). Most of these suburbs consist of large scale developments from the Swedish 'Million dwellings program' of the 1960's and 1970's, housing that have previously been deemed unattractive by the native Swedes themselves, who moved out. Alexander Ståhle, researcher on the built environment at KTH in Stockholm and head of Spacescape, says that the inconvenient truth about these areas is that they are the least popular to live in, not because of the people who live there now – but because of how they are built (as cited in Totmar 2014). They do have qualities that the tenants appreciate but they also have large flaws, he continues. Schierup, Ålund &

Kings (2014) point to how these developments were once meant to be masterpieces of Swedish modernity, but instead turned out to be symbols of the shortcoming of modern social engineering. The fact that the immigrants in this way have to do with inferior dwellings that native Swedes to a great extent have abandoned is in my opinion a clear example of inequity.

However, there are other differences with regard to the more wealthy housing areas of Sweden, that are much more serious. The unemployment rate is much higher than the city averages in these areas. Among people in the ages between 20 to 25 the share of people outside work or education is 40% in Husby for example (with up to 50-60 % in some very disadvantaged areas) while the national average is 20% (Schierup, Ålund & Kings 2014). School results are also lower in these areas. For instance, students who both live in an area with a high share of immigrants and study at a school with a high share of immigrants face more than twice the risk of not being eligible for high school than students in an area and school with people of predominantly Swedish ethnical background (Statistiska centralbyrån 2007). Both the low access to the labour market and problems with education means social exclusion.

Democracy

Schierup, Ålund & Kings (2014) speak of how the trust in democracy has been damaged among the most disadvantaged. In a report that gathers accounts from interviews of inhabitants of Husby made just after the riots in 2013, a young person employed by the state speak of how the citizens there are not part of the decision-making regarding the area (de los Reyes et al. 2014). He describes the Swedish democracy as a situation were they vote every fourth year on who is to decide over them. de los Reyes et al. (2014) point to how people in Husby give accounts of a lot of examples where decisions have been made over their heads, in spite of the fact that the local citizens have tried every democratic mean available to them to try to influence the decisions. One

recurring example is the municipal project "Järvalyftet" which is supposed to lift the attractiveness of the area, so that a lot of people want to move there, and stay there (de los Reyes et al. 2014). The report by de los Reyes et al. (2014) point to the local dissatisfaction with demolitions and refittings which has lead to heavy rent increases, when the citizens in Husby seem to have wanted just regular maintenance. A network called "Järvas Framtid" (The future of Järva) consisting of many local organisations were formed, and managed to stop renovations at new building standard, but the new rent level is still a problem for many inhabitants of Husby (de los Reyes et al. 2014). Other accounts of the felt lack of democracy among the inhabitants of Husby are how the local health centre was closed and moved to Akalla, the library was dismantled and the local bathhouse was privatised – all against the will of the local citizens (de los Reyes et al. 2014).

Diversity

The segregation in the big cities of Sweden is prominent and has given the word suburbia a whole new meaning. Schierup, Ålund & Kings (2014, p 8) point to how the term 'suburbia' in the United States and the United Kingdom is associated with urban decongestion, lower residential density and privately owned homes, while the same term in Swedish (förorten) and in French (banlieu) signifies "deprived municipal housing areas inhabited by a major proportion of poor immigrants and their offspring together with other among society's most disadvantaged." This is especially true for the housing areas of the Million dwellings program which have gone from 'mixed neighbourhoods' to areas with low average incomes and a high share of people with foreign background (Schierup, Ålund & Kings 2014). The problem of segregation does not only consist of lack of diversity in ethnical background in the suburbs. The gentrification of the central parts of the big cities in Sweden together with high rents in newly produced housings in popular areas contribute as much to this problem. Norra Djurgårdsstaden (The Royal Seaport) in Stockholm

is a good example of the latter. Rents at the level of 22 000 kr per month for a five room apartment (Röshammar 2015) lead to the exclusion of the lower socio-economic classes.

The situation has become worse

The shift towards liberal and market oriented values in Swedish policy and government has made the social injustice in the suburbs worse. Schierup, Ålund & Kings (2014, p 8) point to a development "from 'welfare' to 'workfare', from public sector and civil society partnerships to market driven projects, and with understandings of marginality becoming displaced from institutional and structural causality to a focus on individualised problems and solutions." They also cite The Financial Times commenting on the riots in Husby 2013: "Politicians must understand and address the causes for a galloping inequality, both in terms of income distribution and deregulation of public services, with the consequences of the school reform for deprived suburban neighbourhoods being particularly worrying." (2014, p 8) One example of recent developments that has worsened the situation in the suburbs of the big cities in Sweden is the previously mentioned renovation (i.e. upgrading) of the buildings of the Million dwellings programme, which threaten to expel many of the present inhabitants from these areas. Nilsson and Hägred (2013) point to the uncertain future of the public housing companies in general taking social responsibility, when they according to new legislation should be operated on a commercial basis. The new legislation that allow rental housing companies to set rents that are higher than the Swedish principle of 'bruksvärde' (use value) in new developments add to the problem of providing new affordable rental apartments in popular areas, and thus makes segregation worse.

Possible interventions

Sweden has taken great responsibility in welcoming refugees. But we have not managed to resolve the social injustices that has arisen as a by-product from this effort, as indicated above.

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For reasons of equity it is most important that we take strong measures to mitigate the unwanted effects of our generous immigrant policies and reduce the share among people with foreign background that are forced to live in unattractive housing areas, and more importantly – rely on welfare or unemployment benefits for their daily bread. The social exclusion of people in these areas must be remedied.

Fainstein (2010) propose several strategies in her book that seem relevant in this situation. When it comes to equity and diversity, she argues that all new housing developments should have a proportion of the dwellings reserved for people with income below the median, and that new developments must not further segregation. Note how Norra Djurgårdsstaden mentioned above is hardly consistent with the latter principle. When it comes to the former principle, this sounds much like social housing – something that has not been used in Sweden so far. Bo Bengtsson (2013), professor of political science, point to how there is still no political support for social housing in Sweden, but goes on to say that we might very well see a development were municipalities use means-testing in practice, as a complement to the more commercial housing strategies. For my part I think social housing might be needed to address the severe situation of affordable housing in Sweden. However I also see a risk that social housing might be stigmatising for those who live there – all the other people in the neighbourhood who pay regular rents or have bought their apartments will know who the "poor people" are and this might lead to the latter feeling inferior. Fainstein (2010) also states that boundaries between housing districts should be porous. The opposite is typical for the large scale developments of the Million dwellings program. The new bridge between Rinkeby and Ursvik (Tottmar 2014) is a good example of an effort to achieve Fainstein's goal. When it comes to democracy Fainstein (2010) states that groups who do not have the ability to participate directly in processes of decision-making should be represented by advocates. She also argues

that the target population should be consulted when developing plans for an already developed area. The latter policy is in principle safeguarded in the Swedish planning legislation, but the actual degree of citizen influence in national planning processes is widely debated.

While public policies to promote equality and social justice with regard to the least well off in society (like the ones described above) are important, we must also recognise the responsibility of the individual and point to the importance of ambition and action in line with the critique against Rawls mentioned previously. In the neoliberal society that seem likely to prevail for the near future it is very important to make the right choices in order not to put yourself in a bad position or to actually put yourself in a better position. When it comes to the lower socio-economic classes I would like to argue that education plays a key role. Fainstein (2013) speak along these lines when she says that public authorities should assist groups that have suffered historically from discrimination to achieve access to education and employment. Here I think it is important not only to assist the individuals but also strengthen them to make the "right" decisions – for instance get a higher education. This will shift focus from merely seeing the inhabitants of the deprived areas as poor "bastards" who are incapable of doing something

Transport (in)Justice

Filippa Backlund

Spårväg City is an inner city tramway which is planned to be expanded to the Royal Seaport and further to Lidingö. Both of these areas have mainly high income populations. The investment in Spårväg City will be costly, seen as inefficient by some, and benefits only parts of the city. This situation is examined and problematized through Edward Soja's understanding of spatial justice. Soja highlights the directly spatial dimension of justice, and understands uneven development in terms of spatial justice as structures of privilege and spatial advantage. Perhaps most important in Soja's understanding is the notion that spatial structures affect the social structures, and not just the other way around, and that it is in this light uneven development should be viewed. This article outlines a small framework for assessing spatial justice, based on Edward Soja's understanding, with inspiration from a social impact assessment framework developed in Malmö. The assessment shows how Soja's notion of spatial justice can be applied to development projects, and further how the expansion of Spårväg City can be understood as contributing to spatial injustice.

Spårväg City is an inner city tramway line, which is planned to be expanded to the Royal Seaport and further to Lidingö. Lidingö is (and Royal Seaport will be) high income areas, where it is expensive to live. The Royal Seaport is the largest urban development project in Sweden, and a former industrial area, it is located in the north outskirts of Stockholm city centre. The new buildings will be offices and high-end housing units. The tramway is a large investment, and can be said to benefit mostly the inner city and the high income population of the Royal Seaport and Lidingö. This situation will be examined through Edward Soja's understanding of spatial justice, with inspiration from a social impact assessment framework developed in Malmö.

Spatial Justice

Edward W. Soja was one of the most influential writers on spatial justice. In his 2010 book Seeking Spatial Justice, he outlines a theory of spatial justice. His focus lies not just in the right to the city or distributional equality, but in highlighting the directly spatial dimension of justice. Space has in the past decades mainly been seen as a fixed background, and the historical dimension has instead been favored (Soja, 2010). Soja argues that justice has a consequential geography - that injustice has a spatial expression, as well as the notion that space has "explanatory power" (ibid: 2). In this context, space has explanatory power for injustice. According to him, highlighting the spatial dimension of justice aids in theorizing about justice as well as enabling social and political action.

Soja's understanding is that the spatial and the social dimensions of the world are dialectically shaping each other, in other words, space has an influence on the social and the social has an influence on space. Two ground principles can be seen to influence Soja's understanding of spatial justice - the notion of socially produced (constructed) space, and that spatiality is an unavoidable part of every situation and of our lives as humans as beings. The notion that space is socially produced also implies that it can be changed socially. Edward Said (as cited in Soja, 2010: 36), writes that the struggle over geography is an ever-present struggle impossible to be freed from. This applies not only to military powers, but also ideas and imaginings of space. In my understanding, this includes the perceptions and contemporary ideals of the city and what it should be, which is something that some arguably have more power in deciding.

According to Soja, spatial injustice can take many forms, from structural and physical levels of injustice, such as gerrymandering (manipulating the division of electoral districts to a certain party's advantage) and Apartheid, to more endogenous mechanisms causing injustice - injustice being the outcome of the decision making of multiple individuals. Connected to this is the concept of distributional inequality, which Soja describes as perhaps the most obvious type of spatial injustice, and regards the spatial distribution of different types of services and needs such as healthcare, employment, food, housing and mass transit. Even

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The Royal Seaport (right) and Lidingö (left) from above. Photo by Peter Lindberg (2004), Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Outskirts_of_Stockholm.jpg#/media/File:The_Outskirts_of_Stockholm.jpg

though this can be seen as distributional justice, it is not isolated from the process underlying these structures. Soja writes: "Distributional inequalities are the more visible outcome of deeper processes of spatial discrimination set in place by a multitude of individuals made by many different, often competing actors" (ibid: 47).

Part of Soja's understanding of unjust spatial situations is the structures of privilege and spatial advantage (Soja, 2010: 48). This can be seen in uneven development and segregation, where a situation forms which is unjust, leading to the benefit for some. Unjust structures of privilege and spatial advantage can also be seen in what Soja describes as transit equity (ibid: x). Soja examines discriminatory investments in transport planning in Los Angeles, in this case roads and freeways (and hence the wealthier population owning cars) were favored over public transport and those in need of that. He also examines the case of the Bus Riders Union, a union of inner city workers, who challenged the decision to invest in expensive rail-based transit systems favoring the more wealthy suburban residents, while they were in need for an expanded bus (network). This was an example of distributional inequality, where the wealthy was privileged and prioritized (ibid). It is important to note also that injustice can further be produced and reproduced by distributional inequality, due to the endogenous processes of decision making and through the socio-spatial dialectics.

In comparison to other writers on justice in the context of the city or the region, Soja does not particularly focus on capitalism other than as a part of the mechanisms that creates the unjust city, or argue that the changes necessary can or cannot take form inside the current capitalist system. Fainstein (2013) argues instead that planning has to operate within this system and can contribute to change. She has defined some criterias for the just city (in her 2010 book), with the focus on equity in planning (Fainstein, 2013). She outlines a critique against Harvey and other scholars who

(in her opinion), are of the understanding that capitalism is an obstacle making the possibilities to achieve justice in the city very limited. These, in her view, does not contribute with any suggestions on achieving justice or even how the just city or spatial justice, would look like. Soja (2010), while discussing cases of injustice and social movements trying to overcome them, does not clearly apply his understanding of spatial justice to assess any urban situations, or define any criteria for spatial justice. In this article, I attempt to apply Soja's understanding of spatial justice on transport planning, using the case of Spårväg City.

Spårväg City

Spårväg City, the inner city tramway line, now has a route which is between Sergels torg in the central part of the inner city, and Waldemarsudde in Djurgården. It has been in use since 2010 (SL, 2013). Currently, there is an ongoing process with developing plans for an expansion of the route of the tramway to Stockholm Central and to the Royal Seaport (metro station Ropsten). In Ropsten, it will be connected to Lidingöbanan, the existing tramway line in Lidingö (SL, 2013). Lidingö is a municipality bordering to Stockholm, perhaps most known for consisting of mainly high income residential areas. The Royal Seaport, on the other hand, is a new development project within the municipality of Stockholm, where 12000 new housing units and 35000 workplaces will be created (City of Stockholm, ND). A former industrial area, the Royal Seaport is located in the northern outskirts of Stockholm city centre, and the new buildings will be offices and expensive housing units (Mitt i, 2013).

Stockholm County Council, which Storstockholm Lokaltrafik (SL) is part of, is responsible for the tramway, but any plans have to be made in cooperation with the City of Stockholm due to that the municipality has the authority to decide any detail plans within their municipality (SL, 2013). The new part of Spårväg City is, according to the Stockholm County Council, necessary in order to provide public transport to Norra Djurgårdsstaden which is



Spårväg City tramcar on Djurgårdsbron. Photo by "Malter" (2010), Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:3AFlexity_Classic_Stockholm.jpg (own focus adjustment made)

sustainable and efficient (Stockholm County Council, ND). The process has been long and the new parts, first expected to be in use by 2014, are not yet decided. The revised railway plan is expected to be finished in the first half of 2016, and the new estimated time to start building is after 2020 (ibid). The costs are unknown, but the latest figures found say that the cost is estimated to 4,6 billion SEK, after savings have been made (Dagens Nyheter, 2015).

Social impacts and spatial (in)justice

How can Spårväg city be understood and evaluated, in terms of social impacts and spatial justice, using Edward Soja's understanding of justice? In Malmö, an assessment framework for planning projects was developed, aimed at creating a better understanding of the social consequences of physical change. Several categories, with a number of criteria attached to them, were developed in this framework. In my understanding, some of these categories and criteria were of particular relevance for this planning case. These are:

- Responsibility for the whole city - does the project contribute to a better social situation for deprived groups, regarding both process and results?
- Interaction and context - is it including for everyone and does it contribute to equal opportunities for everyone?
- Everyday life - what are the effects on supply of services, safety etc?
- Dialogues and norms - what norms are influencing decisions?

(City of Malmö, 2014. Own translation. Direct translation in italics).

The first and second category involve both procedural and distributional justice, while the third mainly involve distributional justice, and the fourth mainly procedural justice. With inspiration from this assessment framework developed for Malmö, but using Soja's understanding of spatial justice, some questions or criterias can be set up. Firstly, the effects on distributional justice should be evaluated, with questions such as: What are the direct effects on social life, accessibility to employment, housing, services, greenery and other public goods? and What are the indirect effects, due to e.g. alternative costs? Secondly, regarding process-oriented justice, answering questions such as: Is this process legitimate in terms of needs versus costs, involvement of the public, and for whose benefit? and What ideas, imaginings and whose norms, are the basis of this decision making? This short assessment illustrates an example of how Edward Soja's (2010) understanding of justice can be applied.

The tramway will likely provide increased accessibility to workplaces (with the new development of office spaces), from the inner city, Lidingö and Ropsten. Further, it increases accessibility to the inner city for the residents in the Royal Seaport, Lidingö and Ropsten. It can also increase accessibility to nationalstadsparken (the national city park) in Stockholm, however while making a smaller impact on the qualities of the park (SL, 2013). How the tramway will be used or which groups of people will use it is obviously not completely known yet, but it is estimated that 63000 passengers daily will use the new infrastructure after the completion of the Royal Seaport development (Stockholm County Council, 2013). It is also difficult to say which groups of people will have employment in the Royal Seaport area, but, drawing on the categories developed for Malmö, I argue that the project is not aimed at contributing to a better social situation for deprived groups. From the official documents found about the project, it does not seem to have been the subject of any directed efforts to include the public or especially marginalized groups in the decision making process,

but has followed the normal procedure of “samråd”, public consultation (Storstockholms Lokaltrafik, 2010). This can be argued to be a poor way of capturing the views, perceptions and needs of all groups in society, since those who participate are not necessarily representative for the rest of the population, or even having a large influence in the process.

The new investment in Spårväg City is estimated to be 4,6 billion SEK in total. The costs are, according to an article in SvD (2011), very high compared to other european railway projects. Decisions of how the city should develop is of course political, and occurs at many levels. The municipalities can decide the design of the railway without paying for it, hence increasing the costs (ibid). This investment, while having been significantly delayed, is major during a time where SL is forced to make savings, resulting in fewer bus lines and less frequent departures, affecting several areas (Dagens Nyheter, 2015b). It is relevant to ask who benefits from this investment and what the alternative costs are, for example: are there other needs that are set aside for this investment? It is perhaps natural to think that investments in one project means that there can be less investments in other projects. The secondary effect could then be that the accessibility to services, employment, amenities and basic goods such as housing indirectly decrease for other groups.

Further, it can be speculated that areas in proximity to the tramway might change in values of properties. It might increase prices of housing in the area of Lidingö and Royal Seaport, perhaps especially in the older parts, in Hjorthagen, leading to gentrification. This could be an effect of higher accessibility (real and perceived) to amenities, and perhaps also current trends and ideals about the contemporary city, including a “tramway romanticism”, where the old city (often including tramways) is viewed with nostalgia and as the preferable way to build cities. The imaginings of some could also be said to have played a large part in the decision making process, dominating the struggle over geography (the expression used by Said, mentioned above), and creating an image of what the good contemporary city is and should be. The lobbyists for tramways suggest that tramways create an urban quality, are efficient and environmentally friendly (Spårvagnsstäderna, ND). The Chamber of Commerce has criticized the plans for expanding the tramway, arguing that electrically driven buses are cheaper and more efficient (Sveriges Television, 2015), while at the same time suggesting an extensive expansion of the metro system contributing to increased access to this and several other areas (Dagens opinion, 2013). It can also be argued that the tramway is a more permanent element in the city in terms of visibility, with the rails and the electrical wires, compared to buses or metro systems.

Spatial justice perspectives in development projects

How can Edward Soja's (2010) notion of spatial justice be used in transport planning? The application of procedural and distributional justice as they are described by Soja, highlight that

the investment in Spårväg City is problematic from a justice perspective, as was the situation leading up to the protests from the Bus riders union. A large part of the problem would be, in accordance to my understanding of Soja's view, that the investment benefits already privileged populations with relatively good access compared to what could be done for those who are less structurally and spatially privileged, for this cost. By creating uneven development, prioritizing the already privileged, physical structures of injustice in the city will be created. Spårväg City could be said to contribute to this development. In line with Soja's understanding of socio-spatial dialectics, and the endogenous processes creating structures of privilege and advantage, this uneven development further reproduces injustice in terms of distributional equity, since spatial structures affect the social structures and opportunities for inhabitants (Soja, 2010: 47ff).

The processes underlying this is of course more difficult to uncover. Part of the problem is arguably the segregation of different socioeconomic groups, leading to this unjust development, and not just the infrastructure in itself. It is difficult to assess without complete information, which alternative is the best for the Royal Seaport. However, it is clear that there are reasons to examine situations like this in terms of costs, impacts and benefits, with a critical perspective, in order to uncover potentially unjust spatial structures. These potentially unjust structures in the case of Spårväg City, does not seem to have met a widespread resistance, while the similar case in Los Angeles did - the result being proof that resistance toward unjust structures can have direct influence. Time will tell if this will be the case also for Spårväg City.

Susan Fainstein (2013) who has written about justice and the city (The Just City), developed criteria for the just city, according to her understanding of the concept. According to Soja (2010: 29), the discourse of 'the just city' lacks a critical spatial perspective, while he also expresses that it may be too normative and utopian. However, he himself did not, in his 2010 publication, develop any clear criteria (or even definition) of spatial justice. The intention of the short assessment above was to try to apply the understanding of Edward Soja and spatial justice to an urban situation. Although, without having all the answers, the responses to the questions stated above may not be clear-cut or free of normative thinking or speculation. However, the application of the concept, although simplified, shows how spatial justice can be understood and used to problematize development projects.

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Images

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Distribution of Benefits in Planning Room for Justice in CBA?

Rustan Blomqvist

Urban justice is a difficult field to grasp but one thing is sure, it is committed to a continuous struggle on how to make cities around the globe more just places for all citizens. Urban processes and decision making in general is currently governed by policies. These policies or guidelines are not legally bounded as legislations, nevertheless they control current development and the outcome it may have on urban residents. Contemporary urban planning is dealing with problems of unjust distribution of resources at the same time as the results of urban planning outcomes are measured from its effectiveness on growth. Cost-benefit analysis (CBA) has been the normative standard to evaluate the outcomes of urban planning processes for a long time, its way of measuring effectiveness by adding a monetary value to its content could be questioned whether it is viable. The CBA does not ensure any guarantees of social welfare or justice in urban processes. This article aims to enlighten that the CBA is a rather subjective tool and by using Susan S. Fainstein's theory about how to achieve justice through different policy evaluation standards in the CBA, show how different evaluation standards could benefit society in an altered way.

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Urban justice an introduction

The concept of urban justice and how to approach it is not carved in stone, as many may have a subjective image of how to define justice, the same applies for urban justice. Political philosophy has constantly dealt with issues of justice, the person that possibly had the greatest influence on bringing justice in to urban studies was Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre's aim was to propose a critique of the prevailing society in order to make way for a different society, a civilisation beyond capitalism, the state and consumer society (Purcell 2014). In the aftermath of the Paris uprisings in 1968 Lefebvre argued that all groups should have a 'right to the city' and he later on defined space as being established by social relations instead of being defined by its territorial, physical and demographic features (Fainstein 2014). It was not until after the revolts of the 1960s and 1970s that leftist urban scholars, influenced by Lefebvre's work, challenged conventional analyses, that historically had avoided guided statements, and allowed a moral dimension into their work and applied a political-economic epistemology to the field of urban studies (Fainstein 2014). Ulterior to their work was the opposition and hostility towards the injustices that derived from capitalism and the way it affected urban development (Fainstein 2014). The Marxist/leftist approaches to justice derived from the predominance of neoliberalism in the world, a doctrine where market processes result in the efficient distribution of resources and provide incitement that stimulates innovation and economic growth, which had minted the way cities developed at the time and have developed over the last decades. A more precise concept of urban justice developed during the 1990s and the key approaches that developed were: communicative rationality, recognition of diversity and the just city/spatial justice. The communicative and just city approach struggled with a different view on democracy versus equity and process versus outcome, which showed a certain tension among the values (Fainstein 2014). It is on the principles of democracy, diversity and equity that Fainstein (2010) builds her theory of how urban justice can be achieved through a change in evaluation standards for policy making in the western world, but not without recognising the tension among them. Fainstein's approach is intriguing and the aim of this article is to explore whether there are room for her ideas in policy planning by looking closer on the CBA for bypass Stockholm and its actual planning outcomes.

Policy in planning and the subjectivity of the CBA

In its original meaning the word policy is equivalent to recommendation or guideline, policies are used to guide decision making in order to reach desired goals. It is important to state that policies differ from legislations as legislations can prohibit and prevent certain actions, policies can only give a guideline towards actions that are the most likely to produce a desired result. In politics and planning the use of policies is common in order to steer development towards desired outcomes and to counteract negative developments. Normative standard today is to use what is called a cost-benefit analysis (CBA) to measure



policy outcomes. The CBA could be defined as a methodical process aimed at calculating and comparing benefits and costs of policies or projects. The estimated balance of benefits and costs are analysed in the CBA together with an account of foregone alternatives and the zero alternative (current situation). In short what the CBA attempts to do is to list all parts of society that possibly could be affected by the policy in question, positively or negatively, it then adds a monetary value to the effects in order to assign its effects on their welfare. It is a well-organized way of forecasting whether the benefits of a policy compensate its costs and also to which extent compared to other alternatives. In total the CBA gives a fairly rational estimate of the best alternative in the creation process of policies.

The CBA as a tool for evaluating policy outcomes is without a doubt, this is my opinion, a highly subjective tool. The CBA is quite fragile as it depends on what is put in to it and it comes with obvious limitations since it measures everything in a monetary value. When evaluating the outcome of a policy there are numerous outcomes that fairly could be given a monetary value in order to investigate whether the benefits of a policy compensate its costs, but equally there are lots of outcomes that simply cannot be given a monetary value in order to measure the outcomes with appropriate fairness. The CBA is also subjective when it comes to who takes the decisions about its content. Decision makers occupied with policy planning is well educated and often they make part of the already well-off in society. In order to evaluate the effects policies may or may not have on urban residents it requires a high level of objectivity, once again this is my personal opinion, even if decision makers tries to limit their subjectivity in policy making what is essential to them might not be essential to those less well-off that may be affected by the eventual outcomes of a policy. Since the current evaluation standard applied to policies is efficiency and efficiency within a neoliberal system focuses on growth, what then is an acceptable policy outcome mostly benefits the already well-off in society, that includes the decision makers. This is why I argue that the CBA is a subjective instrument in measuring policy outcomes. Nevertheless it is a useful tool in planning processes and policymaking, it provides some kind of a checklist and helps decision makers to evaluate whether policies compensate its costs. This is not a call for the end of the CBA, but in order to ensure policy outcomes to be more just for urban residents the evaluation standard applied to policies should imply measures of justice, not simply efficiency.

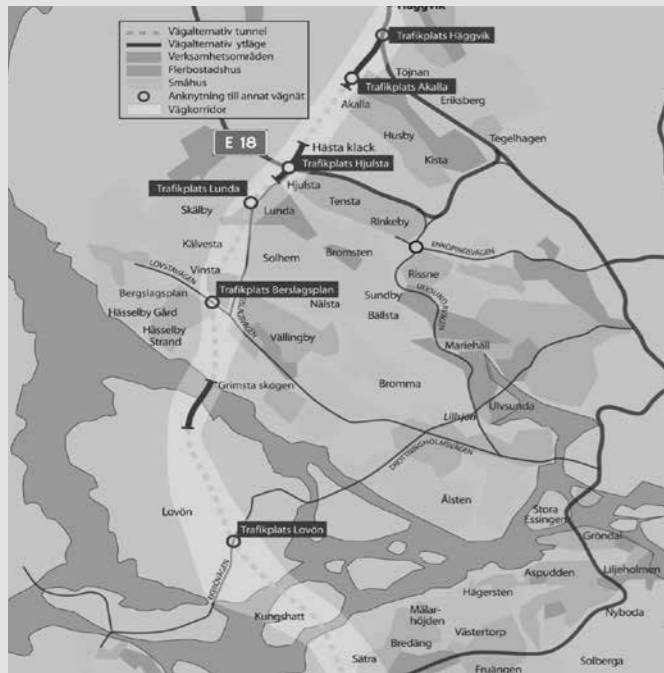
A different approach to the evaluation standards of policies

Fainstein (2010) proclaim that increased pressure for justice in today's cities of the western world will force decision makers to make justice a primary consideration in urban policies. In her book 'The Just City' Fainstein (2010) approaches the subject of urban justice by accepting the prevailing system of neoliberalism, but changes the focus from growth to a justice with the aim to achieve a more justice orientated urban planning process.

Fainstein (2010) takes her standpoint in the fact that a significant part of contemporary urban planning is guided by policies and by changing the evaluation standards applied to the content of policies it is possible to implement justice in modern urban planning. Justice is according to Fainstein (2010) a mixture of equity, democracy and diversity and all together these concepts should influence all public decisions.

Equity is the most important criteria for justice according to Fainstein (2010). Her use of the term equity and not equality is based on her reform perspective, equity refers to a reasonable fairness or equality while the use of the term equality in itself is to demanding and requires a demand for absolute equalization, which according to Fainstein (2010) is unrealistic as an objective in this context. Equity is also the standard term used in policy analysis for describing the effects of a program. The term involves fairness, which generally is a more accepted value than equality and equity has a greater possibility to gain broader political support (Fainstein 2010). Fainstein's (2010) use of the term equity refers to both a material and nonmaterial distribution of benefits derived from public policy, she does not demand each person's equal treatment, but rather requires an appropriate distribution of benefits. Employing the equity criteria in urban decision-making would increase the position of weaker and poorer groups in society when it comes to the impact of specific decisions, but it is not a guarantee that policies will have capacity enough to bring about equality. Instead of favouring the already well off, which is significant for pro-growth regimes, pro-equity regimes would demand that the distributional outcome of policies should be defined in terms of "(a) who benefits from them, and (b) to what extent?" (Fainstein 2010, pp. 36). In this context the pro-equity program benefits the less off over the well-to-do, important though is that it should not only be redistributive economically, but also appropriate, politically, socially and spatially (Fainstein 2010).

Democracy is an important ingredient in order to plan for the more just city. Decision makers in the urban planning process often origin from a different social class than those repeatedly affected by their decisions (Fainstein 2010) and without democracy bureaucrats and planners would be able to make decisions without any esteem to the knowledge, opinions and interests of those citizens. The ideal of democracy is to not privilege any specific group of society and make way for everyone's voice to be respectfully listened to. But in order to achieve the previous citizen participation is an important ingredient. According to Fainstein (2010) participation in planning is a central criterion for justice, either direct or through advocating, though the participation must have an impact on the planning process. It is frustrating for disadvantage groups to go through an empty ritual of participation and there is a fundamental difference between doing that and actually have the power needed to influence the outcome of a process (Taylor 1998). It is on this basis that Arnstein (cited in Fainstein 2010,



pp. 64) argues that a stronger role for disadvantage groups in the process of policy-making will result in more redistributive outcomes. Fainstein's (2010) view on citizen participation though differs from the deliberative view; she argues that simply putting faith in open communication as something that would lead to equality ignores the fact of existing structural inequality and hierarchies of power. Another dominant tendency in contemporary planning Fainstein (2010) argues is the fact of not paying attention to the relationship between economic conditions and democracy, which results in some groups of society having more influence than others. To sum up, democracy is an important value to achieve justice, but it is not simply enough. Both when it comes to influence and consequences of planning it is the economically weak that is worst affected. The institutional citizen participation generally surges available information to policy makers by providing local knowledge, this has an effect of making decision making further democratic and accessible, though not inevitably more equitable (Fainstein 2010). Diversity is one term of which Fainstein (2010) is not sure always is the right one or that it always is a valid basis for justice. Even though she discusses around the word diversity in order to find other valid terms such as tolerance, respect or openness to others she returns to diversity since it is a practically useful term as it covers references to the physical environment together with social relations. The meaning of diversity also suggests policy ambitions that go beyond the concept of acceptance of others to contain the social structure of places (Fainstein 2010). An important indication of why diversity is a necessary feature at the urban scale in the discussion around justice is the substantial spatial mobility and the streams of migrants that move into urban areas around the globe. Fainstein (2010) gives attention to the fact that diversity as a concept possibly can favour gentrification and if people are moved against there will in order to fulfil the criteria of diversity, then equity and democracy are not served.

The principles of justice does not to all costs disprove efficiency as method of deciding between alternatives, it just obliges policy makers to question to what end efficiency would be the best option. The use of CBA in policymaking, and as measurement to policy outcomes, strictly in monetary terms result in an obvious trade-off between efficiency and equity (Fainstein 2010). A valid point in Fainstein's (2010) argument is that if the overall benefit of

any given project was set aside to the advantage of the benefits and costs to the people least well-off she is still concerned with efficiency. There is not always a trade-off amongst justice and efficiency, but when there is Fainstein (2010) points out that justice should predominate over efficiency.

The injustice of Bypass Stockholm

Bypass Stockholm (Förbifart Stockholm) is a new stretch of 21 km of the international highway E4 located west of Stockholm. Of the total stretch 18 km are located in tunnels and only a minor part of 3 km will be in surface mode.

A foundation for the decision making process in bypass Stockholm have been the CBA (Trafikverket 2012). A closer look at it shows quite interesting results.

- Overall effects on the environment is judged as negative, this includes climate, health and landscape
- The contribution the equality in transport is negative
- The effects on travellers, freight transports and growth on labour market is judged positive
- Divided by sex, travel time and travel costs it is men (60%) that benefits the most
- In a municipal level the CBA shows that the negative distributions of the bypass is neutral

At the request of Vänsterpartiet, Rönnbäck (2005) compiled the entire stretch of bypass Stockholm and raised questions about its configuration. Generally the bypass is built in surface mode next to suburbs where the population share of the residents with foreign background excess 30% (Rönnbäck 2005). On the contrary the bypass is led through tunnels passing suburbs where the population share of residents with foreign background is less than 30% (Rönnbäck 2005). There is also a covariance between the average incomes in a residential area and whether the bypass is led through a tunnel or not. Not in any of the low-income neighbourhoods the bypass is led through a tunnel, in contrary when it passes Rinkeby/Tensta the existing road is widened to highway standard creating even a greater barrier to the nature area classified as one of the green wedges in Stockholm than the previous road did. The bypass is led through tunnel in all neighbourhoods where the average income level is

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high (Rönnbäck 2005). There are a few exceptions to these two factors, though they could be connected to nearby valuable green areas (Rönnbäck 2005). In those cases the bypass are planned close to a middle-income neighbourhood the bypass is led through a tunnel if the construction would affect a valuable green area, otherwise not. Interesting to observe is that there is no such covariance responding to either low-income or high-income areas, whether there is valuable green areas in close proximity to low-income neighbourhoods the bypass is planned in surface mode (Rönnbäck 2005). A covariance can be found between citizen participation and high-income neighbourhoods. Residents and organizations at Lovön and Drottningholm have been able to influence the stretch of bypass Stockholm in their area, the initial plans included two roundabouts at Lovön and a widening of the road across Drottningholm (Dagens Nyheter 2009), today all is located in tunnels (Trafikverket 2015). On the contrary the democratic process of participation in Rinkeby and Tensta has not worked as in the high-income areas of Drottningholm and Lovön. The residents of Rinkeby/Tensta have complained about high noise levels from the already existing road and the residents are dissatisfied with the existing access to nature areas, even though they live next to one of the greater green areas in the region (Rönnbäck 2005). One reason for the dissatisfaction is the existing road that creates a large barrier towards the green area, a road that in the plans of bypass Stockholm are to be widened to highway standard. Some noise protection is planned as the road widens, which by calculations will reduce noise levels for residents only on ground floor levels and in some cases on the first floor (Insyn Sverige 2005). In all consultation responses from local residents or stakeholders the opinions have been the same, route the bypass to a tunnel. The city planning office submits the consultation responses from Rinkeby/Tensta as:

"Big disappointment, anger, and expressing concern that the tunnel option is no longer planned. Problems with the increased traffic, high levels of noise and exhaust is expressed as well as the residents here would not be worth as much as other Stockholmers when elsewhere in Stockholm new traffic routes are routed to tunnels"

(Insyn sverige 2005 pp.12)

Concerning in this case is that the city planning office expresses that they see it as positive that many individuals and stakeholders have engaged in the process about bypass Stockholm, only to ignore the concerns and claim the importance of bypass Stockholm for other interests. There is an interesting parallel here to Fainstein's (2010) critique of deliberative democracy about how the focus on open communication ignores existing structural inequality and hierarchies of power. And her critique of how the tendency of not paying attention to the relationship between economic conditions and democracy in contemporary planning, which results in some groups having more influence than others. There is plenty of room to include aspects of equity in the CBA concerning bypass Stockholm and there is a chance that those parameters would have brought the unequal balance between road in surface mode or tunnel mode in to the light and contributed to a media discussion concerning the unjust outcomes, that could have helped residents in Rinkeby/Tensta to get their voices heard.

The positive effects of bypass Stockholm are highly correlated to efficiency and economic growth. The most eminent outcome of bypass Stockholm is the obvious negative effects it has on low-income neighbourhoods and how absent these effects are in the CBA. From an urban justice perspective it could be said that the Stockholm region benefits of bypass Stockholm at the expense of low-income areas as Rinkeby and Tensta. If more space would have been given to terms of justice in the CBA, would the final assessment been different, and as a result, the outcome for residents in Rinkeby and Tensta?

The Right to Sunlight

Karla Chebenová

Daily presence of sunlight is a proved essence for any alive being, not only human. Light from the Sun is supporting a number of biochemical processes in the human body. But the rising size and the density of physical environment is rapidly limiting the access to direct sunlight, mainly in residential spaces. This basic need is named “the right to sunlight.” Despite of existing urban strategies in daylighting [including sunlight], the result is mostly inappropriate and unequal. This, together with the social and economic differences in cities, creates groups of disadvantaged. As the pressure to produce a cheap dwelling is rising, private sector, as the major investor, prioritizes rather profit based on rising urban density, than the concept of ‘suitable living environment’, suggested by Fainstein. In that manner, the theoretical concept of just cities is discussed and further application is developed. The equal implementation of “the right to sunlight” is argued through ‘equity, democracy, and diversity’. Based on the fact that sunlight is irreplaceable, appropriate and equal daylight conditions should be a part of the urban planning strategies. The most reasonable way to enforce this equity is to implement “the right to sunlight” into the legislation.

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In this essay “The right to sunlight” in housing is suggested to become a part of urban planning strategies of the just cities. My arguments are based on the conclusion presented in “The Just City”. Fainstein in her book used the concept of “equity, democracy, and diversity as the three primary qualities constituting urban justice” (Fainstein, 2010, p.165), what is further developed and applied on the concept of “the right to sunlight.”

Health and sunlight

One old saying appears in many countries and says: “Where the sun does not go, the doctor does.” Sunlight means health. One can dispute that the sunlight causes cancer. Yes, the long and intense exposition of a specific UV light could raise the risk of getting cancer (Cancer research UK, 2014). But on the other side, a rational exposure of the direct sunlight could supply a necessary production of D vitamin (Harvard medical school, 2005). A human body relies on the exact wavelengths inevitable in a number of biological processes ongoing in the human skin, brain and body itself (Mead, 2008). As a consequence of physical processes also psychological conditions, as the result of hormonal imbalance, are influenced. Appropriate light conditions are responsible for a good sleep and a mental health (Mead, 2008). Sun emits radiation of all wavelengths. Except the visible light, it is also an infrared spectrum warming up our rooms and an invisible ultraviolet light. However, the daylight became a generalized term for all visible light emitted by the Sun. Based on the direction; daylight is divided into the indirect ambient ‘daylight’ and the direct ‘sunlight’ [terms used further]. Both are helping us to see. The ambient daylight is present everywhere as a diffused light from the cloudy sky or reflected from the surroundings and the direct sunlight is what is creating shadows and making us blind.

Sunlight and built environment

Visible light is the reason why we can see, ergo all we see is the light, not objects. The light from any light source is reflected by surfaces and information is through the eyes transformed into the brain. That is how we “see”. Light is spread through the environment until some physical obstacle stops it. The obstacles in the cities are buildings. But the built environment is the place where we live. It is an unlimitedly diverse physical surrounding, which directly influences natural lighting conditions. Those conditions rely on the urban structure and density. The urban structures consist of buildings, streets, parks, playgrounds and every other place where we spend our lives. The term ‘urban density’ can be defined as an amount of the sold floor area per square unit of the city ground area. Higher urban density is reached by creating of the vertical dimension – building the floors. With the rising density of a built environment, there is a decreasing amount of sunlight in the urban space; outdoor and mostly indoor. However, the space where we spend most of the time is an indoor environment, especially residence.

Sunlight in urban planning

During the history of city planning, different strategies were developed to control urban growth. By rising population, the higher and higher demands are put on cities to provide more and more housing units. This growth, together with the research in on sunlight-dependent human health conditions, caused the development of daylighting strategies [including indirect ambient light and also direct sunlight]. Based on the movements of the Sun, sunlight must be considered as dynamic part of the city. In other words, the mentioned strategies depend on the ‘place and time’.

In a daylighting field it’s very important, where the ‘place’ concerned is located. Depending on latitude, Sun has different trajectory on the sky and its high above the horizon is changing during the year and as well during the day. For that reasons the length of shadows is varying as is shown on figures 1 and 2. The question of ‘time’ is important, if we want to go deeper into the specific evaluation. For example, inhabitants of dwelling unit in the north of Sweden are fully employed people. It would be more useful to place a living room towards the west than east, whereas in the morning a working person mostly occupies the kitchen and the bedroom. On the other hand, the living room is mostly used in the late afternoons, i.e. west orientation. So if we put significance of ‘time and place’ into relation, we would be able evaluate this or any other example along the whole year. Applied on the previous example, Sun in the north of Sweden is high enough above the horizon only for limited time (approximately from spring to autumn). The rest of year any urban planning strategy would not be very helpful, because the sun appears already very low above the horizon. On this simple case the meaning of ‘time’ and ‘place’ in sunlight planning were explained and how situations can vary. Based on the example, diverse approaches in daylighting were developed all around the world. Present situation is that daylighting laws, rules or guidelines depend on legislative of every country. It means that within few kilometers (the same latitude and climate) could appear different legislation. Despite of the existence of guidelines or rules for daylighting, most of them consider only ambient daylighting and only a few of them also direct sunlight.

Australia – “Sunlight: Class 2 dwellings - 3 hours min of sunlight to the living rooms and private open spaces of 70% of dwellings between 9am and 3pm. In very high density areas reduced sunlight hours to be supported by modelling.” (New South Wales Government, 2014)

Slovakia – “All apartments for permanent living have to have direct sunlight at least on 1/3 of habitable floor area between 1st March and 1th October; 1,5 hour for one-room apartment and 3 hours for two-room and bigger apartments. In historical areas can be in special cases can duration of direct sunlight decreased to 1 hour.” (Slovenská Technická Norma, 2005)

Sweden – “A desired value of sunlight in a living environment is at least 5 hours of between the hours of 9:00 to 17:00, at the spring and autumn equinoxes. Student housing is not counted as a living environment.” (Boverket, 1991)

Overall, since the local conditions vary, also climate varies and the additional passive gains in some warmer countries must be also considered

Disadvantaged groups in cities

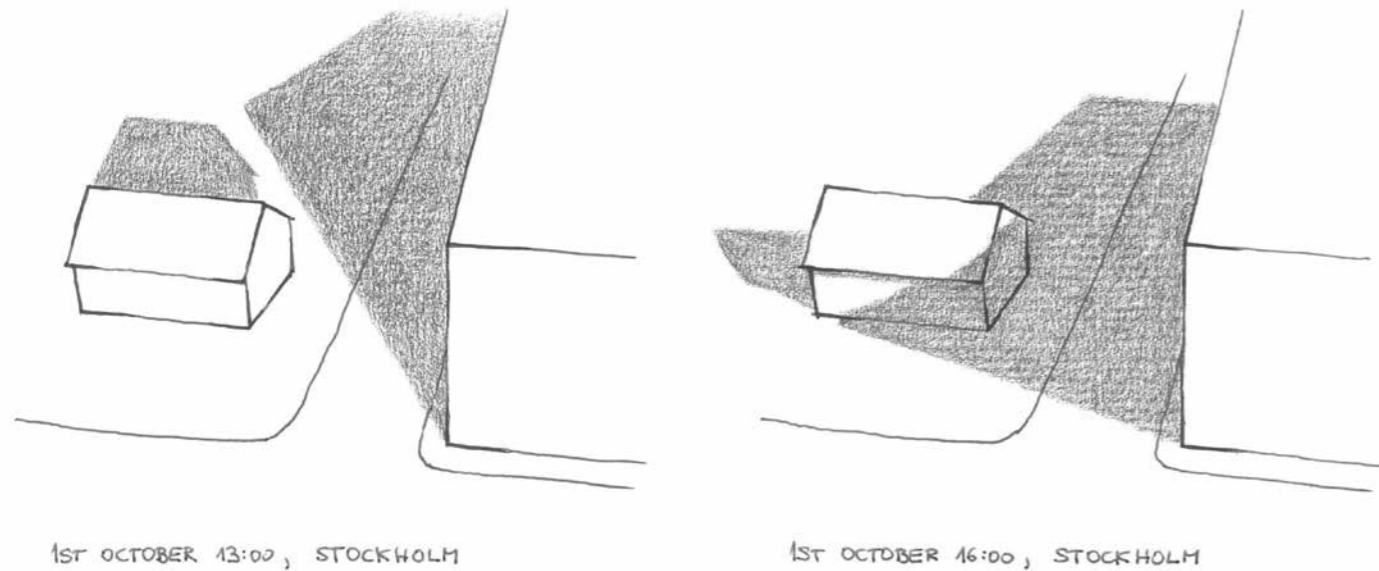
One of the signs of democracy is a society divided into groups. The main division from economical point of view is into those well-off and those that aren’t. The economic criterion is used also by Fainstein. She compares well-off and disadvantaged groups within urban planning and urban policy and defines disadvantage as a subjective and usually categorized according to social group affiliation (Fainstein, 2010). We can consider groups with lower income as disadvantaged. Population growth requires adequate response and provide appropriate amount of housing units for everyone, including the mentioned disadvantaged groups. The prices are the main parameter for self-provided housing, so regarding to Fainstein (2010, p.172) that “...crises of housing availability lead to pressure for building at higher densities.” As the result, prices of housing are pushed down by raising level of urban density. Fainstein further continues (Fainstein, 2010, p.172) and I have to agree that “all new developments should provide units for households with incomes below the median, either on-site or elsewhere, with the goal of providing a decent home and suitable living environment for everyone.” Satisfying health supporting conditions should be a part of ‘suitable living’. Fainstein stated a main problem of disadvantaged groups by stating:

“What we do know is that groups [disadvantaged] most lacking in political and financial power and most subject to disrespect are least likely to be included in deliberation or to prevail in the outcome. A commitment to justice technical efficiency is evaluating the content of policy would shift the balance in their favor” (Fainstein, 2010, p.56).

Based on this statement could even appear a risk that a less fortunate people are disadvantaged even twice; not only by not having financial strength but also by higher probability of being excluded from the deliberation process. She suggests reconsidering policy to favor them.

“The right to sunlight”

“The right to sunlight” in this essay means a general approach that every human being should have guaranteed appropriate lighting conditions supporting health, not opposite. Based on the fact that sunlight is irreplaceable in human biochemistry,



appropriate and equal sunlight conditions should become part of urban planning strategies.

Justice in "the right to sunlight"

Justice is a very wide term, which can be defined in a number of contexts. In the case of sunlighting it means that conditions supporting health are available for everyone equally. It does not mean that everyone's circumstances will be equal. It basically means that the result should be as just as possible, depending on time and place. In practice, two neighbours should be treated the same and none of them in harmful way. The outcome should be as equal as is possible within the existing general conditions. The environment in the old city center cannot be compared and judged the same way as a newly built area on a greenfield. Further, urban structures, as general conditions, are not homogenous so an appropriate result cannot be either. "The particular policies that best satisfy the criteria will vary according to the 'time and place', but the fact that we cannot specify ex ante the most progressive policies does not mean that we cannot establish bases of judgment" (Fainstein, 2010, p.85). As a professional, I have experienced almost unlimited number of specific situations that can occur and in some cases, even the clearest and precise policy cannot be fully applied. But it does not mean that in those situations that any policy cannot be applied. To put it differently, equality in sunlighting must be the main intention and cannot be reached absolutely equally across the board.

To raise the justice in cities, Fainstein proposed from sociological point of view, implementing of three values of 'equity, diversity, and democracy'. And I have to agree; equity was already discussed, the social diversity can help to implement "the right to sunlight" and importance of democracy is obvious. The deliberative democracy together with diversity can support implementing equity. As was mentioned earlier, politically and economically stronger groups have stronger influence in

deliberative democracy and by the diverse mixing well-off or privileged groups and the others can be moved favor towards the disadvantaged. That means more even spread voices within the cities to implement "the right to sunlight".

Discussion

Built environment is the place where we live. We define urban structure by the way how we live and then the same urban structure defines us. We depend on what is around us; we are living close where we work, we walk where the pavement is, we park where the parking place is located and our children play where safe places are. What is built is almost impossible to change and natural changes mostly come only in time, within generations. Hence, the only thing possible to influence is our future.

All changes in cities depend on number of decisions done a couple of months, years or dozens of years ago. In a democracy decisions are done by planners, politicians and private subjects, or by variety of combination of all three. Urban planners are professionals in field of urban development, government is representing the public interests and private subjects represent mostly just their own benefits with the main aim to create profit. And, "only three forms of constructions have the potential to generate big profits for private developers: luxury residences and hotels, large-footprints office towers, and shopping malls" (Fainstein, 2010, p.179). But, the places where we spend majority of our lives are residential buildings and that is precisely the less interesting sphere for private sector. Based on facts mentioned before, prices depend on a density of the urban structure; ergo higher density means higher profit. Consequently, rising density is in an opposition to enforcing "the right to sunlight". Under those circumstances, dwelling is not considered enough profitable. Thus, how could we expect that private sector would build housing rather satisfying criteria of 'suitable living environment' then criteria of making profit?

Conclusion

Furthermore, some questions appear; would it be possible to motivate potential private investors or at least control the quality of production of affordable dwelling and if, how? With this in mind, Fainstein is suggesting that "Planners should take an active role in deliberative settings in pressing for egalitarian solution and blocking ones that disproportionately benefit the already well-off" (Fainstein, 2010, p.173) we can optionally exclude every group following only own profit. In order to excluding private groups, in the decision making process would stay only representatives of democracy and planners. But the other option could be also based on regulated cooperation of government and private sector. As Fainstein is also suggesting, private subjects could be motivated by benefits from side of government, which would be guarantee to have a control. This system of cooperation already exists in many countries (Fainstein, 2010).

Likewise a very similar solution can be applied also in case of enforcing "the right to sunlight". Government would take a control of implementation any strategies formed by planners. Planners in this case must be objective and independent. As a step between the need [of sunlight] and the decision, should be developed a strategy including the objective rules created by specialists. In case of "the right to sunlight", being closer to balanced policy could be done by considering it as a basic right, transforming it into legislation, what would be more effective in aggregative democracy. In any type of strategy would be useful to "...develop an investigation and critique of present urban institutions and policies, especially as they apply to urban redevelopment; and concludes with a discussion of institutional and policy approaches to achieve greater social justice within cities" (Fainstein, 2010, p.6). Investigation and critique must be a part of any change within an environment permanently inhabited by people. Even if the legislation for daylighting exists, the discussion must be a part of urban planning. This can be applied easier in case of deliberative democracy.

Fainstein further quotes Healey that "The concept of communicative planning thus starts with the preposition that decisions should be reached 'by an intersubjective effort at mutual understanding'" (Fainstein, 2010, p.26). So obviously, urban planners are not the only specialists participating on the development of urban planning strategies. As I mentioned at the beginning, "the right to sunlight" is an interdisciplinary issue. So further should take a part also economists, spatial planners, statisticians, daylight specialists and architects. Thus, the risk of unfair decision is in this case minimal as the results can be empirically measured. The complexity of problematic would additionally need also support from e.g. the computer and software specialists to develop appropriate computer programs and propose precise future plans in relatively short time to decrease expenses.

As we can see, implementing of "the right to sunlight" would be a very complex interdisciplinary issue requiring very an effective cooperation and a long period of planning process. Additionally, the political will is also an extremely important part in decision making processes. Everyone should be treated evenly and never in harmful way. "If people are moved against their will, then democracy and equity are not served" (Fainstein, 2010, p.73).

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Is There a Future for the Planner?

Amanda Hammer

In this essay a confused urban design student trying to figure out her place in the world, and her role as a planner, in the context of the theme spatial justice and the city. Literature on the theme provides a variety of theories and strategies to manage urban conditions, ranging from reformist to radical. In accordance to ideas from Frankowski & Garcia (2010), urging architects to take an ethical as well as an aesthetic responsibility for what they create, it seems important to bring in personal values and ideals into the professional role. However, this poses a potential tension, as some theories seem to look for an increased citizen involvement in the development and transformation of cities, on the expense of the planner. Can the presence of the planner be motivated, in relation to concepts as, for example, the right to the city? Can changes for social justice be achieved under capitalism, as claimed by Fainstein, or is opposing the neoliberal hegemony necessary, in accordance to the theories of Purcell and Lefebvre? This essay aims to find a subjective answer to this, through analysis of the literature and through the personal worldview of the author.

This essay stems from the thoughts of a confused urban design student, trying to overcome the struggle of personal ideals and the impact this have on her role as a planner, trying to find a solution of what actions to take in order to change the world. Four years of studies and one year of work experience at a municipality, have resulted in what could best be described as an anti-climax. The saying “the more you learn, the less you know”, comes to mind. For sure, these past months of studies of contemporary urban theory seem to have resulted in more questions than answers. What I think I know is constantly being questioned, if only by myself. Which has become paralyzing. Purcell (2008) states that we cannot let the challenge paralyze us, and concludes his book, *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalism and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, with the words “let’s get back to work!”. And that is my intention, to find a direction. Looking at the literature I will discuss and position myself in the two main questions of action of social justice: the importance of process versus outcome, and if it can be attained under capitalism or not? So in the words of Mark Purcell: let’s get back to work.

Understanding the problem

What are the problems regarding injustice and inequalities in the urban conditions of today? As claimed by variety of scholars, most of it can be traced back to capitalism and neoliberalism. Capitalism is an economic system based on private ownership, while neoliberalism is originally an economic philosophy, however Purcell (2008) argues for the label ideology, where the logic of the free market has a prominent role. The state should be minimally involved in the regulation of capital, through, for example, actions of redistributing wealth more evenly, neoliberals argue. However, instead of fewer state actions, it is rather the nature of the actions that have changed; policies now include, on the one hand, lowering barriers for capital, and, on the other hand, to actively help it accumulate. In short, the agenda of neoliberalization has led to state benefiting capital rather than people (Purcell 2008). In addition, the state has undergone a process of rescaling, where important state functions and powers have been redirected to non-state and quasi-state institutions. But how has this had an impact on the urban and spatial?

Both David Harvey and Mark Purcell see a strong connection between neoliberalization and urbanization. The process of urbanization has been rapid, reaching a point where, for the first time in the history of humans, more people live in urban settings rather than rural. With more than half of the world’s population living in cities, these have become more central in social life and economic growth. In the search for new profits, surplus products are perpetually produced, and Harvey (2008) claims that urbanization has played a big part in the absorption of such surplus. In the global economy, neoliberal market logic demands competition between urban areas. Policymaking is colored by a widely accepted view of local competitiveness as a necessity, with economic growth as the dominant imperative (Purcell 2008).

“Governments expand the assistance they provide to capital interests, even as they back away from social commitments to their citizens. In that context, democratic decision-making is often seen as messy, slow, and inefficient; it is a luxury cities competing desperately for investment cannot afford”
(Purcell, 2008, p.2)

This, some argue, is why cities are becoming more unjust and unequal. Urban land is primarily seen as property, and as Harvey (2008) states that even though ideals of human rights are emerging these are so far not able of challenging neoliberal market logics, as we still live “in a world where the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights” (Purcell 2008, p.1). This has led to an exclusion of low-income communities, and other disadvantaged groups, from the process of urban development (Fainstein 2014). In short, under the neoliberalism hegemony, the power has been handed over to the few, rather than the many. For example, a park can be turned into a mall, if it would increase property value, independent of how many users would be excluded from the site. You are more likely to have a say in the planning process if you own property than if you are a frequent user of the space. The explored theories of spatial justice differ from each other, simplified, in two main questions: (1) if scholars are “willing to embrace reform through existing political-economic processes rather than viewing greater justice as unattainable under capitalism” (Fainstein 2014, p.12) or not, and (2) whether process or outcome is considered most important (Fainstein 2014).

The just city

Susan Fainstein (2014) believes that it is possible to attain justice under capitalism, and look to specifying policies that would aim at benefitting disadvantaged groups, “as defines by income or marginality” (2014, p.12). She argues that why policies today do not promote social justice, is because of them being assessed through a cost-benefit analysis, and that the principle of maximizing the greatest good often results in those already well off receiving even further benefits. Instead, Fainstein looks to the capabilities approach, which describes the opportunities people have, and that those should be available whether or not people choose, or are able, to exercise them (Fainstein 2014). This means choosing justice as the norm for urban policy, where instead of the common best, the beneficiaries should be those least well off. However, these changes are not possible at a municipal scale, but “only the nation state has this kind of leverage” (Fainstein 2014, p.14).

The right to the city

The concept, established by French theorist Henri Lefebvre, has become a popular one in the field of urban studies. Its popularity has led to, what Purcell (2013), calls a conceptual bloating: the meaning of the concept seems to have become vaster, fuzziier. However, many of the interpretations seem to share one thing:

that the right to the city belong to its users and/or inhabitants, rather than to property owners. This concept goes beyond issues of distribution, of the outcome, and becomes a question of the process. It is a question of participation. Lefebvre wanted to “open up an understanding of the city as a complex whole, as a teeming multitude of different desires and drives that are not reducible to economic imperatives” (Purcell 2013, p.145). The right to the city is not only a question of having access to the city, but of being able to change the city, and in being able to change oneself (Harvey 2008). Lefebvre’s vision revolves around the self-management of the regular people, on grassroots decision-making, and a local scale of control. This will lead to, and requires, the withering away of the state. Therefore, it should not be perceived as claiming “more access to and control over the existing capitalist city” (Purcell 2013, p.150), no, it is the vision of the urban. Of new social ties being made, of meaningful interaction between people, of more urban city beyond the existing one (Purcell 2013).

Democratic attitudes

Mark Purcell states that a new world is on its way, and that an alternative urban future is possible. This must however, be achieved beyond the neoliberal hegemony, as it is in the nature of neoliberalism to absorb, transform or squeeze out all other logics. In other words, Purcell cannot imagine attaining social justice within the current political-economic system. Purcell proposes a set of democratic attitudes, which are drawn from a dialogue between theoretical reflection and concrete practice. The democratic attitudes Purcell (2008) suggests are majorly formulated from radical pluralism; however, they also draw on revolutionary, participatory, deliberative and liberal democracy. Purcell (2008) state that the democratic attitudes should:

- (1) “Reject the current hegemonic pairing of neoliberalism and liberal democracy” (p.76);
- (2) “Reject the argument that the proper aim of democratic decision-making is to achieve consensus and/or the common good” (p.77);
- (3) “Embrace an agonistic, social-movement model for democracy” (p.80);
- (4) “Embrace coalitions of movements” (p.81);
- (5) “A clear commitment to oppose neoliberalization” (p.83);
- (6) “The counter-hegemony of radical democratization and radical equalization” (p.83)
- (7) “Should be willing to engage the democratic discourse of rights” (p.87)

The strength of using attitudes is that they can be understood as values, as a view of the world, making them flexible and

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Women being taught how to vote, 1936. Photo credits to Kheel Center, Cornell University. Shared under a Creative Commons license.



What would a world beyond capitalism look like? Photo credits to Paul de Gregorio. Shared under a Creative Commons license.

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applicable in various situations, which is harder to achieve through strict principles. However, Purcell imagines that different democratic movements have to get together in order to make a great change – different interest need to be able to find a common ground. To do so, Purcell uses the concept the right to the city, to illuminate the spatial and urban dimensions of democracy (Purcell 2008). Democracy is more than voting in a booth, “it demands a right to be present in the city, to inhabit it, to occupy it, and to use it as a political forum” (Purcell 2008, p.75).

The role of the planner?

“Architecture would stop being used as a vehicle of political propaganda and instead would assume its own aesthetic, ethic, and political agenda”

(Frankowski & Garcia, 2010)

This would be the (thought) effect if architects started to assume an ethical, as well as aesthetical, responsibility for what they create. To me, this highlights one of things I have struggled maybe the most with during these past months: is it possible to combine my private thoughts and ideals with my role as a planner? I think that the answer is yes, and that it, as well, is necessary to do so. I do not believe that I have all the answers, far from so. I believe that all humans should be equal, that everyone should have their basic needs filled, and that we should try to live more within planetary boundaries. Social justice, then, is necessary as a part of how I envision the world. As the literature has showed, there is not just one answer to this question. After a quick, and rather simplified, mapping of concepts in the theme of spatial justice, the time has come to discuss these through the perspective of the role of the planner. Do they offer any strategies, visions or tools for planners? Or is the realization of these visions based on the withering away of the planner, along with the state?

Throughout this course, my view of Fainstein’s theories has shifted back and forth.. Some part of me, perhaps the planner, appreciates how her alternative seems more practical and ready-to-go. All you need is a planner with an aim of justice, and the will to intervene in the planning process. Or well, a nation state that is willing to change, as argued by Fainstein. And it seems nice that people would be offered better living conditions without the struggle. Less of a struggle, at least, as it would be the state and the planners who took on the struggle. Of course we should make the life of disadvantaged groups better. But this reminds me of charity, in a way. Giving to the less fortunate is an act of goodness, yes, to help low-income families have food and gifts in Christmas time is splendid. However, if the economic system was more fair, if wealth was more evenly spread out, the result would be similar, except that the families could afford to buy everything themselves, instead of having to rely on the gifts of strangers. There would be less, or no, need for charity in a society where capital was more evenly distributed. This analogy can be put in context of spatial justice coming from the outcome (distribution) versus the process (participation), where outcome has similar results to charity. Yes, the intentions are good, but how can you be sure that you provide people what they need, with what they want? Disadvantaged groups are often told that they should be grateful, that they should be happy with what they get. I am not sure that I agree. Moreover, the capabilities approach could probably be applied to participation as well – everyone should have the opportunity to take part in the planning process, whether they choose to use that opportunity or not. In addition, the “terror” of neoliberalization still exist: if we act within the existing political-ecological system, how soon until the neoliberal market logic make advances until it once again dominates urban policy and planning? According to Purcell (2008), this process is unavoidable unless one constantly and actively opposed neoliberalization. To me then, Fainstein’s theory of the just city, does not strike me as the right one, despite that it has some potentials.

My personal values, then, make me turn to Purcell’s set of democratic attitudes and the concept the right to the city for the answers. The problem then, is that neither of these theories seem to have room for the planner. For me as a citizen, yes, but in the Lefebvrian view, cities should be self-managed, by grass roots decision-makings at a local scale. In the interaction with other people, additional social ties would emerge and be strengthened. Fainstein however, questions the assumption “that through mobilization marginalized publics will acquire consciousness of their true interests” (2014, p.8), and mention the history of grass-roots movements, as to make a point. The awakening of the regular people, and the struggle to de-alienate public space, the decreased separation of the private and the public, might not result in the withering away of the state, and yes, then this grass-root movement might face the same faith as those that Fainstein refer to. For sure, even it is necessary to be able to vision a future beyond the current hegemony; this might be too utopian, to idealistic. Which should suit me, but I still want to know if there is anything I could do as a planner. So, what about Purcell and his set of democratic attitudes? Yes, his vision focuses mainly on democratic movements, on citizens joining in the quest for a more radical democratic and social just future. It focuses on the process, rather than the outcome, on citizens being able to, in the form of movements, to affect urban development and conditions. But again, these set of attitudes are constructed to be floating, to be applied at different situations, contexts, and scales. They are a way viewing the world, a set of values. And as such, they should be able to be adopted by planners. Most of these attitudes aim at the resistance to neoliberalism. Throughout the application of these attitudes, through applying them in practice, new understandings can be made. These are first and foremost tools, and a system of how to have a dialogue between theory and practice, and transform the tool according to newfound knowledge. The attitudes will change and evolve throughout the findings of new empirical cases. This dialogue is what I think I have been missing, or that I have not

gotten enough of. Theory and practice seem hard to combine; either you are an academic person, or you are a designer. Yes, you use a little of both, but the distribution is uneven.

What if the future role of the planner will include more frequent dialogue, and the shifting between theory and practice? Are there any examples where this happens, but closer to a bottom-up than a top-down perspective? Tactical Urbanism comes to my mind. This “is an approach to neighborhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies” (Lydon & Garcia 2015, p.2), that is used by a wide range of actors; from individuals and citizen groups to planners and governments. Some city planners have found that this is a possible way of overcoming “the gap between cities and developers and citizens in the urban development process” (Lydon & Garcia 2015, p.14). Author Mark Lydon (Lydon & Garcia 2015) found this planning approach after, as a young and idealistic planner, finding that the planner’s toolbox was not enough for the changes he wanted to make. This, partly, seem like a description of myself. If it was the answer for him, maybe it could be for me as well? The question is, can it stand against becomes an alternative to neoliberal urbanism? Brenner (2015), tries to answer this question, and concludes that even in the most optimistic framing of tactical urbanism, the contradiction of method for XS-projects to respond to XL-problems, a contradiction is probably unavoidable, and the question still remains unsolved (Brenner 2015, Lydon & Garcia 2015). However, Brenner ends on a hopeful note, and so do I, looking to further explore the possibilities of Tactical Urbanism as an approach in my role as a planner.

Rebel Suburban

Hanna Hjort Koverberg

When the Swedish million project housings were built in the 60s-70s, they were built with the idea of a common right, the right to functional and healthy housing for all. However, today, they are worn and with bad reputation. In order to renovate their million project housings, Botkyrka municipality decided, without the residents approval, to sell parts of the housing stock to private owners. This leading to protests, fear and anger from the residents. This essay takes you through a justice discussion with a David Harvey perspective. It elaborates the concept of the right to the city, should the residents not be able to decide their own faith? Further it discusses gentrification. Lastly rebel suburban's is discussed and whether Harvey's ideas of an urban revolution can instead be a suburban revolution, of which seeds can be found in Alby as in other suburban areas. Concluding can be said that the protests in Alby did not result as the residents wanted and they can be seen as neglected on their right to the city. As a result a seed to rebellion was created and by joining other suburban areas, they are now more united and fighting to not be overlooked.

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"Alby is Not For Sale [...] We call it gentrification. The people who live there are the ones who have the rights to live there. Why should the people with more money be more attractive citizens?"

(Radio Sweden, 2013a)

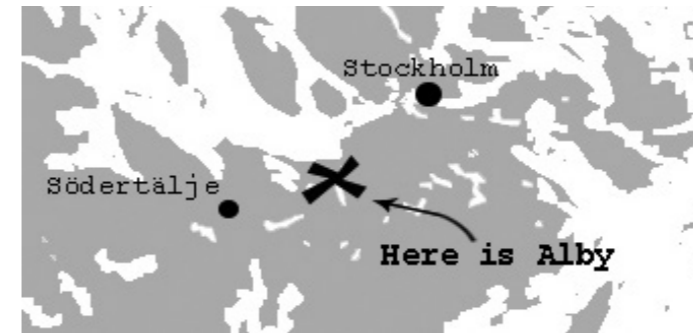
The quotes come from a resident of Alby when year 2013 Botkyrka municipality in Stockholm decided to sell out 1300 rental apartments from the million project to private owners (Botkyrka Kommun, 2014). When the Swedish million project housings were built in the 60s-70s, they were built with the idea of a common right, the right to functional and healthy housing for all. The years has since gone, Stockholm has once again a lack of housing and the million program, standing for such a great common idea but quickly got a bad reputation, are today worn down.

This essay takes you through an insight in the justice perspective of today's situation of the million project housings with a David Harvey perspective and the book: *"Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution"* (Harvey, 2012). This with a focus on the concepts of the right to the city, gentrification and rebel cities. Limited to the Alby protests, it discusses a "rebellion" to gain the right to decide the development of an area and the fight for the right to Alby.

The case of Alby

On the hill of Alby there are a large amount of housing from the Swedish million project. A project that to provide housing in a time of housing shortage and poor housing standards. To do so, a million residences were built in Sweden and though the housing shortage were solved, the areas quickly got a bad reputation. Today the million program housings are standing in front of a large need renovation. How to afford these renovations is however the challenge. This, since many of the residents are less economically affluent, many with an immigrant background. Different alternative solutions can be found for these areas, such as selling to a private developer. When facing the costly renovation, Botkyrka municipality decided that the best solution for them was to sell a part of their housing stock, 1300 rental apartments, in order to gain money to renovate the rest of the stock (Botkyrka Kommun, 2014).

What the municipality was not expecting was the large protest from the residents as a result for this decision. The residents felt betrayed that the municipality would sell their homes to an uncertain future in the hands of a venture capitalist (Radio Sweden, 2013a). They feared the affair would either result in extensive renovations at the expense of a shock rise in rents, making it impossible for the residents to keep living there, or in a continuously reselling of the housing stock between private owners, without any renovation done (Radio Sweden, 2013a). Some of the residents' counter reaction was to organize a campaign called "Alby is not for Sale" with the main purpose to gather enough signatures to demand a referendum about



Here is Alby. Illustration by Hanna Hjort Koverberg.

Alby's future (Alby är inte till Salu, n.d.). They also conducted demonstrations and gave speeches (El Abdel, 2015). After a while "Alby is not for Sale" joined Megafonen, an organization originally started in the Stockholm suburban area of Husby (El Abdel, 2015). After months of hard work 6500 signatures were gathered and delivered to the politicians, still the part of the housing stock was sold - the politicians voted no to a referendum (El Abdel, 2015).

Right to the city - And the right to Alby

"The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (Harvey, 2012, pp. 4). The right to change the city, Harvey argues, is a human right and should be a possibility for everyone - everyone should have right to the city (Harvey, 2012). The concept of the Right to the city origin from Henri Lefebvre's theories of alternatives to the capitalist society (Purcell, 2013). Harvey (2012) elaborates on the concept and gives his definition; that the right to the city is both a right to access resources produced in the city and to be right to change and remake it (Harvey, 2012). In the case of Alby, the residents wanted to take part in this right to the city in order to change the municipal decision which many residents did not agree on. To be able to stop an unwanted change they collected 6500 signatures but were however, at the end, not able to make a large difference. When looking at the Alby case with Harvey's glasses one would say that the residents of Alby was neglected their right to change, or not change, their own area.

Harvey (2012) further talks about the 'creative destruction', were new development occurs while destroying old values, in which Harvey argues, lower classes often has the least power and are the most affected. He also discuss the tendency in many cases where poorer people often lacks property rights, which makes them even more vulnerable (Harvey, 2012). Even though Harvey discusses poorer areas, Sweden is a rich country, a certain resemblance and truth can still be found. The less affluent residents of Alby fear the proposed changes, fear the 'creative destruction', which may exclude them from their area and their homes. Since the housings are rental, the residents do not own them, as Harvey said, lacking in property rights makes the people more vulnerable.

Two years after the sale, not much has happened, renovations have not yet started (Arbman, 2015). According to Mattias Tegefjord, CEO for the new owner "Mitt Alby," plans has been made to make the area more dense with both rentals and condominiums, and larger renovations (in different standards) are coming. The owner "Mitt Alby" do not think a large increase in rents will be necessary (Arbman, 2015).

The outcome of the decision may not have been bad in this aspect. What however can be seen with critique is the process in which the politicians did not take the protests and signatures seriously. The planners 'expert' knowledge resulted perhaps in a

better decision than if taken by people not educated in planning. Sometimes, one can imagine, peoples' fear of uncertain change can stop them from making the best and necessary decision. In some cases there can be good to have officials or 'experts' making these hard decisions. But how, then, can you separate the occasions when the officials or people know best? This can be discussed from a democratic point of view. In today's social system, every individual cannot make a large change. The politicians are indeed elected by the people but in a factual issue like selling some of the housing stock where 6500 signatures were gathered in protest, a referendum would have been the most democratic way.

Did the municipality actually have a choice in the matter or was selling the only option? A resident and an active member of "Alby is not for Sale" said in an interview with Radio Sweden (2013b) discussions had been made with the architect and KTH teacher, Erik Stenberg. According to Erik Stenberg, the renovation was not as acute as the politicians expressed and the municipality could afford to keep all housing and renovate them successive, a bit at the time (Radio Sweden, 2013b).

When it comes to the relation between the man and the world, Harvey elaborates on the words of Robert Park, an urban sociologist, who discussed the city as the man made world which by making it, the man remakes himself (Harvey, 2012). Harvey argues, perhaps:

"[...] the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from the question of what kind of people we want to be, what kind of social relations we seek, what relations we cherish, what style of life we desire, what aesthetic values we hold"

(Harvey, 2012, pp. 4).

This can be interpreted as the ongoing planning processes are shaping the people. In an interview with a resident in Alby, active in the protests, she expresses a sense of betrayal when the politicians disregarded a referendum, even after receiving 6500 signatures, and that she somewhat lost her belief in the society and politicians (Sveriges Radio, 2013b). Is this the kind of city we want, were politicians make the decision not to listen to their people? And do we want citizens without belief in the politicians and society?

The concept of the right to the city is of course very radical and theoretical. It however builds on a more political active role for the citizens and argues for a way for all to take part without discrimination and inequality (Dikec, 2001). Also, to move away from the need of the 'clean city', the attempt to always reach consensus (Dikec, 2001). In some ways the notion of the right to the city can in this case connect to the debate about public participation and Arnstein's ladder of participation. In her ladder of participation Arnstein list different degrees of public participation



Protests in Alby. Illustration by Hanna Hjort Koverberg.

where the lowest degree is when the participants have no power at all, they are “manipulated” as Arnstein expresses it (Arnstein, 1969). In the middle of the scale Arnstein list information or consultation, where the participants are allowed to take part, get information and propose suggestions. At the top of the ladder there are different degrees of power, from partnership to citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). The concept of the right to the city, at its extreme, can be said to be at the top of Arnstein’s ladder of participation, citizen control, and can be seen as too extreme and unwanted. In the Swedish’s public participations the level of participation is often at the middle steps, information and consultation, where the politicians or planners take the final decision. When it however comes to a decision, were 6500 people in an area go together to protest against, one can think that the residents should be allowed a bit higher up on the ladder and get at least a bit more right to the city.

Gentrification - Politicians for the people?

Gentrification is a widely debated concept, generally referring to a migration of economic wealthier citizens to areas or neighbourhoods with less affluent residents and cheaper housing prices, with the consequence of increasing prices in the area (Atkinson, 2012). Gentrification can by some be seen as a positive process, with beautification and transformation to better standards as well as better economic growth. But it can also be seen as something negative where the residents feel that they are not wanted and are forced to move out of their homes (Atkinson, 2012).

Harvey writes about the commons, he argues that commons are frequently being produced but at the same time enclosed and adjusted to the capital society (Harvey, 2012). He describes areas filled with diversity and social values adjusted and appropriated for more economic benefits where the characteristics of the area is used as promotion, which, according to Harvey leads to a process of destruction (Harvey, 2012).

“Neighborhood revitalization through gentrification in South Baltimore displaced a lively street life, where people sat on their stoops on warm summer nights and conversed with neighbors, with air-conditioned and burglar-proofed houses with a BMW parked out front

and a rooftop deck, but with no one to be seen at the street”

(Harvey, 2012, pp. 78).

Harvey further talks about the capitalistic tendency of developing function which produces the highest amount of surpluses while moving other functions further and further out of the city (Harvey 2012).

In Stockholm a general gentrification process is ongoing with increasing rents and house prices. In the case of Alby the residents expressed a fear that this process will affect them so they won’t afford to keep living in their homes (Radio Sweden, 2013a). In an interview with Radio Sweden (2013a) a resident expresses an opinion that the politicians should firstly think what would benefit the current population and their needs. In the million program the need for renovation is fairly acute and the residents are often of a lower economic class which makes the situation very problematic. The issue of gentrification is also a complicated one without a unison view on whether it is good or bad, inevitable or just a way for the municipality to make some money. The question of gentrification can however push the question of the right to the city, as has been done in the Alby case. Who should the municipality work for? This essay seeks to align who has the power to take and affect decisions which will affect people’s life and future.

Rebel cities - or rebel suburbs?

Signs of revolution is, according to Harvey (2012), to be seen throughout the whole world and very contagious. However, Harvey (2012) also writes that, these sparks of revolution not often are connected enough to lead to something larger. If coming together and having recourse to integrate, a difference could certainly be made, “Perhaps, after all, Lefebvre was right, more than forty years ago, to insist that the revolution in our times has to be urban - or nothing” (Harvey, 2012, pp. 25).

When Botkyrka municipality notified their decision the residents felt angry and betrayed and decided to protest, go together in order to make a change (El Abel, 2015). By creating “Alby is not for Sale” they made a clear statement - that this concerns their own homes and that Alby should uppermost be for the people

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living there, not sold for a profit. This lighted a small spark of revolution, not as grand as the one Harvey seeks, but still, a seed. However, as previously discussed, the less affluent suburban areas often lack in influence and political power. Do they have enough power today to make a larger difference in the capitalistic system? Can they change the city ‘after their heart’s desire’? Henri Lefebvre talked about the revolution of the working class, where the urban working class was to stand for the revolution, which Harvey later develops to the urban revolution (Harvey, 2012). Harvey (2012) argues that the urbanization stands as a base for capitalistic processes and to constantly absorb surpluses. Harvey (2012) therefore argues that the ‘urban’ is where these processes occur and where people are strongly connected through sufficient infrastructure. Because of this, Harvey (2012) argues, the ‘urban’ is also where the revolution has potential to happen. But perhaps the revolution do not have to come from the urban core, the core of surpluses, but instead from the suburban areas. In Sweden there are different kinds of suburbs, with different status and social-economic classes. Some suburban areas, like Alby, Husby and Rinkeby, are urban in the sense that they are somewhat dense and connected to the infrastructure of the rest of the city. The areas can however be argued not as urban since they are to a high degree segregated, both by ethnicity and socio-economic class. In this sense these suburban areas are somewhat not the ‘urban’ and the potential revolution can therefore rather be called ‘suburban’.

In the case of Alby, the protests started at a very local level. After a while they however joined the organization Megafonen (El Abel, 2015), one of many suburban organizations. Megafonen started with similar protests against change in the Stockholm suburban area Husby and has since engaged in other suburban areas, like Alby and Rinkeby, with the slogan “A united suburban can never be defeated” (Authors translation, Megafonen, n.d.).

When different suburban areas unite, they might increase their power and create a difference. In the case of Alby the residents ‘protests did not give any concrete results, but it woke a debate and engaged people from the whole Stockholm area and almost the entire Sweden, largely debated by media and researchers (Radio Sweden, 2013b). It also united Alby with other suburban areas. Just a seed for now, just a spark, but can it grow to

something more? Can the suburbs be compared with the ‘working class’ Lefebvre was talking about?

In order to conclude

Concluding can be said that the protest in Alby did not result as the residents wanted, the politicians voted no to a referendum despite the residents’ hard work. The residents can therefore be seen as neglected on their right to the city. As a result a seed to rebellion was created and the active residents in Alby did not only get together themselves but also joined other suburban areas in Stockholm. The Alby process also attracted eyes from the whole Stockholm and Sweden, from media and researchers. David Harvey will have to continue to wait for a revolution, but perhaps it will not come in the form he expected, perhaps the revolution will be suburban - or nothing. The suburban areas are now more united and are fighting to not be overlooked.

Seeking Spatial Justice in Planning Practice

Sandra Jonsson

Edward Soja (2010), David Harvey (2008) and Mustafa Dikec (2001) are some influential scholars who are all discussing and theorizing in some various ways the current systems production and reproduction of unjust geographies. To counteract the production of unjust geographies they put their hopes towards social movements (Soja, Dikec) or even social revolution (Harvey). So to speak they are writing for the grassroots initiatives, the social movements the people living within the cities affected by these geographies of injustice. As a soon to become urban planner I found this intriguing, is it then not possible for planners and other professionals to counteract the production of spatial injustice? Therefore this article will be seeking possibilities of creating spatial justice through planning. Specifically the article will consult and investigate the initiative of the Malmö commission, which in short is an initiative to make the city of Malmö more socially sustainable. Through the case of Malmö the article concludes in that there can be possibilities to counteract spatial injustice through planning, as the case opens up for the possibility to work for change within the system. Providing some hope for future and working planners who want to enable more spatially just cities.

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Can the concept of spatial justice foremost based upon the ideas of Edward Soja (2010) be applied within a planning context? According to the views of Dikec (2001) the concept of spatial justice can be viewed as a critique towards the current systems production of spatial injustices. Acknowledging this, the article will still investigate if the ideas of spatial justice can be used in planning to produce more just geographies, or in other words if the critique can be used constructively. This article will therefore focus upon seeking spatial justice in planning practice and specifically in the case of planning of Malmö, but first a discussion over the concept of spatial justice will follow.

Spatial justice

Spatial justice is a difficult and complex concept with no clear "textbook" definition (Soja 2010). A prerequisite of the concept is the idea that justice has a consequential geography (ibid.). Meaning that spatiality or geography is not just an arena of physical attributes or a descriptive background but that justice has a dimension of spatiality, a spatial expression. The spatial dimension according to this perspective is then a vital part of how justice and injustice are being socially constructed in society and how justice and injustice evolves over time (ibid.). This geographical perspective to justice and injustice has a foundation in the socio-spatial dialectics, so to speak that the social and spatial dimensions of our human life are mutually influencing each other, shaping our society (ibid.:4f,18). To put it in other words, social life and social processes are shaping the spatiality of (in)justice and the spatiality of (in)justice are to the same extent affecting the social life and social processes.

The spatiality of (in)justice is further contextualised and embedded in different scales of geography ranging from household to global scale (Soja 2010:20). These socially constructed geographies of (in)justice are affecting our lives significantly creating and recreating lasting structures of advantages and disadvantages distributed unevenly (ibid.). To make it a bit more concrete; location in space is always attached with some degree of relative advantage and disadvantage, meaning that geographically uneven development over space leads to that some individuals will receive benefits in for example having better access to urban activities and others will receive disadvantages. In this way geographically uneven development is contributing to social and individual inequalities contributing to social and spatial injustice (ibid.).

However not all of these geographical inequalities are of consequence, larger consequences arise when the inequalities are maintained over a long period of time and rooted in existing strong divisions in society as ethnicity, gender and class (Soja 2010:73). Then these geographical inequalities are maintaining and reinforcing already existing divisions in society leading to continual segregation and polarisation in space. Dikec (2001) are also discussing that the problem of spatial injustice lies in the social production of space, that the current system are producing

and reproducing spatial injustice and are maintaining these social relations of oppression and domination. Which can be interpreted as current planning practice (although steered by politics) is helping in maintaining and reproducing these geographies of injustice.

However by acknowledging the socio-spatial dialectics the opportunity arise that these structures of uneven distribution and geographies of injustice can be changed through social and political action (Soja 2010:20). So to speak if spatial injustice are socially constructed and maintained, then it can also be changed by social and political action. Seeking spatial justice or aiming for spatial justice according to the views of Soja (2010) then implies that the existing spatiality of power structures and privilege needs to be challenged and that there has to be a struggle for justice (ibid.). In an urban context spatial justice concerns a collective struggle towards that all residents should have more equitable access to advantages and social resources provided in the city (ibid.:32).

A small comment upon achieving spatial justice

How to achieve spatial justice is not fully elaborated upon in the consulted literature. However it is argued that change towards a more spatial just society needs to start among the citizens, with them claiming their rights (See for example; Dikec 2001; Harvey 2008; Soja 2010).

Soja (2010) are for example discussing various examples of social movement's resistance to enable more spatial justice. One successful example brought up by Soja (2010) in how social movements have come together and stood up towards a decision that would lead to further spatial injustice is the Bus riders union in Los Angeles in the 1990's. In short the bus riders union (mostly low income workers) dependent upon functioning public transport was successfully able to stop plans of building a fixed rail system in an richer area of the city, redistributing the money to support a functioning bus system serving those in most need of public transport in LA. This can be seen as a case of social movement resisting a production of spatial injustice aiming to create more spatial justice. However is social movement's resistance the only way to reach a more spatially just city? Drawing on the case discussed by Soja (2010), what if the decision makers and planers from the start would have focused the expenditure on a functioning bus system instead of the fixed rail system; couldn't such a scenario be possible? (Or are such thoughts naïve?)

According to the views of Dikec (2001) the concept of spatial justice can be viewed as a critique towards current system where spatial injustices are reproduced. Can this critique then be used constructively, to strive for change within the system? The remaining parts of this article will focus upon this and seeking for spatial justice in a specific planning practice context; planning for a socially sustainable Malmö.

Malmö Commission: For a socially sustainable Malmö

The city of Malmö is situated in the south of Sweden and holds 318 000 inhabitants (SCB 2015) counting as Sweden's third largest city. There are increasing differences in health among the citizens of Malmö (City of Malmö 2013a:3). These inequalities have been increasing for the last decades and the life expectancy differs in years between social groups and between different parts of Malmö (ibid.).

The commission for a socially sustainable Malmö was initiated in 2010 with the purpose to investigate causes of why differences in health are increasing in Malmö. The commission is independent from the city of Malmö, however appointed by the city. The purpose of the commission was then to identify causes and suggest mitigations so that the inequalities could be counteracted in the long run (City of Malmö 2013a). The commission's final report Malmö's path towards a sustainable future: Health welfare and justice was finished in 2013 (City of Malmö 2013b). The report handles different areas in terms of causes and mitigation measurements as for example education, income, and healthcare. The report also handles spatial aspects where segregation is mentioned as a cause and urban planning and living environments as possibilities to make measurements. (City of Malmö 2013a)

A path towards making Malmö more spatially just (?)

When analysing the Malmö commission's final report Malmö's path towards a sustainable future: Health, welfare and justice from a spatial justice perspective, is it possible to say that this initiative is striving towards enabling a more spatially just Malmö? Interesting to note is that the commission explicitly are using the concept of justice in its title, justice in terms of reducing inequalities in personal health (City of Malmö 2013a).

One prerequisite in the report and of the work of the commission is that fighting inequalities in health and improving peoples health is not possible with solely measurements at an individual level as for example making people change their diet (City if Malmö 2013a:3). The report mentions:

"If we really want change we have to target societal structures, both physical and social, which are the ultimate causes of the risks that give rise to illnesses, injuries and premature deaths."

(City of Malmö 2013b:3)

From this quote it is clear that the commission are acknowledging that the societal structures both social and physical are affecting human life. So to speak the commission's work is acknowledging the socio-spatial dialectics, that the physical structures are affecting social life. An example of how geographies of inequality is manifested in Malmö is that life expectancy between different city districts in Malmö differs 4,5 years for women and 5,5 years for men (City of Malmö 2013a:14). As the theories of spatial



Photo of the city district Rosengård in Malmö. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, own work of author Fred J. Added 2005-08-2, URL: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roseng%C3%A5rd_fr%C3%A5n_%C3%B6ster.jpg?uselang=sv)

(in)justice, the report are also mentioning that peoples living environments are affecting opportunities for life. Providing the simple example of wheatear or not there is a playground affects if children in the area can play in a playground (ibid.:31) and that these opportunities to a large extent are decided through planning and architecture.

Within Malmö there are numerous aspects of spatial injustice in the form of uneven development. Different city districts have various accessibility to green areas, attractive outdoors environment, feeling of trust, and opportunities of housing (ibid.:67). Adding up to that citizens' have unequal opportunities to functions provided within the city depending upon where in the city they live.

The inequalities in Malmö are also taking physical expression in increasing segregation. Inhabitants in Malmö to a larger extent are living in more socio economic homogenous areas. What socio economic group and ethnicity a person belongs to tends to determine where that person lives in Malmö (City of Malmö 2013a:47,71). The issue of segregation rooted in existing divisions in society as ethnicity are brought up by Soja (2010:73) as an example of spatial injustice leading to larger consequences maintaining and reinforcing existing divisions and inequalities, which also can be seen in the results of the Malmö commission. People living in characteristic socio economic weaker areas in Malmö are in general having a poorer actual and perceived health (City of Malmö 2013a) and these increasing inequalities between areas and social groups are as previously mentioned the cause to why the commission was appointed.

Spatial planning and living environments are mentioned as important aspects affecting people's health which the municipality can influence (City of Malmö 2013a:10). Keep in mind that the planning measurements are only a few by many, the report are as previously mentioned, discussing other aspects as education,

healthcare and governance which will not be further discussed in this article. Measurements within spatial planning are stressed as possibilities to mitigate inequalities in life opportunities and living environments (ibid.:56).

One objective in the report is to increase the stock of housings affordable to all in Malmö. Another specific objective is that urban planning should contribute towards reducing (spatial) segregation. Specific measurements connected to this objective are to make social impact analysis before making final decisions of new development. New development should then aim at reducing segregation, increase community feeling and personal health (City of Malmö 2013:73). Another measurement is to focus on mixed area development, with purpose to increase the mix of functions and people in every city district (City of Malmö 2013a:73). Other measurements are focusing on decreasing physical barriers as for example by turning roads into human friendly city streets and to increase accessibility in all of Malmö by better connections and linkages of bike roads, pedestrian paths and public transport. Other measurements mentioned are refurbishment of neighbourhoods of poor living environment, with focus to increase health and living standard for those already living in the area, were the planning process also should be focused upon dialogue and participations between effected actors including the public (ibid.). The last objective concerning urban planning is that it should contribute to reinforce the feeling of safeness and trust and create accessible and inviting meeting places that are encouraging participation. Specific measurements connected to this includes for example, planning for accessible and attractive meeting places, for example new sports areas or culture houses, specifically in areas which are lacking of meeting places today, (City of Malmö 2013a:77). Planning processes are also stressed as important in enhancing people's participation in society. Public participation where inhabitants have a larger influence over the planning outcome is therefore suggested



Waterfront view of Malmö live. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, own work of author Jorchr. Added August 3, 2015, URL: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Malm%C3%B6_Live,_augusti_2015-1.jpg#filelinks)

as a way of increasing participation and creating better living environments (ibid.).

In the context that spatial justice can be considered to concern that all residents should have more equitable access to advantages and social resources provided in the city (Soja 2010:32) the work of the Malmö Commission can be viewed (even if not explicitly expressed) as striving for a more spatial just Malmö. The objectives and suggested measurements are aiming towards reducing inequalities and increase equal opportunities to advantages provided in the city. As for example the measurements aiming towards increased accessibility in all of Malmö by public transport, walking and cycling. Also the measurement aiming towards developing meeting places in areas where it's lacking today can be seen as a way of improving equity to advantages.

In March 2014 the City of Malmö decided that Malmö should continue to work towards a more socially sustainable city, aiming at decreasing differences in health. By this the city accepted that the work of the commission shall be guiding for the continued work in all departments of the municipality in order to realise objectives and measurements proposed by the commission. (City of Malmö 2014).

The work of the commission is fairly new and with a large probability it has not yet given any larger impacts on planning in Malmö. However some traces of producing more spatial justice in Malmö can be viewed already today. For example there are plans on a strategic level concerning a new tramline which are suggested to be running from Västra hamnen (a richer area with a lot of workplaces) through the city centre towards Rosengård, (a socio economic weaker area) (City of Malmö 2013c, Authors brackets). If these plans are realised it would provide more attractive public transport towards all groups of citizens in Malmö. However other projects might not be in line with providing more

spatial justice. For example the newly developed 'flagship' of Malmö, Malmö live which is described as the new meeting place in Malmö (City of Malmö 2015). Malmö Live is situated in the central part of Malmö close to the central station and is a building with cool modern architecture, holding Malmö symphony orchestra's new concert hall, a hotel and conference establishment and a sky bar (ibid.). These activities make it questionable if it is a meeting place useable for all citizens.

Concluding discussion

Looking into the case of the Malmö commission has increased my hopes of the possibilities in making initiatives at an official governmental level aiming towards decreasing spatial injustice. Since the work of the commission is fairly new and planning processes takes (fairly) long time, time will tell if the work of the Malmö commission actually will contribute to a more social sustainable and spatially just Malmö (or not). But to deem from the new tramline plans perhaps Malmö will succeed. If planning in Malmö are to follow the work of the commission then focus would be in creating more equal opportunities throughout the city, which I deem can be interpreted as planning for decreasing spatial injustice. Adding up to that this case provides an example of an initiative about how it might be possible to contribute to a more spatially just city through planning.

To bring from this case and to some extent from theory is that one important step if planning for spatial justice, is the need to acknowledge that planning as a tool of creating urban places, can be the cause of creating spatial injustices. Acknowledging this opens up for the possibilities of changing the practice of planning to include an aspect of justice and spatial justice. The work of the commission is clearly demonstrating issues of spatial injustice in Malmö and provides examples of how living environments (created by planning and similar professions) affect life opportunities. The commission are also providing urban planning mitigation strategies that to some extent will add up to a planning

practice focused upon fighting inequalities in Malmö. One other important aspect when planning for justice, which has not been discussed to a larger extent in this article, is the political will to make change, as municipal planning is an outcome of political decisions. In the case of Malmö the commission was appointed by the governing politicians, which probably provides higher possibilities for success in the mission of reducing inequalities.

Looking into this case has then provided new insights about how notions of spatial justice could be used in planning practice. The case expresses that spatial justice and injustice can be worked with in a planning context, even though the work of the commission not explicitly is expressing it in those terms. So even if the authors inspiring this article with Soja (2010) in the frontline, are foremost writing for the people and social movements, I see that their ideas can be useful from the perspective of professionals (and decision makers) striving towards producing a more just society.

Specifically in Sweden I do believe that planning could play a vital part in creating more spatially just societies, since municipalities in Sweden exclusively holds the juridical right to spatial planning (Nyström 2003). However with the prerequisite that decision makers and planners are acknowledging the value of obtaining more spatially just cities.

Returning to the Bus riders' union case of Soja (2010), if the city of Los Angeles would have had a similar commission accepted and appointed by the governing politicians, I do not see it as impossible that the expenditure would have been focused on a functioning bus system from the beginning, though perhaps the case of Malmö is an exceptional case in today's society. Anyhow the case of Malmö opens up for the possibility to work for change within the system and are providing some hope for future and working planners and professionals that want to enable more spatially just cities.

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Is it the Right Time for a New Alternative? Thoughts on the Role of Public Space in the Contemporary City

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This essay emphasizes in the political dimension of the public space of a city, as well as its depreciation generated from the capitalistic system. Privatization and commercialization are the main characteristics of the majority of the public spaces while consumption, tourism and surveillance are the main driving forces of the urban design and development. Throughout the essay the case of Athens, a city in crisis will be used as an example to examine both the political symbolic of its public space as well as its new characteristics. The economic crisis, proved that we need an alternative. It is time to question ourselves, to whom belongs the city and claim our rights back. If we look around us, we can find the seeds for a new alternative, there are numerous social movements that are fighting for a change. It is up to everyone, individually to be part of a collective effort.

The public space of a city constitutes the communal space of its inhabitants, the space of social life's expression and the birth of unforeseen incidents. Inevitably, it has a political dimension since it constitutes the primary space for political expressions, conflicts and claims. In the contemporary city, we are witnessing a remarkable change as for its characteristics. The new public space is characterized by consumption and surveillance and has lost its publicness, while it is used as a tool of power. Touristic attractions, cafes covering entire squares, "safe" malls, private parks and beaches are some examples of this new type of "public" space targeted on profit accumulation. Simultaneously, partly as a result of this shift, during the last years in a lot of cities, citizens are trying to find their common-public space and claim their rights, gathered in groups and collectives, changing by themselves the open spaces of the city.

Public Space and its political dimension

"The city is the site where people of all sorts and classes mingle, however reluctantly and agonistically, to produce a common if perpetually changing and transitory life."

(Harvey, 2012, p. 67)

David Harvey in his book *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, reminds us that cities have long been the central sites of revolutionary politics. According to his belief, the cities are the places where the conditions which contribute to the process of organization of individual and social life, are being born and continuously formed. The public urban space is the place where the relations between the residents are developed and is perceived as the common ground of the inhabitants, the place of expression of public life and the birth of unforeseen incidents and political processes. For example, a square can be transformed into a space of expression of ideological or religious beliefs, depending on the nature of the events taking place in it. While the public space of the city is inseparably connected with the socio-political characteristics of its environment, it constitutes important place of political action. Moreover, the political and social conflicts are often conducted in the streets of the city center.

The public space of the center has historically been the space of physical expression of the political as a process and an activity. There is no exception in the history of Athens, with its center being the prime place where the social and economic transformations occur and its public space the primary "field" for political events. From the ancient times, the agora (market) was the public space, accessible to all, in which people come together to arrive in common decisions for the city. Throughout the history, the city center of Athens has become a battlefield countless times. The main areas of those expressions are the Polytechnic school in Patisson Street, the neighboring university buildings (Economic school, Law school etc.), the University and

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empty public spaces_crowded malls



Comparison between the empty Omonoia square in Athens and the crowded Golden Hall Mall in Athens source: Korakaki A. and Mavrikaki, V. [2014] "Public space as a field of conflict or abandonment and public space as consumption field, University of Crete, Greece

the Propylaea on Panepistimiou Street, the Syntagma square and the area of Exarchia. The Syntagma square at 1843, the July events (Iouliana) of 1965, the Polytechnic uprising in 1973 and the social conflicts of the regime change (Metapoliteusis) are some examples of the expression of the political in the city center. In the past few years, the center of Athens is where the crisis is intensely evident. There, is concentrated the majority of the immigrant population, who as one of the weaker part of the society experience roughly the consequences of the crisis. There is the place where homeless people are situated, the amount of whom the last years has dramatically increased. There, is also the place where the massive uprising of December of 2008, the strikes of 2010 and the movement of indignant citizens at 2011 took place. There, is where most of the examples of self-organized spaces have been created. It is this "rough" center of the city, the place where the discussion and the actions for a different future are taking place.

Capitalism -Urban planning-Public space

"Political power therefore often seeks to reorganize urban infrastructure and urban life with an eye to the control of restive populations"

(Harvey, 2012, p.117)

Since the political and social conflicts are conducted in the streets of the city center, whoever owns these sites also controls them. This control can be imposed either by specific design practices and urban planning tools, or cultivation of specific standards and a culture. Urban planning, always involved a tendency to impose some kind of control. The case of Baron Haussmann in Paris, which Harvey also refers to, is a very clear example of the re-design of the city in order to control its space, offer security and impose power. Nowadays, the political and economic power attempts and usually succeeds into changing the character of the public space throughout commercialization and privatization having as a main goal the profit and the touristic attraction, while ensuring its management through policing, surveillance and repression.

"Public spaces and public goods in the city have always been a matter of state power and public administration, and such spaces and goods do not necessarily a commons make. Throughout the history of urbanization, the provision of public spaces and public goods (such as sanitation, public health, education, and the like) by either public or private means has been crucial for capitalist development"

(Harvey,2012, p.72)

Capitalism as an economic system has as a main goal, the production of profit based on private investments. An important aspect to achieve profit is the spatial dimension of the relation between production and consumption, the location and the concentration. As a consequence, the need to increase surplus

in capitalism combined with the fact that cities are places of concentration resulted in transforming them into privileged places for additional profit, places of consumption. The combination of capitalism and urbanization seems to be the most profitable relation.

Therefore the public space of the city, could not be left untouched by this relation, especially during the generalized economic crisis of our time. In the case of Athens, the state is no longer able to invest in the construction and maintenance of public spaces. As a result, those places are sometimes abandoned and declined while usually private operators exploit them for profit. Examples of commercialization of public space we see every day in front of us: cafes expanding in the squares with tables, privatized beaches, private malls and parks converted into private parking lots and stores. The consumption-based lifestyle of the city, reflects its characteristics on the public space, which loses its democratic character and adapts the rules of consumption. Here, it is important to mention that especially during the period of the Olympic Games, many malls (The Mall Athens, Golden Hall etc.) were constructed in Athens, especially close to the new infrastructures and central areas.

"Much of the corruption that attaches to urban politics relates to how public investments are allocated to produce something that looks like a common but which promotes gains in private asset values for privileged property owners. The distinction between urban public goods and urban commons is both fluid and dangerously porous."

(Harvey, 2012, p. 79)

Urbanization, beyond being a device for profit reflects the current trend towards globalization. Cities leave behind their original characteristics and increasingly beginning to resemble each other and the "modern metropolis", in an amount that is not a threat for the tourism. As a result the urban policies of governments and local administrations have an orientation towards the prototype city, in order to promote municipal investments through privatization of public property, which creates simultaneously profit, as well as safety policies aimed at removing people considered dangerous to the realization of this target, by being either harmful for the "image" of the city or its "safety".The role of urban interventions is reversed in a way that instead of succeeding social coexistence and interaction of residents, aims at the protection of the property and the quality of life for the high classes.

"But that kind of common was destroyed and turned into a public space dominated by the advent of the automobile (prompting attempts by city administrations to recover some aspects of a "more civilized" common past by organizing pedestrian precincts, sidewalk cafes, bike paths, pocket parks as play spaces, and the

claimed public space_surpression



Indignants movement at Syntagma square in Athens and police forces during a political event source: Korakaki A. and Mavrikaki, V. [2014] "Public space as a field of conflict or abandonment and public space as consumption field, University of Crete, Greece(left), Arapostathi,E.[2014] "The influence of the urban social movements in the public space"; Master thesis, University of Patras,Greece (right)

like). But such attempts to create new kinds of urban commons can all too easily be capitalized upon. In fact they may be designed precisely with that in mind. Urban parks almost always increase nearby residential property prices in surrounding areas (provided, of course, that the public space of the park is regulated and patrolled to keep the riff- raff and the drug dealers out)."

(Harvey, 2012, p.74)

The most recent example of such practices in Athens, is the plan for the regeneration of the Panepistimiou street- a street that as mentioned previously constitutes historically an important political space. Here is important to mention that the winning proposal of the competition was launched from a Dutch architectural office OKRA.

"The Re-think Athens project is launching the transformation of the center of Athens in 2016! Extending from Amalias Avenue and Syntagma Square to Omonoia Square and the Archaeological Museum, the city will reclaim its public space and will evolve into a unique place, where citizens from every corner of Athens can meet, both in commercial and leisure activities. Upon the completion of the 'Re-think Athens' Architectural Competition, the transformation of the city center along Panepistimiou Street will be ready for implementation. Let us re-think Athens! Because there is no better way to predict the future than to design it ourselves...!"

(<http://www.rethinkathens.org/>)

As human beings, we are easily convinced by the importance of new fictional needs and that's the easiest way to be distracted from the essential matters. In this specific case, the new metropolitan city center and everything that accompanies its creation is the center of attention or better to say the promotional material.

"Changing the heart of Athens into a true contemporary metropolitan city center requires transformation of the city triangle into a lively part of the city. The project aims to strongly contribute to the change of Athens and improve the environment of the city plus activating the area economically."

(<http://www.archdaily.com/338001/re-think-athens-winning-proposal-okra>)

The rise of property value as well as the promotion of a "consumer-city" within a period of political and economic crisis that will give a new character and lifestyle of the street and will exclude the low-income population and the homeless people, are the essential forgotten points of the intervention. Not to mention the fact, that throughout this procedure the political character of the street will be enormously affected firstly

throughout regulations and design but also through surveillance. Besides, when the crowd cannot be controlled through urban planning, then direct monitoring from security camera systems to actual security forces seems to be the only solution. The use of monitoring systems in open areas of the city, is a common phenomenon in many cities around the world, in London, Paris, Berlin and New York. Cameras monitor and record the daily life of citizens.

In Athens, due to the crisis, the political activity obtains another character, is presented, especially by the media, as competitive to economy and directly contrary to social peace and security. In the name of public welfare and the maintenance of social cohesion and order, there is a generalization of repression, which is legitimized and consolidated under the pretext of emergency management. Political events are part of the wider pathogenesis of the city center while the crisis management from the politicians introduce in the center of Athens dissuasive and suppressive practices, with a typical example being the repression against the Indignants of Syntagma Square in Athens the summer of 2011.

The urban public space loses its public character, the coexistence, the shaping of beliefs and its expressions, while the political, a central element of social life falls into another parameter. The city stops being the large public space where social and political dynamics are manifested and becomes a receptor of policy actions. Additionally, due to the repression policies that follow every political action, the fear of the citizens to act increases and contributes as a suppressive factor for political expression. However, the relation between the city and the political remains perpetual and dialectical since there is no political activity not reflected in space or spatial transformation without political dimensions.

Claiming the right to the city

"The political recognition that the commons can be produced, protected, and used for social benefit becomes a framework for resisting capitalist power and rethinking the politics of an anti-capitalist transition."

(Harvey, 2012, p.87)

As mentioned previously, whoever owns the public spaces, also controls them. Claiming those space is always connected with gaining power from the subjects. This requires political action by citizens to take ownership of those sites. This is the right to the city, which urges citizens to claim the city as a space of a new urbanity without the laws of capitalist society. Besides, the right to the city is not given, it is conquered through the struggles of the citizens. Harvey perceives this right as a right to change ourselves by creating a city that is built "after our hearts desires" (Harvey, 2012, p.4) and proposes revolutionary claims by the citizens.

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In recent years there has been a revival of the “Right to the City” from various social movements. Those movements resist to the formation of cities made in accordance with the interests of an elite. There are many examples - in Greece and the European area - from claims on public space for squares and parks.

“Syntagma Square in Athens, Tahrir Square in Cairo, and the Plaza de Catalunya in Barcelona were public spaces that became an urban commons as people assembled there to express their political views and make demands. The street is a public space that has historically often been transformed by social action into the common of revolutionary movement, as well as into a site of bloody suppression.¹² There is always a struggle over how the production of and access to public space and public goods is to be regulated, by whom, and in whose interests. The struggle to appropriate the public spaces and public goods in the city for a common purpose is ongoing.”

(Harvey, 2012, p. 73)

In the center of Athens, we are witnessing massive protests. Both the uprising of December 2008 after the murder of the teenager Grigoropoulos and the movement of the indignant citizens at 2011 are important examples of how the Athenian public space regain its political dimension. Strongly related to those uprisings, groups are claiming the public space, whether in response of its degradation or as an attempt to create a new type of public space based on collective procedures. The main objective of such initiatives is the assertion of the right of citizens in the public space and the reaction against business plans that threaten to lead to privatization. Those movements affect both the social and the economic context of the city by trying to change the existing structures in a trickle down society, promoting the bottom up development. An example of such a movement, which appeared after the December of 2008, is the community of Navarinou Park in Athens, Greece. Navarinou Park was used as a private parking space before the citizens decided to transform it into a self-organized park, situated in the center of the city, and managed by the open meetings of the citizens. Apart from the political events that are taking place at the park, community gardening and agriculture, communal kitchens, local flea markets etc., are some examples of the social events towards a more equal society released from consumerism and profit.

Even though some of those claims were for a short period of time or in a small scale, they triggered new actions and claims with political character and their existence was crucial to understand

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the need for change. Moreover, since Internet and social media constitute some of the main tools for the organization of those movements, in the scope of globalization the network can be global. February 15,2003 as Harvey(2012,p.116) mentions, was “described at the time as perhaps one of the first expressions of global public opinion, the movement quickly faded, but leaves behind the sense that the global urban network is replete with political possibilities that remain untapped.”

Conclusion

In conclusion, the public space is produced according to political decisions that define the relation between urban environment and the numerous economic and social relations that occur in it. It constitutes field of production as well as object of consumption. It is the field of political contradiction but also tool for state control. As Panos Dragonas(2011) mentions, the public space of Athens is claimed by: the entertainment industry, criminal networks, new investors in real estate, the homeless, the immigrants and finally, the numerous city movements, activists and citizens’ groups that try to enforce, rescue or at least upgrade the problematic open spaces. The Athenian public space ceases to be a battlefield and this is reasonable since public space has never been guaranteed, it should be conquered through the struggles of the citizens.

The financial crisis has brought massive changes and tragic impacts on the social majority in almost all of the world. The environment of the crisis and the dead ends that seem perpetually unresolved, increasingly intensify the need for an anti-capitalist alternative. “No alternative to the contemporary form of globalization will be delivered to us from on high. It will have to come from within multiple local spaces-urban spaces in particular-conjoining into a broader movement” (Harvey, 2012, p.112). The seeds for a new alternative are planted around us, there are those numerous social movements that are fighting for a change, even in small scales. The questions that dominate my mind are many. Are we, as architects and planners able to contribute in changing the situation or we will end up being part of the system in our struggle to survive? How can we design far away from those gentrification strategies that have already created and continue to create so many inequalities? Can we promote our ideas for a more just society in the current political system or is it the right time to use the instruments that we have, ourselves and our overall strength, as architects, planners and first of all as humans for this new alternative? It is up to everyone, individually to be part in a collective effort and that effort to become global. It seems that we have the power, should we use it wisely?

Understanding the Impacts of Economic Crisis Through Anti-neoliberal Social Movements The Case of Athens

Konstantina Konstantinou

As history shown cities have been suffered from global economical crises. It has penetrated them and produced uneven and unequal models of cities. By analyzing the current neoliberal hegemony through a Marxist perspective and the work of David Harvey, this essay discusses the role of capitalism in economical crisis and how cities have become arenas for the neoliberal policies. This essay shifts between the analyses of different neoliberal policies in the city of Greece, Athens through a chronological order. Through the case of Athens, this essay will identify how neoliberal policies connect and contribute to the development of the anti-neoliberal movements. In addition it will explore the impact of the anti-neoliberal social movement in the political framework of the country.

Capitalist crisis and cities

This essay is presenting an approach to the urban transformations in Greece and the strategic role of neoliberalism. The size of the paper will not allow to a full description of the neoliberal urbanism in Greece. Through selected case it will try to emphasize the important factors that trigger the anti-neoliberal social movement to happen in Greece. In order to present these changes in the urban of Greece it is necessary to first take a look at the connections between cities and capitalist crisis. Harvey in his book Rebel Cities reminds us that cities have long been the centres of financial crisis. He addresses the link between capitalism and urbanisation and how is shaping the cities. “Capitalism needs urbanisation to absorb the surplus products it perpetually produces! (Harvey, 2012, p.5) At the same time crisis are opportunities for mobilizing cities towards economic growth. Bearing in mind how the 1848 crisis in Paris opened up the rebuilding of the city by introducing the urbanisation to solve the crash of capitalism; and how the 1970s economic crisis used the cities as arenas for the adoption of the neoliberal policies. Late 1970 and early 1980s neoliberalism introduced as the answer to the question of how to save capitalism from its own contradictions.

“Today’s crisis is not a mere sequel of 1970s crisis. It is more of a crisis of the system created to respond to that: the financial sector’s excessive growth; the new-liberal governance that rendered free market dominant and crashed both the work force and the incomes; capitalist globalization”

(Andritsos, p4)

It is obvious that cities historically had a significant role in the accumulation of capital on a global scale. From Haussmann model in Paris to Robert Moses New York until today’s situation cities designed for profit and not for the people. Several cities still today are in continuous competition with each other to become global cities, to attract investments, tourists, etc .In the context of the global city; it needs to be attractive for capitalist investments and free market. To achieve that, several changes has to occur; the disconnection from the State, wages must reduced, public welfare and social housing are facing cancellations, public services such as education, health are privatized by strengthening the role of private ownership. These are the typical characteristics of the neoliberal public policies which several cities are facing today. In general capitalism is a competitive system and benefits the personal gain rather the public. It is not an abstract idea or a natural phenomenon that occurred; but it is an economic system with different set of principles, such as neoliberal policies, supported by various agencies and institutions, set up by the most powerful states after the war to oversee the economical development. “One of the characteristics of contemporary capitalism is that it takes place within a legal and political framework, reflecting the internationalisation of trade itself, global in scope.” (Torney, 2013, p14) Their aim was to prevent the



Occupation in Syntagma Square 7/6/11.
 Accessed via http://aganaktismenoistosintagma.blogspot.se/2011/06/blog-post_07.html



A peaceful demonstration in Syntagma Square 7/6/11
 Accessed via http://aganaktismenoistosintagma.blogspot.se/2011/06/blog-post_07.html

economic instability and allows the capital to move freely and compete in the market by ensuring the flexibility of it as well. Such as institutions are G8, OECD, UNCTAD, WTO, and the World Bank.

“We should be made clear that it was the major capitalist stated that set up these institutions, and they did do quite self consciously to further their own particular interests, and as well the interests of capitalists generally”

(Torney, 2013, p15).

The goal of these policies is to design cities for profit. Capitalism determines the development of urban planning in cities and always had. The governances of many cities adopted the neoliberal policies and strategies of the European Union to introduce and circulate the capital. “Going back to, Jamie Peck, he points several major characteristics that constitute the core of Neoliberal Urbanism. These are categorized under the headlines “Growth first”, “Financialization”, “Urban Spectacle and events”, “Entrepreneurial Governance”, “Privatism”, “Market Distributivism”, “Roll Backs”, and “Revanchism.” (Ekmekci, 2012, p.16) Before we study the results of the urban transformation in the Greek content, it is important to see how these neoliberal policies shaped Greece by using as example the term “urban spectacle and events”

Spectacle and events: the Olympic Games in Athens

“City marketing and place-branding techniques are part of the toolbox of neoliberal urbanization process, since the competition in between cities revolves mainly around “(re)producing and promoting their urban heritage and symbolic assets for tourism,”

(Ekmekci, 2012, p.28)

Athens couldn't be an exception. In the case of Athens, the adoption of neoliberal policies was encouraged by both; the political elites of the government and the financial elites of European Union. On the one hand, the Greek government supported the organization of mega events such as the Olympic Games to promote the international character of the city. Let's use the Olympic Games as the example of neoliberal urbanization which played a significant role for the crisis because of its sovereign debt. “It is no accident that Greece, which staged the Olympics in 2004, is now in a leading crisis role because of its sovereign debt.” (Harvey, 2011 cited in Andritsos, T., Iliopoulou, E., Patsopoulos, N., Poullos, D., Triantafylopoulou, E. & Tsadari, S, 2012, p.2) The Olympic Games and other related projects were aimed to create profit and transform Athens to a modern capitalist metropolis. Total transformations occur in the capital of Greece with major road projects, metros, tram and suburban rail road. “During the decade of 2000 central areas like Psirri and Gazi were transformed into areas of entertainment, culture and housing for the upper classes and artists, displacing populations and productive or commercial activities” (Andritsos, p.11). However, the arrangements for large scale urban events like Olympics usually result to displacements of population, especially in the poor areas and neighbourhoods. These changes resulted to a new development of districts promoting the consumerism and the expansion of inequalities among the city. These urban transformations in the planning system combined with the austerity measures imposed on Greece by the IMF and the European Union to pay the debt lead to poverty, high unemployment rates, and etc. Greece faced and experienced fast transformations in the form of neoliberal urbanization spreading inequalities and social problems, causing the anti-capitalist social movements to react.

Cities historically are control by those who have the power of capital. Harvey in his chapter “the right to the city” he points out the need that people need to reclaim their right to the city

“their right to change the world, to change life.” The only way you could achieve that is by taking back the streets and rebelling against the power of capital. Harvey uses the Paris Commune as the rebellion movement which challenged the power of capital and points out that revolutionary movements always result to changes. The latest demonstrations and strikes around the world and Greece are the results of capitalism and neoliberal policies which are still producing several crashes and crisis in cities. These processes may not bring down capitalism but it is way to show the major economic and social problems that most of the people in cities are facing today. As people in Greece still suffering from the cruel austerity measures, the need for change arrived. Important political struggles and social movements occurred in the centre of Athens, starting with the rebellion in December 2008. The following years Greece forced to new austerity measures by the IMF, EU, and European Bank. This led to several strikes and massive protests against the current global economic system on 2010-11. Inspired by the Arab spring, the Indignados in Spain, the occupy movements in Greece formed the Syntagma Square Movement. The central square of Athens was for several months the meeting point for thousand Greek people to claim justice. By occupying the public square of Athens, the protestors not only reclaimed justice but also they fight against the cruel austerity measures and the corrupted undemocratic administration policies.

The case of Athens: “Syntagma Square movement”

Athens is a perfect example to explore and investigate the role of neoliberalism as the major target for the development of the urban social movements.

“Hence, in the case of the Greek movement, as in the other Occupy protests around the world, neo-liberalism and the power of global financial capital, the prescription of national policies by international organisations (e.g.

the EU, the IMF), the crisis in political representation and finally corruption were major causes of protest.”

(Simiti, 2014, p. 16)

The 2008 economic crisis due to the bankruptcy of the Lehman Brothers became a global crisis with consequences for a lot of cities across Europe. Greece was one of the cities struggling to pay her huge debt. On 4th of October 2009 the Greek socialist party (PASOK) gain the power of the parliament. After one year Greece lost her access to the global market and the prime minister asked for a financial help from the EU and IMF. The memorandum was signed and found Greece under new austerity measures and policies. Greek people forced to pay raised taxes, see the dismantling of their wages, pensions and welfare system. The first actions against the austerity measures took place on February 2010 through massive urban social movements and continue on 2011. At the same time in Spain, the Indignados occupied squares in Madrid and Barcelona to protest against the austerity measures that their country was facing as well. Greek people inspired by the Indignados and the Arab Spring they start the initial occupation of the Syntagma Square. It was May 25th when hundreds protestors decided to occupy the central square which is opposite of the Greek Parliament. Syntagma square has a strategic location and represents the political expression in the content of democracy. Demonstrations have always been part of Greek society and there have been plenty of occupations of buildings such as universities and etc.

The numbers of protestors in the square multiplied as the days were passing; among them a lot of young people participating for the first time in politics, activists with political knowledge, and many people with political backgrounds such as left-aligned or right-aligned. The protestors shared a common opposition to the memorandum but conflicting political forces identified in the space due to different ideologies. Groups were formed between the protestors in the upper and lower levels of the square,

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forming two separate parts. The upper square was occupied by people with strong nationalistic frames and feelings. For them it wasn't only a matter of social justice but it was above all a matter of national treason. "Even though the majority of demonstrators identified themselves as democrats protesting about the current crisis of representation and searching for alternative models of democracy (Georgiadou, Kafe, Nezi, Pieridis, 2013), the prevailing narratives constructed a political space that enabled the intrusion of extreme-right political forces." (Simiti, 2014, p9.) On the other hand, the protestors of the lower level was mainly progressive people closer to the Left, who ask for direct democracy and justice. Left wing parties such as Syriza and Antarsya, KKE played a significant role in the mobilizations in the lower square. It was calling the citizens to fight in a non violent way for "Equality-Justice-Dignity"; The occupation was still going on with the participation of people to be more and more impressive every day; in just two months almost three million people participated in the demonstrations of Syntagma square.

The impacts of the "Syntagma Square movement"

Several strikes and demonstrations continued until 2012 but they didn't have the impact of the 2011, even if the rate of unemployment and poverty increased sharply. However the Syntagma square movement had a strong impact on the political framework of the country. This was obvious after the results of the national elections that followed in June of 2012. The elections led to radical changes for the two traditional government parties (PASOK and Nea Dimokratia); both lost about the half of their votes while the Left wing party Syriza multiplied its power by six. (gain 4.59% during the elections of 2009 and 26.89% in June 2012) At the same time Golden Dawn (extreme right) gain 7% of the votes and became a parliamentary force with 18 seats for the first time in the history of Greece (gain 0.3% on the elections of 2009) Also new parties such as the Democratic Left (centre left) and the independent Greeks (right wing) enter in the parliament. Golden dawn (extreme right) gained power and popularity after the Indignados movement of 2011 and 2012 by taking advantage people who were upset and angry with the political system, austerity measures and political parties. They used the anger to promote their party and their extreme rights. Greek citizens did not have any more faith in the traditional governmental parties and they seek to find answers and solutions to new political parties. It can be said that the square movements incorporated in a way to these political changes and shifts that took place in the Greek society. The Greek movement transform the Syntagma Square to sites for political expression with long term political consequences; "the protestors' emotions of rage were not independent of their ideological positioning." (Simiti, 2014, p. 27) In the upper square the crisis was linked directly to the "political institution" and to the "national treason"; and in the lower level was a part of a systematic crisis linked to social injustice. Harvey insists that the only way you can challenge power is by the mass movements. The only way that people can change their current situation is to go out in the street and demand change.

I am not sure what the result of the Syntagma Square movement was really about but it was definitely a mass movement against the neoliberal policies. At the same time it was about masses of people who demanded a different way of life, "a right to the city"; transforming the occupied squares into major sites of political expression. In addition, they demand their participation in the processes but also they fight for democracy against the austerity measures, for a different social organisation and social justice. Greek people did not achieve to win against the austerity policies but somehow they manage to change political directions. My attempt in this part wasn't to judge the results but to highlight them as changes after the occupy movement in Athens. I am not sure if Harvey had in mind those kinds of changes when he was talking for reclaiming the right to the city; but certainly urban social movement did change "things" in Athens.

Conclusion: Do we need to design different cities?

According to Lefebvre, is the political life which is to be changed, not the city per se. (Dikec, 2001, p1790). Harvey supports that justice could not be achieved within a capitalist society and he addressed the need for structural change in the society. "*Elites under capitalism would always represent the interests of the upper class.*" (Harvey, 2008, 1985) Harvey, Lefebvre and others, mentioned several examples of how politics and capitalism shape our cities and pointed out the results. (Segregation, exploitation, discrimination, racism, women rights, exclusion, privatization, etc). Among the academic circle, several debates take place, addressing the concepts of "the just city", "the right to the city", "spatial injustice". All three are sharing the same values of justice, equity, the right to the citizen and etc. But they do not "agree" on how this could be achieved within the contemporary capitalist politics of the cities. In fact people inspired by Marx, such as Harvey continue to emphasize that inequalities and injustice will still happen because they are reproduce under capitalist modes of production. In my opinion, in practicing urban planning both perspectives need to be considered. But I strongly believe that if the political system is not changing from root then we will still face injustice in everyday life. On the other hand we as architects, urban designers and planners should and can get involved actively on thinking how to design cities for people in the concept of democracy and social justice. We need to bring a social change far away from gentrification, segregation, exclusion, discrimination and several other social issues which lead to inequalities. We need to involve listening, understanding, visioning into design making processes. By listening the others you build trust and therefore you understand the character and content of the city and her people. At the same time we need to consider the public dialogue and participation of different cities, communities and neighbourhoods on matters relating to planning and design. We could use our profession as a tool for progressive and more equal design in cities.

Stockholm – The Just City?

Axel Lindqvist

This essay starts with putting focus on the phenomenon of injustice created when the city becomes an arena of investment. The area of justice within the city was chosen in the hope of finding methods which can be applied in everyday planning, in order to reach just planning. Theories and theoreticians in the field of justice are presented to be followed by a statistical comparison of the districts of Stockholm. Harvey and Lefebvre's ideas of injustice and rights to the city originates from industrialization and the change of power it brought from user to owner. Dikec is another theoretician who strives to highlight the connection of injustice within the social and spatial sphere and how they interrelate with each other. Fainstein produced a criteria of justice within the concept of equity, diversity and democracy, which she applies on three different cities to finally produce principles for urban planning, in order to reach more just cities. By using Fainstein's criteria of justice I present statistics of Stockholm from which I apply Fainstein's criteria. From the comparison I conclude that Stockholm is a typical example of a city who has become an arena for investment and has pushed people with lesser means to the edges of the municipality.

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Introduction

There was a time when everything was moving in a direction towards justice for everyone, rights of the people were fought for, dictatorships were overthrown and power was dealt to the people and fascism and racism were decreasing. This seems no longer to be the direction the world seems to follow, instead it seems to turn into a greater place of injustice.

Today, with the extreme urbanization and the rapid growth of cities, real estate markets have sky rocketed and as a consequence of this, pushed people with lesser means, not able to withstand the rising prices, out of the cities towards less attractive and cheaper locations. This is a worldwide phenomenon and it is considered to walk hand in hand with ideas of neoliberalism and capitalism. When the cities of the world became the arenas of capitalism and quality of life for the many was sacrificed by financial gain for the few, questions of justice and rights to the city gained in popularity.

Theories of Justice

Mustafa Dikec is one theoretician whom places the word justice in relation to space, in his article "Justice and the spatial imagination" (2001). Dikec aims to show the relationship between spatialization and justice, or injustice (2001, 1). By using an example of Harvey, Dikec explains how injustice can be produced both spatially and socially and how they are both connected. When depicting how injustice can be produced socially and spatially, Dikec uses the example of a workers riot in 1969 in Turin, Italy (2001, 8). In this scenario 600 000 workers in Turin were protesting against how they were exploited as a workforce and dominated by the city. This all happened, according to Dikec (2001, 8) under the logics of accumulation in the capitalistic system and the spatial logic within it. This worker strike is considered to be one of the first movements for the right to the city which fought against how the city was developed through the logic of maximum financial gain. In this case injustice was produced socially through the exploitation of the workforce and setting of wages, and spatially through increased rents in attractive areas which made it unaffordable for the workers who lived there (Dikec, 2001, 8).

In the article "Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the right to the city" Mark Purcell interprets Henri Lefebvre's work and argues for the reader that to fully understand the idea of the concept "The right to the city" one needs to take a closer look to Lefebvre's work and radical vision for the governing of a city (Purcell, 2013, 1). According to Purcell, a mayor start of injustice in the city was due to industrialization, which changed the way urban space was valued, from a users perspective to a market perspective. The consequences for this was that power shifted from the users to the land owners. According to Purcell, this meant for Lefebvre that the bourgeois gained power over the proletariat (the workers, based on Karl Marx's ideas) and Lefebvre's interpretation of the consequences of shifting power from user to owner



The logo of the municipality of Stockholm.



The different districts of the municipality of Stockholm.

seems relevant when comparing it with the actual happenings in Turin, 1969 (Dikec, 2001, 8), where the workers (the proletariat) felt a loss of power under the capitalist system

Purcell then means that Lefebvre's idea of a solution was to shift focus in power and change the governing system of capitalism and current regimes. Similar ideas have later been brought up by David Harvey (2008) but what differs is how the users are to regain power over the owners. Lefebvre's ideas, according to Purcell (2013) are that the users of urban space should appropriate it through struggle, but Harvey (2008, 30) suggests that it's rather about gaining control of the surplus of production and the distribution of it. Harvey explains that in a capitalistic historical point of view, more control over the produced surplus has occurred through taxes. This resulted in more control for the state, but in contemporary times, neoliberalism forces has fought the ideas of taxing production surplus and moved towards privatizing the control which the state held (Harvey, 2008, 37). There are of course differences and similarities with these ideas and concepts which are presented. Dikec (2001) seeks to highlight injustice in space and spatiality and Lefebvre (through Purcell, 2013) and Harvey focuses on taking over governing systems of distribution and ownership of production.

Lastly I will present ideas of justice from Susan Fainstein's "The Just City" (2010). In her book, Fainstein seeks to find a method to strive for "more" justice in the city, within the existing system of capitalism but also redirecting practitioners, within city planning and public policies, focus on economic development towards a focus on social equity (2010, 19). Fainstein motivates working with the existing system of capitalism through questioning a quote of Harvey's that leads: "a Just City has to be about fierce conflict all the time" (Fainstein, 2010, 171). Fainstein takes distance from this and questions if most people really would like to live in constant conflict (Fainstein, 2010, 171).

To find a method to "measure," Fainstein (2011, 86) develops a criteria of justice based on three qualities: Equity, Democracy and Diversity. Whilst being aware of values like diversity, democracy and equity can pull in various direction and often clash with each other, Fainstein still argues for the criteria as a reasonable basis for judging justice (Fainstein, 2010, 85). She then uses these

criteria to analyze three different cities policies in order to find what it is making them just or unjust in relation to the concepts (Fainstein, 2010, 86)

Fainstein's principles of: Equity, Diversity and Democracy

Fainstein names specific principles in policies in promotion to the criteria of equity, democracy and diversity. These, according to Fainstein (2010) are to be used in urban policies in order to strive for a more just city. Fainstein's use of the term equity focuses a lot of how resources are distributed and how decisions are made based on financial gain instead of how the distribution is between the most well-off contra the least well-off. Fainstein wishes to go from looking at financial gain through cost/benefit ratio to consider the consequences a given project instead have on those least well-off or those who are most affected by an proposal (Fainstein, 2010, 9). In promotion for equity, Fainstein proposes that:

- 1 New housing areas should make available units for households with incomes below the median.
- 2 These affordable unites should remain in permanence in the affordable housing pool or be replaced if taken away.
- 3 Businesses or households should not be involuntarily moved.
- 4 Developing programs should prioritize the interests of employees or small companies.
- 5 Megaprojects should be scrutinized with extra care and should be demanded to offer direct benefits for low-income people.
- 6 Costs for public transport tickets and fares should be kept very low.
- 7 Planners should deliberately work towards egalitarian solutions and stop those who mostly or disproportionately benefits those already well-off

(Fainstein, 2010, 172)

Diversity is the concept of which Fainstein is most uncertain to in the relation to justice. She claims that it is as a goal something to aspire for but it is very dependent on how the goal is reached. One cannot force diversity and chose for the public in what context they are to live in, that would be simply undemocratic

and illegal (Fainstein, 2010, 75). Why Fainstein ultimately decides on using the term "diversity" as a criteria for justice is because it embraces both the physical environment and social relations and it refers to aims which goes further than merely accepting others (Fainstein, 2010, 67). In promotion for diversity, Fainstein proposes:

- 1 Households should not be forcefully moved to reach a greater diversity but new communities should not be build and planned as segregated.
- 2 Zoning should not discriminate but instead it should promote inclusion.
- 3 There should be no clear boundaries between districts.
- 4 Public spaces should be accessible and varied and if private, not limit the freedom of speech.
- 5 Land uses should be varied and mixed. To the extent of what seems desired by the affected populace.
- 6 Discriminated groups are to be given support by public officials in ways of accessing education, housing and employment

(Fainstein, 2010, 174).

The idea of democracy is that the power would be in the hands of the people. What Fainstein thinks is an important part of democracy is that citizen participation makes information about areas being planned for, more accessible to the policy makers. Fainstein (2010, 67) also claims that citizen participation makes decision making more democratic and open for the public but this does not mean the result of a decision being made in the spirit of participation more equitable. In promotion for democracy Fainstein proposes three principles:

- 1 Groups that are not able to participate in the processes of decision-making should be represented by advocates.
- 2 When an area is being planned for development, the affected populace should be consulted before further development.
- 3 Unused areas should be the subject of a wide consultation arena where representatives from groups living outside the area makes their voice heard

(Fainstein, 2010, 175).

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Statistics of Stockholm's districts

By looking at statistics from Stockholm Municipality and its districts I will present an overview of how the city is divided or distributed in forms of Fainstein's (2010) qualities for justice: diversity, democracy and equity. This is to get an understanding and overview if Stockholm municipality can be considered of being a just or unjust city.

Equity

The median income in Stockholm municipality is, counted from 2013, 332 019 Swedish crowns per year and the district with the highest median income is Östermalm with 425 563 Swedish crowns. The districts of Södermalm, Bromma, Kungsholmen and Norrmalm are all over the median income level and are among the wealthiest districts in Stockholm municipality (statistikomstockholm.se). The districts with the lowest median income in Stockholm municipality are Rinkeby-Kista with 215 650 Swedish crowns per year and Skärholmen with 217 924 Swedish crowns per year (statistikomstockholm.se)

The district with the highest education level in Stockholm municipality is Östermalm, with the number of 71 % who has an after Gymnasia-Level degree. Östermalm is closely followed by Norrmalm, Kungsholmen, Södermalm and Bromma. The districts with the lowest education level are Rinkeby-Kista, with 35 percent and Skärholmen with 36 percent

The district with the highest number of owned apartments (bostadsrätter) is Östermalm, which also has the lowest level of public housing. Norrmalm, Kungsholmen, Bromma and Södermalm are among the districts with highest level of ownership (statistikomstockholm.se). The districts where the mayor ownership part of apartments are rentals are: Rinkeby-Kista, Skärholmen, Spånga-Tensta and Hässelby-Vällinge. These districts are also the districts with the highest level of public housing.

When it comes to the issue of health, the website statistikomstockholm.se has counted the number of days per person of sick leave, sickness benefit, rehabilitation compensation and social insurance compensation a year. The district with the lowest number of days per year was Östermalm

The Dark Urban Revolution in Gotham

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with 12 days followed by the other central districts of Norrmalm, Kungsholmen, Bromma and Södermalm. The districts with the highest amount of days per year was Rinkeby-Kista with 31 days per person and Skärholmen with 30 days per person (statistikomstockholm.se).

The districts with the lowest level of economic welfare are the central districts of Östermalm, Norrmalm, Kungsholmen, Bromma and Södermalm. The areas with the highest level of welfare are the outer districts of Rinkeby-Kista, Spånga-Tensta and Skärholmen (statistikomstockholm.se). These three outer districts are at the same time the districts with the highest unemployment rate. The districts with the lowest unemployment rate are the central districts of Östermalm, Norrmalm, Kungsholmen, Bromma and Södermalm..

Diversity

Stockholm municipality has a population of 911 989 inhabitants, counted from 2014. The municipality is divided into twelve districts. The two most central districts are Östermalm and Södermalm. In Östermalm counted from 2014 there was a population of 70 779 and in Södermalm, which has the most inhabitants of the twelve districts, there was 126 736 inhabitants in 2014. At the same time, there was, counted from 2014, 18 % of Södermalm's inhabitants who had a foreign background. In Östermalm there was a percentage of 21 % (statistikomstockholm.se). Together with other central districts like Kungsholmen, Norrmalm and Bromma, the districts of inner Stockholm were at the lowest percentage of people with foreign background. The two districts with the highest percentage of inhabitants with a foreign background are: Rinkeby-Kista and Skärholmen, with 81 and 69 % (statistikomstockholm.se).

Democracy

The Swedish system of democracy is based on representatives. This means that elections are held at a national and municipal level to choose representatives from certain parties. Everyone that is over 18 years old are aloud to vote and candidate for positions in the field of politics. Each municipality in Sweden has its own governing organ with elected representatives, voted forth by the people. The idea is that the municipality should govern as much as possible without of its own development without the involvement of the government (Stockholm Stad).

Within the municipality of Stockholm the three districts with the lowest level of electoral participation was Rinkeby-Kista with 59,4 %, Skärholmen with 62,5 % and Spånga-Tensta with 69,3 %. The votes in these districts had a majority leaning to the left side of the political scale. The central districts of Stockholm were among the highest level of electoral participation. The highest was Södermalm which also had the highest spread of votes amongst different parties, but the mayor party in Södermalm was Moderaterna, which is a liberal/right wing party. This was also the mayor party in the other central districts of Stockholm (statistikomstockholm.se).

Discussion

A reason for choosing the concepts of Fainstein, and choosing to read her book from the start, was that it differs from other theories in the area by (according to myself) being more practical

orientated and less abstract. Her theories works within the field of capitalism, which is the reality we live in today and thus makes it easier to grasp and apply on contemporary situations. I was also hoping for finding methods which I can use in my future practice of the profession in planning and architecture, to design a more just city. The reason why I chose to work with the entire municipality of Stockholm was to get an overview on how it is divided, how it is distributed and looking at an entire city seemed to correlate more with the way Fainstein (2010) investigated New York, London and Amsterdam. The decision on working mainly with statistics was because of statistics in a form like this gives a great overview on how Stockholm is divided and how means are distributed. At the same time statistics are unbiased and places no values in the numbers that are presented.

Is Stockholm a just city?

Based on the statistics that I have presented through the municipality of Stockholm, one can see great differences between the suburbs and the central city. The fact that the worst-off district of Rinkeby-Kista's median wage per year was almost half of what it was in the best-off district of Östermalm tells a story off difference between the center of the city and the suburb in Stockholm. When continuing looking at the differences between the central districts to the outer districts one is not really surprised that the positive direction always points for those more well off.

What was interesting to see was that the mayor part of ownership in the city was also in the district of the central parts of Stockholm, which proves the fact that the city is an arena of investment and this pushes the people who cannot afford high rents and ownership out towards the edges of town. Stockholm becomes according to my interpretations of this, a typical example of this phenomenon mentioned in the introduction. This example of Stockholm as an arena of investment stands well together with the ideas of Harvey and Lefebvre when it comes to owners versus users and the injustice and loss of power that is connected to this.

There must be several reasons why there is much lower participation in local elections in the worst-off parts in Stockholm. Reasons can be all from lack of education to not knowing the language but I believe that, similar to Lefebvre (interpreted by Purcell), the people have lost feelings of trust in the lack of ownership and control and therefore distrusts the governing system to judge fairly. There seem to be a great lack of work being done by urban planners and representatives within politics when working according to the ideas of Fainstein (seen from an overview perspective and not looking at what is being done at a local level). Maybe Fainstein's principles have not had their breakthrough yet or maybe, in the end, equity, diversity and democracy finally succumbs to the will of capital interests.

Ultimately, from what the statistics presented, I would not call Stockholm a just city.

Urban Revolution, like the Occupy Wall Street and Arab Spring, is becoming a global urban phenomenon as the consequence of the rapid change of urbanization process under the crisis of capitalism. The purpose of the protest is to fight against social and economic inequality, resulted from the greedy and corruption of the politicians and authorities, and demand for the rights to the city. This essay is trying to discuss urban revolution by investigating the dark Gotham city in the movie The Dark Knight Rise, and also relate it to the theory of David Harvey's book: Rebel city: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution, in order to make a better discussion of the following questions: what is the motivation behind urban revolution? What do the 99% people need for anti-capitalism, violent revolution or another approach?

The Dark City: Gotham

In Christopher Nolan's Batman series, since the main prototype of Gotham is New York, then audiences could almost imagine what kind of city Gotham is. As Gotham is the economic and financial power center of the United States and even the world, even the United States government does not dare to encroach on the powers that Gotham represents. Additionally, there exists various social classes in Gotham, such as financial capitalists, elite politicians, the evil force and the underlying homeless people. The internal corruption in Gotham is unbearable: elite politicians are in collusion with the evil force, the life of capitalists is extravagant and corrupt while homeless people live in privation. Although internal contradictions are heavy, Gotham can still operate normally, even presents a false appearance of peace and prosperity.

As is mentioned above, there exists heavy contradictions among different social classes, which are the sources of social problems in Gotham. Firstly, the basic contradiction in Gotham is the contradiction between the capitalist class and the underlying homeless people, then the other contradictions are derived from this basic contradiction. Secondly, it is the contradiction between elite politicians and the underlying homeless people, since although the elite politicians are elected by people, after all they are representatives of the capitalists. Then, it is the contradiction between the evil force and the underlying people. From the movies of Batman series, the evil force could be regarded as a force that is nurtured by elite politicians to suppress the underlying homeless people. Finally, there are other conflicts, including internal contradictions between charitable financial capitalists and conservative capitalists, the contradiction between the forces of justice and corruption among elite politicians, the contradiction between elite politicians and evil force, etc. From the analysis of these contradictions, in the social environment of Gotham, the unbearable suffering of the underlying people is already inevitable.

It seems that only wars against the evil forces could bring bright to Gotham, and this is what Batman and the justice force in Gotham did in Batman Begins and The Dark Knight (one war against the "League of Shadows", and the other war against Joker). Although criminal groups have largely been eliminated, the situation in Gotham is getting even worse, and the opposition between financial capitalists and the underlying people becomes more intense, which is shown at the beginning of The Dark Knight Rise. The reason for the still dark city is that the roots of Gotham's fallen - financial capitalists were not involved and threatened in wars. In The Dark Knight Rise, eventually, they became the targets of urban revolution.

The Ultimate Wall Street Occupier?

When the initial balance of Gotham is most severely damaged, it comes to the plot climax of The Dark Knight Rise. The symbol of the state apparatus "Blackgate Prison" was captured by those

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Bane-Gotham's reckoning
Source: Benjamin Smith, Quotes Project

who had destroyed financial institutions, which is reminiscent of the landmark event of the French Revolution, "the storming of the Bastille." The leader of the occupying troop, Bane, issued such a magnificent speech to all Gothamites via television live transmission:

"We take Gotham from the corrupt! The rich! The oppressors of generations who have kept you down with myths of opportunity. And we give it back to you, the people. Gotham is yours! None shall interfere. Do as you please... The powerful will be ripped from their decadent nests and cast out into the cold world that we know and endure! Spoils will be enjoyed. Blood will be shed! The police will survive as they learn to serve true justice... Gotham will survive!"

(The Dark Knight Rise, 2012)

Here, Bane, as if the ultimate occupier of Wall Street, called on (instigated) that 99% of the oppressed should rise up and overthrow 1% of the oppressors, and even actually released the potential violence that might be hidden in the nonviolent movement "Occupy Wall Street" in this dark fiction society. In a sense, as the strongest opponent of Batman in The Dark Knight Rise, Bane is the ultimate result of logical deduction of Two-Face, Harvey Dent, the opposite of Batman in The Dark Knight. In the stimulation of a series of tragic events, the local prosecutor Harvey Dent, who used to regard himself as Bright Knight, came to such a conclusion: the existing legal system itself is unjust; therefore, in order to effectively practice justice, individuals have to escape and even revolt the system. Eventually Dent embraced the temptation that Batman has resisted. He overstepped the limit of legal procedures, and directly violated the law in the process of trying to punish crimes. Bane's behavior has the same, even more devastating result as Dent's. Bane discarded all the shackles that were tangled in the legitimacy, to mobilize people

to set off a mass rebellion, and smashed the old state machinery that was maintained under the lies of "Bright Knight."

For the uprising led by Bane, the director Christopher Nolan made a meaningful design: the base of uprising is underground in Gotham. Due to corruption, many underlying homeless people were ignored by the weak social welfare system, and long-term dormant in Gotham's labyrinth of water supply, heating, sewage and exhaust pipes. Under the organization and instigation of Bane, they transformed the underground labyrinth into a network extending in all directions. With the the help of this underground city, Bane launched a raid and ambush, and successfully buried the maintaining force of the old order - the Security Police underground. During this war, the power relations in Gotham was totally reversed, and the rule of the bourgeoisie was subverted.

Revolution or Rebellion?

It seems that a bottom-up urban revolution has started in Gotham. However, as the narrative unfolded, Bane increasingly revealed his double-sided nature: he is not only a revolutionary who promoted people's democratic dictatorship, but also an extremist terrorism that may detonate nuclear fusion reactors. The occupy movement instigated by him is not only a carnival of egalitarian, but also a populist uprising filled with desires for revenge.

Obviously, what Batman fought against is not the real revolution, but the rebellion led by Bane. Perhaps it could also be called dark urban revolution, since the original ruler of Gotham was almost completely destroyed. Many plots in the movie promoted that this was just a rebellion/ dark revolution. Firstly, those who participated in the dark revolution with Bane was not the 99% citizens that occupy Wall Street, but his corps and more than a thousand criminals. The main body of the dark revolution just became the "lumpenproletariat" that Marx himself was reluctant to admit. Additionally, the judge sitting on the judgment was



Bane leads his corps through the Gotham streets.
Source: Character poster of the movie

actually the Scarecrow - the first spokesman that the "League of Shadows" sent to Gotham, which was an allegory of the usurper in revolution. Thirdly, since the nuclear Bomb would explode anyway, it could not be interpreted as a sign of authoritarianism, and the so-called communism was completely replaced by terrorism. After all, the purpose of revolution is to destroy the old world and create a new world, instead of killing everyone.

The most important tip is the absence of people. The exit of Gotham ordinary citizens appeared after the explosion in the whole city. Under Bane's deterrence, media reporters (representative of the middle class) scattered and fled; those people panicked in the audience group of rugby were also absent in the latter part of the movie. In fact, only three forces appeared in the final war - the state machinery represented by the officials and police, the reactionary mobs represented by Bane, as well as the third independent force represented by Batman. In addition, the only event of the "ordinary citizens" was a group of orphans and a priest - those could be easily de-politicized figures. How could it be called a revolution if the revolution is without people?

Motivations Behind the Dark Urban Revolution

The declaration Bane made for the dark revolution seems totally the same as what David Harvey advocates: The right to the city in Rebel City. After taking control of Gotham during a game of Rugby, Bane said: "we come here not as the conquerors, but as liberators, to return control of this city to the people." These words attracted the underlying homeless people in Gotham City. They vainly hoped that the capitalists and the police could be punished under the rule of Bane, but they completely misunderstood the real purpose of Bane.

Bane's motivation is not to construct a socialist city, but to totally destroy it. Bane has never thought about how many irreconcilable contradictions exist between the underlying people and the capitalists. What he saw is that people were just the same

greedy, corrupt, and not worthy of sympathy as the capitalists. The reason why Bane ignited the unrealistic, utopian hope of communism, and used "the right to the city" as a pretense, is to destroy people's hearts and spirits. For Bane, he could benefit incredibly from this approach, since people would not simply oppose him after falling into a wonderful fantasy of revolution.

Here, "Revolution" is just a disguise, or more precisely, just a tool of the pseudo- revolutionary force. Meanwhile, "the right to the city" just becomes "the bomb circulating around Gotham city". As Robert points out, the bomb circulating aimlessly around the city, figuring the very drive of capital as a frightening drive of accumulation for its own sake, is intimately linked to perhaps the fundamental question of our time: that of the "the right to the city" designating a political situation, an economic process, and a potentially revolutionary agent - that is, the "ex-timate" proletariat, at once excluded from the space of the city and central to capital (Robert, 2013, p11). Seen in this light, contemporary class struggle becomes the political motivations for all participants in The Dark Knight Rise.

No doubted, Bane constitutes a substantial threat to the capitalist system of Gotham. His most "terrible" power is not the more muscular body than Batman, not the hacker technology that undermines financial market, not the military talent to direct the assault, even not the capability to modify and control the remote fusion reactors. The most "terrible" power is his capability to command and mobilize "the people" to pursue a different political target in the existing order. The power that tended to change the existing structure is so potential subversion, that the ruling class could not tolerate the survival of it. For this reason, for all participants, even Batman, the final battle was totally a class struggle. In order to defend the fundamental political and economic system, participants were allowed and even encouraged to cross procedural justice to directly kill the rebels.

Segregation in Eko Atlantic A Governmental Let-down

Nerma Muhovic

Towards Urban Revolution?

In *Rebel Cities*, as a radical Marxist, David Harvey advocates people to “struggle for the collective right to decide how that system shall be reconstructed” (p164), and states that three thesis are necessary mutation from a struggle to an anti-capitalist revolution (p138-140). The following part of the essay will test whether these thesis could promote a successful revolution by applying them to Bane’s revolution.

Firstly, strong and vibrant local support is necessary for the success of the struggles; “this presumes that strong links between workers and local populations already exist or can be quickly constructed”. In *The Dark Knight Rise*, Bane and his corps hide in the underground pipes, where the underlying homeless people live. Apparently, Bane and his corps prepared for a long time in the underground city, and the reason for being unnoticed by Gotham is the protection and support from the underlying people, since they wished Bane could subvert the rule of the capitalist.

Secondly, Harvey states that to move toward an urban revolution, “the concept of work has to shift from a narrow definition attaching to industrial forms of labor to the far broader terrain of the work entailed in the production and reproduction of an increasingly urbanized daily life”. That is to say, the struggles have to involve more than only one labor class. Meanwhile, he states that “it is imperative that these populations (urban mobs and lumpenproletariat) now be embraced as crucial to, rather than excluded from, anti-capitalist politics”. However, in *The Dark Knight Rise*, it is these mobs that evolve Gotham into a society without laws and justice, a society entirely ruled by them, a society that has no brighter future than the financial capitalist society. So in the end, Batman and the justice police launched the ultimate re-liberation war for Gothamite.

Finally, Harvey states that both exploitation and recuperation of the surplus produced claims have to have to be given equal status during the struggle process. Indeed, in *The Dark Knight Rise*, to arouse people’s opportunism, Bain commitment to the citizens of Gotham that court would be held, and started the trials of financial capitalists and political elites. Under Bain’s brutal rule, the underlying people also started random trials, predatory and executing towards the rich, which resulted in a depressed and dilapidated city.

Perhaps, in the views of radical left-wingers, violence could not be avoided in real revolution. In *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* in Gotham City, Žižek points out that there were monstrous mass killings and violence in actual revolutions, from Stalinism to Khmer Rouge, and the problem with the movie is that it wrongly translated this violence into murderous terror (2012). However, not every ordinary person is as radical as the left-wingers. The *Dark Knight Rise* indeed evokes instinctual fear in the hearts of audiences: people are likely to turn into mobs in the French

Revolution at any time, and drag the others into chaos. Thus, this picture describing the violent revolution could particularly arise strong resonance among ordinary audiences.

In the end of *The Dark Knight Rise*, Batman saved Gotham - this nearly destroyed city after uprising and revolutionary by sacrificing himself. This kind of highly idealized hero could only exist in fiction movies, the solution for dealing with internal social conflicts of the capitalist society is not class struggle, but the transformation of capitalists. In real world, it is impossible to appear such a hero to save people from the economic and political system of capitalism. Only people could save themselves. Another urban revolution? Only time will say if it will be a successful communist society or just another brutal dictatorship for people.

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Picture 1 of *The Dark Knight Rise*: <http://img6.douban.com/view/photo/raw/public/p1563972518.jpg>

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The citizens of Lagos, Nigeria, are expecting a strong segregation as a result of the new city development Eko Atlantic. The project involves a completely new city built on reclaimed land from the ocean by private and often foreign investors. Promises regarding job opportunities and branding that indicates sustainability has upset inhabitants and local citizen groups. Voices against the government are raised, questioning their ignorance and greed. Through Fainstein’s (2010) idea on justice, the development of Eko Atlantic is evaluated. Concluding that social mix can be an answer to the problem, and that social aspects need to be given more space in the decisional process as well as the fact that planning experts need to take more responsibility, this essay contends that Eko Atlantic has a far way to go in order to be considered a just city.

Africa is the continent expected to experience the largest growth in population. The main reason behind this rapid growth is the development of Eko Atlantic, a new city that will rise from the Atlantic Ocean (Haub, 2012). As the current largest development in Africa, the consequences of Eko Atlantic, Nigeria, will have significant impact not only at the local scale, but on a national and most likely global scale as well. To meet the new demands, expectations of new city developments have changed significantly. This implies that new urban developments need to propose contemporary solutions that can face these changes in order to be successful. The development plan for Eko Atlantic assures sustainable solutions. However, adversaries to the development have noted negative impacts in the social, environmental and economic dimensions, dimensions in which Eko Atlantic is branded to be eminent in.

In this essay, I will analyse the social dimension to the new city development of Eko Atlantic through a social justice perspective with a focus on citizen segregation provided by privatisation. Segregation is contemporary in the 21st century and possesses an international reach, lacking geographical borders and is therefore a highly relevant matter. Privatisation is considered to be a contributing factor to segregation, and attempts on how to solve issues of segregation are suggested to be through social mix. For that reason, I will evaluate whether social mix is a possible solution. In order for Eko Atlantic to become a city development characterised by its justice, the essay will highlight the importance of the planning process and suggest actions as to how the planning process can be improved.

False Branding?

Eko Atlantic, a new town that will rise from the Atlantic Ocean, is a significant factor behind Africa’s rapid population growth and studies suggest that the population will double in Africa by the year 2050 (Haub, 2012). This means an anticipated population of well over 400 million people in Nigeria, a country that is already Africa’s most populous nation. In order to face the challenges of population growth, new cities are being built, often from scratch. This is the case of Eko Atlantic in Lagos. Like many new city developments, Eko Atlantic is labelled as modern for our time; it claims to face the challenge of an increasing population as well as environmental issues. According to the Sales Office, the plan for the new city asserts that new employment opportunities will be created (Eko Atlantic Sales Office, 2012). This is met with scepticism. The Chagoury Group, a body organising companies within construction and real estate in West Africa, highlights the fact that there is no statement as to how many, or what kind of permanent jobs, the project will create (2012). Furthermore, The Chagoury Group underlines that the social differences within Lagos’ society are likely to increase; a deeper division between classes will be created (2012). Watson, who states that the creation of Eko Atlantic will lead to a spatial segregation of rich and poor and that it will increase social inequality on an unprecedented scale, confirms these sentiments (Watson, 2013).



Reclaimed land from the ocean.
Photo: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung



The fishing community Makoko, Lagos.
Photo: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung

Justice through Equity, Diversity, and Democracy

In order for the development of Eko Atlantic to counter inequalities between residential groups and spatial segregation, I have turned to *The Just City* by Susan Fainstein to study the concept of justice. Even though there is no precise definition of what the concept of justice comprehends, Fainstein (2010) elaborates the importance of three basic elements: equity, diversity, and democracy. Equity is described as reasonable resemblance, and is preferable to the term equality, as the latter is considered to be too demanding (Fainstein, 2010). In a just context, equity indicates the idea of redistribution of governmental contributions and efforts in favour of exposed minorities in the society. Diversity is mentioned as important for a just planning process, but is not necessarily the best starting-point; on the contrary, homogeneity and trust can often compose a solid base for communities (Fainstein, 2010). The third component, democracy, was once founded to offer inhabitants and citizen groups with less impact a chance to influence the political elite. The notion that no group should be privileged is crucial in democracy. Democracy represents the idea of everyone's equal right to be heard and was for a long time considered to be the answer to all problems. Fainstein stresses that public participation in planning, either directly or through representation, is of central importance in the discussion about the just city (2010). Yet, democracy is far from enough. Fainstein argues that the occurrence of dominance is too high in planning and that there is a lack of consensus on whether the political debate is genuine (2010). Because of this, tendencies in not exposing the actual result of political decisions, combined with obstruction of the processes behind are more common (Fainstein, 2010).

Justice in the Planning Process

The new city development described in this essay has affected the urban sphere of Lagos in more than one way. Often, however, these outcomes have been argued to be of unjust character.

Generally, the planning process is considered to be important in order for key aspects to come together and result in the best possible solutions. Within the process, the decision-making phase is highly important and has been the centre of attention within most of the recent critical theory within planning and public policy making (Fainstein, 2010). Today, there is a higher transparency demand in planning and policy making. Decision-making is a platform on the political level and is solely for politicians (Fainstein, 2010). However, Fainstein (2010) argues that if planners act as experts in their area, they can achieve power to affect political responsibility. This, however, requires political systems that allow stronger influence from experts to politicians.

Studying Eko Atlantic, it becomes clear that the planning process differs from those I have come across in other projects. It differs from planning processes that I am used to mainly in two ways. First, the government appears to be involved to a very high extent in comparison to educated planners. This is for instance recognised by the fact that land has been sold to the highest payer where negative impacts in the environmental, economic, or social dimension have not been evaluated (Watson, 2013). Secondly, the planning process is of closed nature. It is difficult to access information and there are no strategies as to how current problems in Lagos can be solved through the development of Eko Atlantic.

The Threat of Privatisation

The private funding for Eko Atlantic has given foreign private investors the possibility to be involved. In order to manage the finances, the cooperation between national and international investors has been necessary. The presence of private investors provides the project with exposure on the global stage. Exposure of this kind allows for consequences within the theme of privatisation.

The approach to attracting investors has been through strategic branding, and branding the development as environmentally friendly and sustainable has proved successful. As a result of its environmental preparations, in the early stage of planning, as well as in the development phase, Eko Atlantic is a very unique project. The Atlantic shore of Lagos has lost more than two kilometres of coastline over the past hundred years and this project is committed to reclaim the land from the ocean. This process has already taken several years and has been conducted in numerous stages. One of the stages is the construction of the land, the foundation of Eko Atlantic. The creation of the foundations has been led by Dredging International, a Belgian engineering company that offered the best deal for this project (Eko Atlantic, 2015). A later stage is to maintain the shore and protect it from the natural processes caused by the ocean. The world-renowned Danish Hydraulic Research Centre, has executed vigorous tests to ensure that the engineering design is sufficient for its purpose (Eko Atlantic Sales Office). Most of the contractors and partners are foreign investors contributing with their special skills and making the development possible (Watson, 2013). According to Watson (2013), private companies that have performed jobs such as the ones mentioned above have negotiated with the government of Nigeria for their own interest, and offering jobs to private firms easily result in well-performed work but lack in evaluation of consequences that can emerge.

Overlooked Citizens

Consequences of new city developments always affect the local inhabitants in one way or another. Such consequences are many times positive, as projects can lead to increased economy through new inhabitants as well as increased attention to the city. Occasionally, however, the consequences tend to be negative as they can lead to dissatisfaction or even displacement, typical examples of injustice. Fainstein (2010) argues that justice is not persistently aspired; policy-making outcomes will not be just. Segregation is one of many representations of injustice, it takes

different shapes and depends on various factors. As Eko Atlantic seeks to operate in the global context, local citizens may be forgotten. Integration of citizens into the new plan is commonly ignored, yet this should be an important consideration due to issues of poverty, poor living conditions and the threat of sea level rise, ocean surges and unpredictable weather events. Okun Alfa is a community where fishing, farming and trading are the primary occupations, but where ocean surges are common and natural disasters have destroyed big parts of the infrastructure (The Chagoury Group, 2012). On top of this, dredging activities and sand filling in favour of Eko Atlantic have increased these impacts. The poorer inhabitants of communities such as Okun Alfa do not have the funds for the necessary actions to elevate their homes in order to keep them safe, nor do they have the funds to move to a safer area (The Chagoury Group, 2012).

Through the presence of private companies and the subsequent influx of migrant workers, Eko Atlantic will become diverse. Bringing new cultures and religions together, Eko Atlantic will undoubtedly develop into a mixed city. Unfortunately, this is limited to the borders of Eko Atlantic. The situation can be considered as a governmental non-action, showing a vast amount of ignorance towards the citizens.

Is Social Mix a Solution?

The main reason behind the segregation in Lagos is according to Watson (2013) that Eko Atlantic is most likely to be occupied by local and international business interests and middle class residents. This distribution will lead to a spatial segregation where wealthy citizens will resident the new city development whilst local inhabitants need to leave their homes in order to make place for new residents (Watson, 2013). Would a development that favours social mix solve problems caused by the planned distribution in Eko Atlantic?

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There are no clear indications that social mix leads to integration. There is, according to Sarkissian (1976, p. 243), a lack of empirical evidence that support the claims of those who favour residential mix. Diversity can be an opportunity but also a barrier. It is often argued that residents tend to have ties with people who are like them, and that even though community facilities are provided in mixed areas, they do not automatically make residents more likely to connect with those of other backgrounds for example. The question whether social mix leads to integration and justice is difficult to answer. Even though advantages of mixed areas can be difficult to study, consequences need to be thoroughly evaluated.

Absence of Political Interest in Social Aspects

Goals for the three elements equity, diversity and democracy are often difficult to combine in reality. The main problem is that there is a lack of majority sentiments in the world of politics (Fainstein, 2010). Politicians on decision-making level are often more interested in economic growth rather than welfare issues. Privatisation is one current trend that can minimise strives for justice in policy planning by redirecting politician's attention from the subject. Eliminating public monopolies and municipal services, the creation of privatised, customised, and networked urban infrastructure through competitive logics and privatised management, has been extended. In recent years, leaders and urban regimes in Western Europe and the United states have been affected to focus narrowly on economic growth as their objective, as well as to enter into intense competitions for private investments (Fainstein, 2010). Competitions in the sphere of city developments often result in the largest financial investor gaining the most from a project rather than the most creative or capable investor. This has lead to the fact that choices concerning where to locate amenities such as parks or cultural facilities have become warped by considerations of their economic, rather than social, values (Fainstein, 2010). The government of Nigeria displays an example of this behaviour. In the case of Eko Atlantic, the government has allowed for private investors to perform their jobs, an approach that can be considered as unjust if negative consequences are permitted to take place or not even studied in the first place. that can emerge from social mix argue that it is a concept worth trying. In Eko Atlantic, social mix can lead to tolerance and integration. It is however of great importance to

expand the idea of social mix beyond the borders of the new city development, as it needs to comprehend local inhabitants for the city of Lagos not to be characterised by segregation. In order for social mix to be implemented in the development it needs to be considered early in the planning process. This responsibility falls on politicians and planners, or in the case of Eko Atlantic, the government.

Future Improvements and Today's Reality

I have through this study demonstrated the difficulties in separating economic, environmental and social dimensions, as they have proven to be linked in several ways. Even though the paper focuses narrowly on segregation as a result of privatisation within the social aspect, it is strongly connected to both the economic as well as in the environmental dimension. It is of high importance to be aware of these difficulties in an early planning phase. Being aware of all possible consequences in other dimensions is vitally important in order to face issues of rapid urban growth and the problems associated with segregation. In order for Eko Atlantic, as well as for any other new city development, to become a just city, the whole picture needs to be considered. Elements assessing the social dimension need to be integrated into the planning process and politicians as well as planners need to take their responsibility for this to be realised.

For Eko Atlantic to be considered as a just city, I believe that many actions need to be implemented. One of them has been shown in this essay and states that the government need to develop a political system that allows stronger influence from experts. For now, however, the development of Eko Atlantic has shown disappointing results in terms of modern thinking. Preparations for new international residents do not face the issue of an increased population; they encourage even more people. This is a problem, especially when existing poor communities are not being considered. A spatial segregation and deeper division between classes are problematic issues. Providing hope of a better future but not realising it is a severe disappointment. The promises of increased employment seem to only have been for the sake of attracting investors.

Neoliberalism in Planning Cities for Who?

Ben Murray

This essay will examine the critique of city planning and space within “Cities for People, not for profit: Critical urban theory and the right to the city”, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer (2012). The authors examine how cities have been moulded by globalization processes and the rise of neoliberal policy-making and planning. The drive for profit-making and the privatization of space has led to numerous spatial and social injustices, pushing people out of the equation and replacing them with the goal of profit-making. This essay will analyse how space in cities is suffering and how cities can become exclusive rather than inclusive. This will include discussing how ‘a sense of place’ and place identity have been affected by pro-growth planning policies and what this means for people in urban areas. The process of gentrification will be analysed in terms of how it affects equality within society. Richard Florida’s urban theory on ‘creative cities’ is applied in many cities around the world, however the practice is criticized by Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer due to its ramifications. These theories will be compared with the example of Belfast, Northern Ireland with spatial justice conflicts being explored and current practices critiqued.

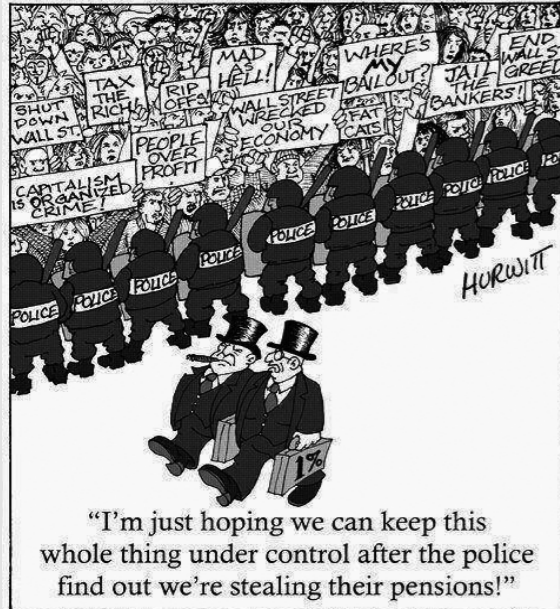
Ben Murray is originally from the Queen's University of Belfast in Northern Ireland. He is currently on the Erasmus Exchange Programme at KTH for 1 year, and is in his final year of studying for his master's degree in European Planning.

Introduction

In the past century, the world we know has witnessed dramatic change with the rise of globalization: advancing technologies and communications have helped to greatly reduce spatial distance and global networks have quickly been established. With this, the neoliberal engine had roared into full throttle and economic growth has quickly become the main priority of governments. The neoliberal agenda of turning a quick profit has saturated many planning systems, strategies and policies. As a result, numerous injustices have emerged due to disregard or neglect. Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer’s ‘Cities for people, not for profit: Critical urban theory and the right to the city’ (2012) discusses how these process are affecting space and society within urban areas, how people are being replaced by profit as the main consideration in developments. Through this, society is becoming more segregated and public space is becoming privatized. Are politicians and planners losing their way? This article will begin by discussing how globalization and neoliberalism are shaping planning in urban areas, before going onto discussing how processes such as gentrification is affecting social and spatial justice. This will involve critically analysing Richard Florida’s popular ‘creative class’ concept, and how it affects cities and people. The city of Belfast in Northern Ireland will be used as a case study to connect the theories and concepts presented in the aforementioned book to a real life example, focussing specifically on the Titanic Quarter redevelopment. Are planners acting accordingly, are they planning with the public good in mind, or just profit? The article will then conclude with how my personal perspective has been transformed, as well as suggesting some possible remedial or alternative approaches which could be used in the future.

Globalization and neoliberalism in planning

Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2012) set the scene of their book by firstly introducing how the process of globalization and the rise of neoliberalism have redefined urban planning practice in today’s world. New technologies and improved communications have helped to create the global society that we live in today, where spatial distances are minor problems for things like travel and trade. The vast amount of global networks has spurned an unprecedented level of global competitiveness, where places contend with each other for tourists, investors and companies; this is seen at all levels, from the international level where countries compete, right down to the city level. This drive to be more competitive and to maximize economic growth is known as neoliberalism, where profit-making is the main goal and incentive. The authors explain that this is merely an extension of capitalism, and it has transformed city planning as development is now geared towards maximizing economic growth and profit. Urban space is being used a profit-making tool in the “process of profit-driven urbanization” (p.2); it is being commodified. Schmid, in Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2012) discusses how cities have moved from being arenas of simple transactions and exchange markets, to the space within them being used



Corporate, economic interests of growth and profit have taken precedence over people in cities, leaving the masses feeling betrayed and ignored. Source- Illustrator: Mark Hurwitz. Sourced from www.blackcommentator.com (2011)

as a commodity. Referring to it as the “commodification of the urban” (p.55) Schmid discusses how it is not the land itself being used as a resource, but the social space and the values that are attributed to it. This exploitation of space for economic gain has huge conflicts with spatial justice issues- should planners not be acting to preserve these spaces? Are these public spaces not what makes cities unique, and does this not define them? Indeed, this threatens the cultural values of spaces, the personal associations which local people attribute to places that have personal meaning or significance. Spaces are becoming less public and more private.

The Privatization of Space

With urban space being commodified it is becoming more common for public spaces to become more private and exclusionary. Neoliberal-style planning is causing a new type of public space to be created, typically these spaces are created to cater for a certain social or economic group. Hou (2010, p.2) captures the meaning of public space well- they are public spheres that provide “relief from dense urban districts and structured everyday life”, places where people can escape from the stress of urban life and engage and interact with other people; they typically emanate a cathartic effect. These spaces are also “collective expressions of a city” and are “depositories of personal memories” (Hou, 2010, p.2); people attribute these places with collective personal meanings and expressions, giving these public areas ‘a sense of place’. These places do not necessarily need to have a historic value, they merely need to be a place that a lot of people share an attachment with, or feel a connection to.

However, these types of places are being eroded and public space, places which everyone uses and shares, are being replaced with more private spaces which cater for more individual personal interests, or other private interests. The collective empathy and identity people associate with these spaces is slowly being lost as more ‘globalized’ spaces are created, places which aim to cater for only certain groups and are often exclusionary. Usher (2002, p.48) captures this dilemma well:

“the de-realisation and de-territorialisation of place associated with the growth of globalisation and



The masterplan vision for the Titanic Quarter regeneration project: An inclusive space for all to use, or a hub for create classes? Source- Original photo: Titanic Quarter Ltd. (no date) Website: <http://titanic-quarter.com/about/futureprojctcs>

symbolic exchange results in a loss of social meaning and disruption of established sense of community and identity.”

Hou (2010, p.6)

Hou makes a good point by saying that by privatizing public space, democracy is being threatened. Public spaces are arenas for democracy due to them being open to everyone, no one owns anything, and everyone is an equal. However, privatizing these spaces and making them more exclusive certainly conflicts with this and creates quite a significant social and spatial injustice. The drive for profit and providing for groups who are deemed more valuable to the economy has caused these injustices and loss of true ‘public’ space; neoliberalism has converted “complex, multiuse public space into a one-dimensional venue for consumption” (Barber, 2001, p. 203). It is also more and more common to see new public spaces created that have a certain blandness to them; they lack character and normal public attributes because they are being created with a more ‘globalized’ image in mind. These are new developments which often have architectural styles and designs that can be seen in many cities and this reduces uniqueness, local cultural identity, and ‘a sense of place’. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as ‘urban blandness’. Schmid, in Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2012), says that this puts limits on social productivity and also detrimentally affects one of the main advantages of urban public space- it curtails “the possibility of unexpected, unplanned encounters and interactions” (p.57), things which define an area and give it character.

Gentrification and creative cities

Competitiveness and profit-making goals within planning systems have led to a very common practice within urban settings in today’s world: the process of gentrification. The most consensual definition of this is the upgrading of urban areas via the injection of investment in order to revitalize formerly run-down or economically deprived areas. However, Freeman (2005) expands upon this, arguing that gentrification involves transforming lower-income or working class areas into higher-income middle class areas. Freeman critiques the equality conflicts and injustices this process has by pointing out that socio-economic gaps will be created and displacement can occur. Certain socio-economic

groups can be pushed away as other, more ‘productive’ classes of people are attracted. Indeed, this certainly raises questions as to how democratic this process is: how can this be an inclusive process if it is only catering for certain groups? However, it certainly echoes a point mentioned earlier by Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2012), that this seems to be an extension of the capitalistic cycle that has infiltrated planning.

This leads into developing and gentrifying for ‘creative’ classes. This concept was popularised by Richard Florida’s work on “creative cities” (2005), a theory which encourages developments that cater for ‘creative’ classes. These are usually young, professional and well-educated people who work or are highly skilled in the arts or science fields, such as film, fashion or graphic designers, architects, or people involved in Information Technology (IT). Florida advocates that these types of people are the next step in making cities prosperous and successful. This is a very popular concept and examples of this type of planning can be seen in cities all over the world. Typical practice involves gentrifying run-down areas and building fanciful apartments and office or studio space, as well as large open public spaces. However, this type of planning is heavily criticized by many for several reasons, mainly that it is simply the next step in neoliberal-style planning and it is all in the name of economic growth and competitiveness.

Peck (2005) is one of main critics of these creative cities, saying that they are intensifying social exclusion and class-division. This type of planning is made to cater for a particular socio-economic group, one that is considered to be valuable to the economy and worth investing in. The developments are often expensive to live in and are only affordable for those who they are purposed for, displacing other social classes and minorities. An interesting way to perceive these types of developments is that they are like gated communities, minus the walls and locked gates. Instead of a physical barrier separating people, there is a class, income and educational barrier. This is certainly a very unjust practice as planners are not planning for all people. Yes, they are planning for these ‘creative’ people, however do planners and governments see them as people, or merely as a form of economic capital that should be preserved and invested in? I certainly agree that this is case, that profit-making and nurturing a competitive resource is taking precedence over planning for people.

Belfast, Northern Ireland: A case study

So far, this article has mostly discussed abstract theories and concepts, however now these will be applied to a real world example in order to gauge how accurate they really are. I have selected the capital city of Northern Ireland, Belfast, and will focus in particular on its Titanic Quarter redevelopment. The reason for this choice is because I personally think this is a great area; it has been recently redeveloped and it looks great, with lots of open space and a lot of interesting land uses and sites. However, I have started to look at it in a different light after considering these theories and concepts; I have questioned my previous perceptions and these will show through my analysis of this case study.

The Titanic Quarter is a large area located on the Belfast docks, on the site whose namesake is owed to the famous vessel, RMS

Titanic, an ill-fated ship that was the largest ship afloat at the time and sank on her maiden voyage across the North Atlantic Ocean. From the mid-19th to the mid-20th Centuries, the dockyards in Belfast were an extremely industrious area, employing thousands of people in manufacturing, mostly shipbuilding. The industries there helped to define Belfast as an industrial powerhouse in the United Kingdom (UK) at the time, and they are considered to be an important part of the city’s heritage and history. Towards the end of the 20th Century, demand for such industries has dried up and most business migrated into Asia, causing the area to suffer from deindustrialization. This is one of the main reasons why in recent years a masterplan was conceived with the vision of revitalizing and regenerating the area. The regeneration project is still ongoing, however the area is slowly beginning to take shape. There are large, open spaces and high-rise apartments; many high-tech and tertiary companies have located to the site, such as IBM, Citi and Microsoft; a lot of research and development is carried out on-site, as it is home to the Northern Ireland Science Park; and there are numerous cultural and arts developments, such as the Titanic signature building and filming studios which have been used to film and produce shows such as HBO’s *Game of Thrones*.

I hope I have conveyed why I see this place as a very successful regeneration achievement, to make such huge changes to such a large area is certainly commendable. However, from the theory discussed previously, the ‘success’ of this case study could certainly be questioned and critiqued. The whole project seems to be a perfect reflection of ‘creative class’ planning: all of the companies that have been attracted are large, multi-national companies in the tertiary sectors. Such employment is obviously only possible for those who are highly skilled and have a good educational background and in terms of accommodation, the high prices mean only those with high incomes can afford to live there. Murtagh (2010, p.2) characterizes this as an “elite investment site”, a place which only has elite, ‘creative’ industries and people in mind. Murtagh continues by saying that this type of development is contributing to a “twin-speed city” in Belfast, where those who are deemed to have valuable skills to the economy are becoming more prosperous, and those who have little education or redundant skills are being left behind and ignored;

“A twin-speed city has emerged in the past decade in which those with the education and skills are doing well in key growth sectors whilst those without resources are increasingly corralled in the sink estates of the ‘gray city.’”

(Murtagh, 2010, p.2)

This point shows that the Titanic Quarter regeneration is not exactly ‘all inclusive’. In addition, the project has displaced and neglected those who nearby to the site. Only a few hundred metres from the docks is the large residential area, Ballymacarrett, one of the most economically deprived wards in all of Northern Ireland (NISRA, 2010). This residential area used to house many of the workers who were employed by the industries previously located in the Titanic Quarter before it deindustrialized, and many current families there have links to the ship-building industry. Yet these people are being left behind- how can these

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people possibly be included in such a regeneration project, and will they ever see any boost to their quality of life? It seems that the answer is no. Kelly (2012, p.46) captures this well saying that neoliberal planning advocates 'trickle-down' economics as the solution to such segregation, yet to believe that "some of this will somehow, someday, make its way back into the hands of ordinary people" is fanciful and naive.

This analysis shows that the Titanic Quarter may not be as socially sustainable that the project claims to be, and that it does not exactly meet the goal of creating an inclusive and equal opportunity area for all people. Yes, it is an impressive redeveloped cultural and economic hub, however it has clearly neglected lower-income groups and the working classes in favour of the creative elite. Now, I can see that perhaps I was looking at the Titanic Quarter through rose-tinted glasses and I did not think of who the development was really for. Now, I can see that the project still needs work and that the planners should strive to draw up more inclusive strategies to tackle the injustices of displacement, segregation and privatizing public space.

Conclusions: Are planners fulfilling their role?

The purpose of this essay has been to question whether planners are planning cities with people in mind or profit. The neoliberal agenda of prioritizing economic growth has infiltrated the planning system and is seen in urban environments everywhere. As a result, people and their spatial rights are now seen as secondary considerations and consequently they are subject to neglect and injustice. This begs the question, is this how planning is done now? What happened to the moral obligations of planners, to be unbiased decision-makers and mediators when considering developments and policy? One of the main purposes of a planning system is to plan for the public good, in the public interest, not to cater for private, corporate profiteering. The Titanic Quarter in Belfast certainly has a lot to answer for: Planning Policy Statement 1: General Principles (PPS1) is the overarching

planning policy document in Northern Ireland and provides strict outlines and guidance for decision-making. It states that the purpose of the planning system is,

"...to regulate the development and use of land in the public interest. The public interest requires that all development is carried out in a way that would not cause demonstrable harm to interests of acknowledged importance."

(DOENI, 1998, p.4)

Are the people of Ballymacarrett not deemed to be of "acknowledged importance"? The fact that this development conflicts with the written purpose of NI's planning system shows how problematic the situation is, that economic goals take precedence over society. Nevertheless, perhaps this "twin-speed city" cycle can be broken in Belfast, and displacement and socio-spatial injustices can be mitigated through better planning practice. Ideally, leaving behind the neoliberal-style goals would be a solution, however this seems rather utopian. Instead, perhaps providing equal housing, employment and education opportunities is the way forward; this way, class-selective development could fade. One of the most important solutions would be to ensure that public spaces are indeed 'public', that they are unbiased and open to all, and that a 'sense of place' is returned to the city. It's not only about giving power back to the people, but giving power back to place also.

Change In Seattle: Nostalgia for a City Which is Not Lost

Colin Poff

In the wake of rapid urbanization and growing inequality in cities, Henry Lefebvre's notion of "the right to the city" has been resurfaced and nuanced by many urban theorists. David Harvey writes in *Rebel Cities* about how the right to the city is as threatened as ever today, due to a rise in neoliberal policies and land speculation, among other dangers. This article reviews Harvey's arguments and applies them to Seattle, WA; a quickly growing city experiencing controversy over new developments in its South Lake Union neighborhood. Amidst rising rents and fading character, Seattle residents that are critical often express their dissatisfaction through nostalgia, as if the city has already been sold out and lost. I argue that while these worries are not unfounded, hope is not lost for Seattle. In fact, Seattle's growth offers many benefits and opportunities, given that planners and policy-makers have the right priorities.

Colin Poff is a visiting student from the University of Washington in Seattle where he is getting his Masters in Urban Planning. He is interested in how urban design relates to sense of place, people's behavior, and quality of life.

Intro

While it wasn't long ago that the decline of inner cities was a major problem, today people talk more about gentrification. Companies are increasingly moving to city center locations in an attempt to attract young, talented, "creative class" individuals with urban amenities. Suburban malls are becoming less competitive and being replaced by increased consumerism in downtown areas. Tourism in world class cities grows every year. Naturally, urban land is becoming more and more valuable, and it's no surprise that governments aim to capitalize on these shifts by providing an advantageous regulatory framework, employing large infrastructure projects, marketing their cultural capital, or anything else that could make them more competitive in today's world. Many have ambitions of achieving, or at least maintaining, the status of a world class city. When a city becomes attractive to the outside, whether it be tourists, the creative class, tech companies, or speculators, this is indicative of a thriving place; one that is often full of authentic urban life, character, and culture. But what is the price to pay for success?

Seattle, Washington, where I have lived for some time, has a history of being a boom-bust city. Recent years have undoubtedly been a boom, and tensions run high. The tension can most simply be described as one between the new tech-worker filled, shiny, expensive Seattle, and the locals who remember something different. Some locals turn to nostalgia, a common response to change. For me, this has raised a lot of questions. Is there actually a reason to be nostalgic; aren't cities always changing? Isn't growth a good thing? If it weren't, wouldn't nostalgia be unproductive anyway?

The Marxist inspired theorist David Harvey writes in *Rebel Cities* about how cities are being consumed by a process that is arguably quite similar to what is happening in Seattle. His writings inspire feelings of both nostalgia and frustration. This article examines if Harvey's arguments can be applied to what is happening in the case of Seattle and discusses the motivations behind people's nostalgia. I provoke the idea that growth and change are potential opportunities, rather than threats. I also argue that nostalgia is a visceral, unproductive response to change in Seattle, while more forward thinking reforms to the planning process would be more effective.

David Harvey's Rebel Cities, and the Dilemma of Special Places

In *Rebel Cities*, David Harvey writes in an unabashed scathing fashion about the dangerous relationship between capitalism and urbanization. With that, he discusses how "successful" cities have increased economic efficiency by pursuing neoliberal policies, such as relaxing zoning laws to allow land to go to the highest bidder, despite the fact that "land is not a commodity in the ordinary sense (28)." Furthermore, he argues that the rollback of state welfare, large infrastructure projects, and privatization have enhanced neoliberalism's "assault on the qualities of daily life."



Vulcan Real Estate's Crane Hovers Above the City.
Image Taken by Colin Poff



A Poster Found Near a Cafe in South Lake Union.
Image Taken by Eric Guida

Cities are not like other commodities. The attributes that make them great are specific to space and location, and cannot be moved or replicated. When urban spaces become commodified, it means big business. In an age of concentrated capital manifesting in urbanization, the cities with the most "uniqueness" become attractive places to invest. And this is why the increasing branding of cities, for tourism, outside investors, or otherwise, can be seen as something pernicious.

As Harvey points out, capitalism is all about absorbing surplus value. But who produces value in urban areas? Is it the people who own the most land, or investors who buy homes in cash? No, it is those who define and enhance every day urban life. The bohemians, the cultural creators, the builders, the workers. The right to determine the future of cities then is a collective right, but often individual rights trump the collective sense of control, and rational planning favors the individual (property-based) needs over collective needs. When a high quality of urban life is created (as it is in world class cities), consumerism, tourism, knowledge-based industries, high rents, and "the economy of the spectacle (14)" usually follow. Ironically, those who created the quality urban life in the first place, might find themselves at a disadvantage in the city; both spatially and politically.

From a planner's perspective, growth and success in cities is a good thing, but Harvey argues that we need to be aware of "practical and personal dilemmas arising in the nexus between capitalist globalization, local political-economic developments, and the evolution of cultural meanings and aesthetic values (90)." Given these dilemmas, what are goals of planners today? Can we see examples of local authenticity in world class cities? A slogan such as New York's "building like Moses with Jane Jacobs in Mind," isn't particularly satisfying.

My humble city of Seattle is not exactly Manhattan, but some would say that it no longer looks anything like the Seattle that

they know. Posters can be found around the city telling tech-workers to leave, or protesting the construction of yet another zero-setback high-end apartment that is replacing a historic building. Harvey begins his book by describing a poster that he found in Paris in the 1970's which portrayed a scene full of all the joys of urban life. It was an idealized vision of an old, and better Paris, which may or not have existed. Perhaps this shows that nostalgia is a common feeling around the world; we just tend to see the past with rose-colored lenses, especially when change is happening in special places.

Controversy Caused by Seattle's Changing Skyline

Seattle is considered to have one of the hottest real estate markets in the United States. Its uniqueness - such as its natural setting, coffee culture, and diverse neighborhoods - has been a selling point for newly arrived companies such as Amazon. The tech giant has moved its headquarters to the downtown area of South Lake Union, and with it came the promise of a dynamic urban neighborhood at the cutting edge of innovation, and a tax base that would provide up to \$28 million for bike lanes, streetcars, parks, and more.

Amazon's recruitment video shows young, attractive, and diverse people lauding the unique vibe that can be found in Seattle; and it has worked. There are currently about 25,000 Seattle Amazon jobs, and the company wants to triple that number. But many in the city are unsure about, or even aggressively opposed to, the new prosperity. Op-eds in the Seattle Times have been written with a certain nostalgia, as if the city has already been lost. A popular article in Gawker began with, "Seattle is dead, and Amazon killed it." People decry the newfound popularity, citing times when they used to listen to grunge music at bars with beer for a nickel. The repetitive architectural form of new block-sized condominium (or "another metal box," as sarcastic posters like to call them) seem to be the new normal in charming neighborhoods. New residents in the area are usually working-

aged singles that make a strong market for expensive studios, but not housing for families. Generally speaking, people seemed to be worried that a mono-culture is creeping into Seattle's urban and social fabric, something that theorists such as Kevin Lynch and Jane Jacobs have warned about.

There is no doubt that the city is changing, and naturally, some of the old identity of Seattle will go with it. But does this change substantially threaten people's right to the city? Did the political process that led to the changes really only reflect the interests of the privileged few? David Harvey would certainly argue yes to both questions. 30% of the neighborhood is owned by Vulcan Real Estate, billionaire Paul Allen's company, which declares the area as "the opportunity of a lifetime." While modest changes to the neighborhood were initially proposed, the neighborhood was ultimately up-zoned by hundreds of feet to give it the capacity needed for Vulcan's dream to be realized. Amazon owns 11 of the neighborhood's buildings, with more being built, turning the urban neighborhood into a proxy for a corporate campus.

All of this is worrisome, but the nostalgia of local residents is an unproductive emotional response to a manageable situation. Furthermore, animosity toward Amazon and its 25,000 employees are misplaced and harmful to the future of the city. The problems that are hurting the middle class today are much larger than Amazon's corporate campus, and city governments unfortunately have little effect when faced with the size of these issues. The fact that large companies are now choosing urban environments can be seen as a good thing. For all of the potential harm, it does provide the opportunity for excellent urban design, better transit options, and rising property values for residents. It also prevents sprawling suburban business parks; the nemesis of planners. The construction of apartment units, however expensive they may be, does absorb some of the city's high housing demand. Seattle's always had a large corporate presence, and large employers such as Microsoft, Boeing and Starbucks come

with multiplier effects that help the local economy (that is, until they threaten to leave). This is not to say that people in Seattle are wrong to be cautious about change. The question is, how can we synthesize the need for economic development with local authenticity? In Seattle, it begins with changing unproductive narratives and distrust, and replace it with a better understanding of the dynamics that Harvey discusses, which actually do threaten the city. When faced with these dynamics, planners and policy makers need to understand that they have a choice. Lastly, we all need to embrace the concept of a place-based economy.

Growth Agendas for Special Places

David Harvey's evaluation of capitalism and neoliberalism's grip on urbanization is relevant and true, but his call for a radical change to the political-economic system is less compelling. Local economies and culture can still thrive today, even under immense pressure. It should be clear by now which regulations, investments, and plans benefit land speculators, and which ones benefit residents. While in the South Lake Union the architecture may be monotonous, the restaurants a little too polished, and rising rents threatening displacement of some, the appearance of Amazon does not mean doom for a resilient city such as Seattle. What became clear in the South Lake Union developments is a need for the City to strengthen local planning mechanisms and create a more inclusive process.

Planners need to be aware of today's power dynamics that threaten special places, and realize that they have a choice. Allen and Cochrane (2014) discuss urban regeneration, and argue that place has extended to global boundaries, where there is a "wider web of unequal interdependencies (1615)." Urbanism is a political act, but how space and society is organized has in many ways been usurped by capital that has little grounding in local economies. While cities can't be moved, in today's globalized world the capital that builds it unfortunately can come and go as it pleases. This can easily be seen in places like Reykjavik,

Everyone’s West Lake

The Urban Commons in Hangzhou

Longyun Ren

Holding the UNESCO world heritage site of West Lake, the city of Hangzhou is a popular tourist destination in Eastern China. A series of tourism developments brings capital’s power to West Lake and changes its form rapidly. In this progress, there is an inevitable tension between rural residents, city residents and capitalists. David Harvey exposes that the right to the city is an important part of city life in his book *Rebel Cities*. This essay relates some of his ideas with the situation in West Lake, especially how the urban commons are created. The essay also discusses the possibility of urban revolution in Hangzhou and whether there is a possible way to reach a more just and ecological city in a Chinese context.

Introduction

Hangzhou is the capital city of Zhejiang Province in Eastern China. Although its name may not be as familiar to westerners as Beijing or Shanghai, it is a large city with 21.102 million people in the metropolitan area. Hangzhou is famous both for its natural scenery and its historic relics. It is recognized as one of the most beautiful cities in China. There is an old Chinese saying: “Just as there is a paradise in heaven, there are Suzhou and Hangzhou on earth” (Shang you tiantang, Xia you Su Hang 上有天堂，下有苏杭). West Lake, a freshwater lake in the center of Hangzhou, is no doubt the city’s best-know attraction. No matter citizens of Hangzhou like it or not, West Lake welcomes millions of tourists from all over the world every year. The exact number of visitors per year is hard to get because the site is completely open to public and does not sell tickets. Despite these efforts municipality take to make West Lake a shared place for citizens, the power of capital permeates into the site, building private hotels and luxury clubs around the lake. Moreover, the rural residents who originally live in the mountainous area around West Lake are struggling to get back their rights to the land.

David Harvey points out that the right to the city is “*falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests*” in the first chapter of his book *Rebel Cities* (2012:23). However, there are some major difficulties on the long road from the right to the city to the urban revolution in a Chinese context. This essay focuses on how the right to the city is distributed and how the urban commons of West Lake are created in the frame of the book.

Whose West Lake?

Last summer, I visited Hangzhou together with my teacher and some of my classmates. We intended to evaluate how the old master plan of West Lake, which was established in 2005, was carried out in the past ten years. During the process we talked with the officers and planners in the municipality as well as the villagers who lived beside West Lake. I noticed that as tourism in Hangzhou is growing fast, the municipality and planners are facing a huge question when they tried to work out a new master plan for the next ten years: Who is having the right to West Lake?

According to Harvey, the right to the city is “*a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts’ desire*” (2012:4). In that case, if we look back at West Lake’s changes in the past ten years, we can see that there are three major social groups who have more or less claimed their rights to West Lake: the villagers living beside the lake, the citizens of Hangzhou, and the capitalists constructing around the lake.

The villagers from nine administrative villages have lived in the mountainous area around West Lake for generations. According to Chinese household registration system(Hukou system) that distinguish rural and urban residency status, the villagers can hold a certain amount of private land and collective land. They are the ones who grow tea tree, make traditional Longjing tea and sell

where neoliberal policies starting in the 1990’s led to speculative developments that were out of place and very problematic once the economic collapsed. Or during the Beijing Olympics, where massive infrastructure projects and investment took hold of a city during for a 2-week event. These are threats to the right to the city, and policy-makers need to resist these temptations.

In Seattle, the most lamented changes are quickly rising rents, congestion, and a fading local charm. These do seem like inevitable byproducts of a special place experiencing a boom. Luckily, planners in Seattle have the benefit of working in one of the country’s most attractive places, which provide them some freedom to mitigate potential issues and have control over the cities future. Because of this fact, policies, regulations, and investments that aim to reduce inequality would hardly effect the desirability of the city and instead lead to more sustainable futures. The sooner that this is realized, the more likely the city will be to avoid the mistakes made by world class cities that came before it.

In Susan Fainstein’s *The Just City*, she points out that planners can take a normative, value-based approach to planning. There is no value free planning and economic liberalism is itself an ideology. Planners need to better understand how to navigate this normative terrain, and set priorities accordingly. With this in mind, we should develop a planning criteria that values social well-being, aesthetics, and culture over profit. Fainstein also argues that planners need to become advocates, since under rational planning models “situations in which all social classes are proportionally represented will rarely occur (8).” Advocating for an inclusive process that consistently puts social and place value over exchange value is still a growth agenda, but one that makes more sense. The specifics of how to get to this point are not so clear, but it is clear that a reformist approach is just as likely as the radical approach that Harvey suggests. What is clearer, is that nostalgia and animosity toward high-paid tech-workers and \$15 hamburgers doesn’t help in either case; we need to think forward.

Forward-thinking would come with a lot of questions, which would hopefully lead to reasonable solutions. How can we promote a place-based, local economy? How can we increase the stock of affordable housing? Could the planning process in South Lake Union have better reflected collective interests, and demanded more of developers? Perhaps, the best thing that can be done, is find a way to build trust between people and their public institutions, which appears to be struggling at the moment. Swain and Taint (2007) attribute this to lack of trust to increasing economic liberalism and the risks that come with it, among other trends in society. Planners can build this trust by becoming advocates for sustainable growth, good urbanity, provision of public goods, and preservation. Similarly, Seattle can continue to attempt to become a world class city, as long as the new can integrate with the old; something that can definitely be achieved

if planners and architects will take on that responsibility. At the least, we could learn from mistakes made in South Lake Union.

Jane Jacobs argued that change was a good thing, but that it must be gradual. She also hailed the importance of diverse urban environments and an economic model that provides niches for all types of people. South Lake Union does not pass with flying colors in either aspect, but in the larger scheme of things, the City of Seattle remains an authentic, special place. With all of the recent debate and outrage, there appears to be a base of engaged local citizens and policy-makers intent on keeping it that way.

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West Lake was crowded with people on holidays. Photo by James Vanas (2014). Accessed via <https://www.flickr.com/photos/sdstaminajim/13689452933/>



A village beside West Lake. Photo by Longyun Ren (2015).

tea to customers. Monopoly rent of the land around West Lake is created in the same way as in Harvey's example of vineyard. Harvey argues that "the vineyard producing wine of extraordinary quality that can be sold at a monopoly price," and "the monopoly price creates the rent" (as cited in 2012:91). Currently most of the villagers' income come from rent of the land, which is consistent with Harvey's explanation.

Unlike the villagers, the citizens don't have their own land. However, they also claims their right to West Lake through using it and changing its infrastructure. Besides, the citizens are the ones who drink tea, classify each kind of tea and create tea culture, thus give monopoly rent to the land of West Lake. In fact, citizens are the most reasonable group to enjoy the benefits of tourist development, because they are holding "the power of collective symbolic capital" (Harvey 2012:103). With the specific advantage attached to the city, citizens can rely on the power that can draw in the flows of capital.

The capitalists play a not-so-pleasant role in this game of three players. They change the public space by occupying lands with good vision of the lake. Luxury hotels and clubs built on the hills beside West Lake only serve a small part of people who possess more politic or economic power, but they obviously destroy the shared landscape.

It is noteworthy that apart from these three major groups, some other groups also somehow have the right to the West Lake, for example the tourists from outside of the city, the municipality and the planner. But tourists are not bringing so much physical changes to the space and they ask for basically the same thing as the citizens. The municipality and planners play the role of mediator in a Chinese context. We can admit that all the three groups have some right to West Lake. Therefore the question of "Whose West Lake?" is thrown back to the planners again when they make decisions. Harvey generally calls people to fight

against capitalism in the book *Rebel Cities*. It seems that he is taken "the people" and "capitalists" as two opposite groups, while in my opinion things are a bit more complicated in the West Lake and at least three groups are joining this battle for right. It is true that both the villagers and the citizens are trying to reclaim their rights from capitalists, but we should not treat them as a homogeneous group of people because they have different aims: people in rural area want to have the right to build freely on their private land while people in urban area want to keep the land public enough to be urban commons.

Creating urban commons

The direct cause of the tension between the three groups is the municipality's guidelines to make West Lake a public welfare, or as Harvey put it, urban commons. In 2001, West Lake was made a UNESCO World Heritage Site with the efforts of municipality. It was a huge step in the development of tourism in Hangzhou, making West Lake even more attractive. On the other hand, the protection requirements of World Heritage give a weapon to the municipality to fight against the increasingly strong power of private capital in the West Lake area. Taking the opportunity, the 2002-2020 master plan of West Lake was established to repair and regulate a list of attractions around the lake. It also proposed that the tea culture in West Lake should be protected by strictly protecting the land used to grow tea trees and the original ways to pick and fry the tea. But most importantly, a large amount of attractions around West Lake have been free of charge since 2002.

Being free of charge is only one thing that turns West Lake into urban commons. The more essential part is that citizens take political action to appropriate them. Harvey says,

"The common is not to be construed, therefore, as a particular kind of thing, asset or even social process, but as an unstable and malleable social relation between a

particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood."

(Harvey 2012:73)

So how do the villagers, the citizens and the capitalists react to claim their rights to West Lake? In villages, all kinds of construction are strictly banned in the name of protecting nature resources. We have heard villagers complained about not have enough houses to live because they were banned to build new houses even if their children had grown up and wanted to live separately. One villager confessed that he had to "smuggle" some wood and bricks to repair his leaking roof – or he would have to wait forever for the approval to bring the repairing materials into the village. They do not have enough parking lots, primary schools, hospitals or other facilities either. Thus, most of the young people run away from their declining villages to work in Hangzhou city or somewhere else, leaving the old people and the old house behind. Only a few people still grow tea.

These villages are representatives of urbanization happening on the vast land of rural China. Harvey precisely describes this process: "Urbanization, we may conclude, has played a crucial role in the absorption of capital surpluses and has done so at ever-increasing geographical scales, but at the price of burgeoning processes of creative destruction that entail the dispossession of the urban masses of any right to the city whatsoever" (Harvey 2012:22). In this case, the loss of farmers' rights to the land is considered to be the necessary sacrifices in the urbanization progress. The municipality of Hangzhou is well aware of the problems the villagers are facing, but chooses to ignore it, probably because this is the easiest way to prevent the population in West Lake area from growing and minimize the environmental effects to the forests and the water. The city residents, however, generally welcomes the policy to open West

Lake as a free park because they are able to share the urban commons that they have created. Moreover, not only West Lake but also other parks are open for free. The citizens now have the space for holding events. Many cultural and recreational activities of different scales such as music festivals are held in parks in Hangzhou, which makes it a creative and attractive city. Besides, the citizens are able to share the benefit with visitors, which is helpful to build an impressive image for the city of Hangzhou. Although free parks are not unusual in developed countries, it is rare in China. For the municipality, giving the public space back to its residents is a clever move to meet citizens' need and create a good government image.

As I mentioned before, we are forced to view rural and city residents separately when talking about because urbanization is still in its progress in China. But they do have one thing in common when the capital comes: they are both struggling against it. Harvey points out that the basic way to appropriate urban commons is "through the extraction of land and property rents" (Harvey 2012:70), and that is exactly what happened in West Lake. The restrictions of master plan succeeded in preventing agricultural settlements from expanding, but did not succeed in preventing capital from privatize land on the current situation. Capitalists occupy public resources without serving the public. Many historical buildings are rent out to be upscale clubs and too much catering business are built without considering the commercial environment around West Lake as a whole. In response to this phenomenon, the municipality decided to take drastic measures to the private businesses in 2014. It was reported that 30 upscale clubs were shut down and were forced to convert their businesses into cultural industry or public service such as exhibition services, the protection of cultural relics and intangible cultural heritage (mostly tea culture), libraries, museums, performing arts, crafts retail, etc (Wenzhou News 2014). The aim of the actions was to enhance the features of West Lake culture.

The Silent Users and the Culture of Fear

Mariada Stamouli

We know that the creation of commons might lead to “the tragedy of the commons” (Hardin 1968). The tragedy do happen in some ways. For example, the amount of visitors are hard to control and too much people exceeding the environmental capacity can be unsafe. According to the administration agency of West Lake area, more than 740,000 people visited one day during the peak period in National holiday in 2015 (Sina News, 2015). However, it will not change the fact that after the creation of urban commons, people are gaining power from the support of a strong government to fight with capitalism. On the other hand, the tourism income which have increased 4 times is a strong proof of its economical success (China News, 2012).

Will there be a revolution?

In short, the title of World Heritage becomes an extremely useful tool for the municipality when they deal with problems in West Lake. It is useful when oppress the villagers to give up their rights to protect the World Heritage; it is useful for political propaganda for meeting the citizens’ need ; it is also useful, to some degree, to prevent natural and historical scenes to be privatized by capitalists. It is a good news that West Lake can turn into urban commons by becoming a World Heritage, and the current situation is satisfying most people. I don’t think a revolution is going to happen recently, due to the following reasons:

First, the conflicts between people and capitalists are not intense enough to trigger a social movement, mostly because China is still undergoing its urbanization phase. The conflicts between people and capitalists are transferred to conflicts between rural residents and city residents and violent parts of the anti-capitalism trend are covered carefully underneath the cloth of urbanization. Second, the rural residents who are losing their rights to land are not having enough power to fight because they are in relatively smaller number of people compared to the citizens and tourists of Hangzhou, not to mention that a large part of them are old people. More importantly, “political protests frequently gauge their effectiveness in terms of their ability to disrupt urban economies.” (Harvey 2012:118). The farmers are not controlling any economic lifeline, which makes them no threat to the citizens or the capitalists. Third, for now Hangzhou is wealthy enough not to rent its valuable land to capitalists and take advantage from them. A lot of Chinese cities do that but not Hangzhou because it understands that its scenic resource is the most precious thing. As long as Hangzhou can afford it, it will not change the policy to protect West Lake and open it to the public for free, so there are not many chances for citizens to have direct conflicts with capitalists. At last, Chinese lacks the tradition of democracy. People are still worried about the consequences of protesting on to the streets. They do not like to fight against each other, especially at the time of developing. Besides, people in Hangzhou are famous for their gentleness, politeness and their love for tea and sweet food. For me it is hard to imagine a revolution there.

All the reasons do not mean that a revolution will not happen in a long period. Considering the fact that Hangzhou is one of the most modern cities in China, there is high possibility that an ideological revolution starts here some day.

What can be done?

From my perspective, the question of whether or not there will be a revolution in Hangzhou is not so important. What matters is the direction cities are changing towards and the outcome they are trying to get. Making West Lake a World Heritage and open to public is already an act of a quiet revolution in my eyes.

Will “West Lake mode” of creating urban commons of free parks happen in other countries other than China? I doubt that. Creating urban commons in West Lake is successful because the citizens hold some kind of “absolute” justice and the “absolute” justice is built on the disregard to the right in countryside and the disregard to free market and competition. Due to the socialist ideology in China, government is still having strong power against capital. We can learn that from the action it takes toward upscale clubs. We should be glad that at least for now the hope of the state is consistent with the hope of citizens.

Will “West Lake mode” come true in other cities in China? I think so. It has proved that sometimes a free park can bring more profit than a charged one, both economically and culturally. Harvey pays a lot attention to China’s situation and uses them as examples. Although Hangzhou will not be a perfect example of urban revolution, it can still be an inspiring one.

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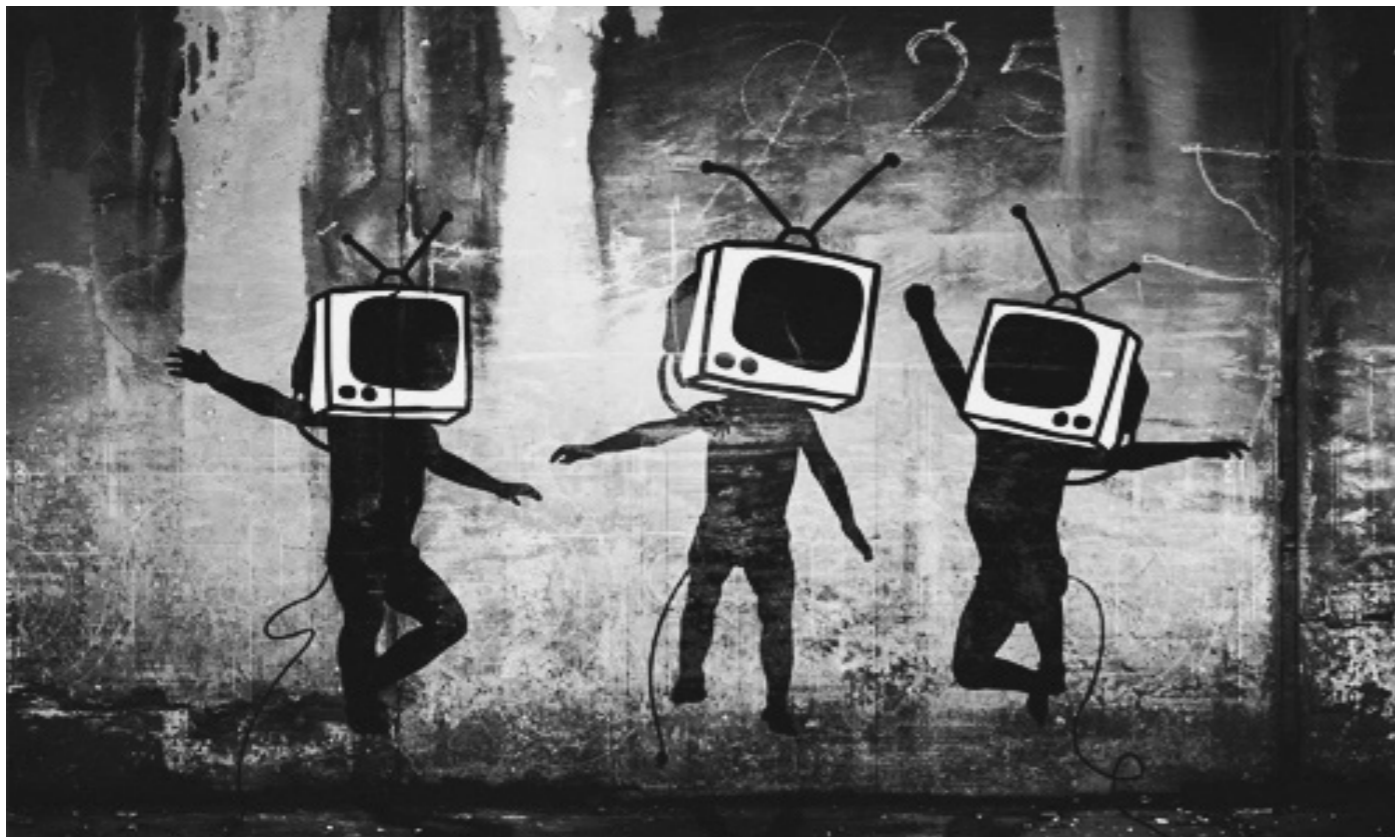
Lefebvre in his book urban revolution examines various aspects of the urban problematic. Towards the new urban society there are many barriers and “blind fields” that architects and urbanists need to overcome. However, the most “disturbing problem” is the “extraordinary passivity of the people most directly involved, those who are affected by projects, influenced by strategies;” the users (1970:181). According to Lefebvre, there are both social and political reasons for which the inhabitants remain silent, all connected to the ideologies of the urbanists and to the power of the state. In this article, I will mostly focus to fear as an important factor for the passivity of users. As Lefebvre argues, “the urban illusion belongs to the state” (1970:163). In order to change the existing perception of what urban is, a radical critique must take place by “rejecting the state, the role of the state, the strategy of the state and the politics of space” (1970:163). However, living in a society where everything is controlled by this state and under the mask of capitalism, how possible is for the users to “reject” and “resist”? What is the role of the fear towards the capitalist state in the passivity of the users?

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Henri Lefebvre in his book urban revolution examines various aspects of the urban problematic, whereas he attempts to define important notions connected to the “urban” and the “city”. The new urban society, defined by Lefebvre as “the society that results from a process of complete urbanization” (1970:1) can only be “imagined” if architects and urbanists overcome existing barriers and “blind fields”. Most of these barriers are connected to the processes of urbanism, defined as “a bureaucratic society of controlled consumption” (1970:164) and the way it encompasses the strategies of capitalism. According to Lefebvre, this strategy “overwhelms the user, the participant, the simple inhabitant” who is “reduced not only to merely functioning as an inhabitant but to being a buyer of space” (1970:156). Lefebvre investigates further the role of the users within the strategies of capitalism and urbanism, and argues that the most “disturbing problem is the extraordinary passivity of the people most directly involved, those who are affected by projects, influenced by strategies;” the users (1970:181). According to Lefebvre, there are both social and political reasons for which the inhabitants remain silent, all connected to the ideologies of the urbanists and to the power of the state. The absence of the user from the dialogue between the urbanist and the architect along with the cultivation of a new perception of what a “user” is, has lead to new forms of passivity which according to Lefebvre cannot be excused. Lefebvre argues that the user is now perceived as a “fairly repulsive character who soils whatever is sold to him new and fresh, who successfully carries out the process of obsolescence” (1970:188). In order to change the existing perception of what urban is and the role of the users within its space, a radical critique must take place by “rejecting the state, the role of the state, the strategy of the state and the politics of space” (1970:163). However, living in a society where everything is controlled by this state and under the mask of capitalism, how possible is for the users to “reject” and “resist”? Which are the factors for the passivity of the users and their “unwillingness” to reject the state?

Fear: A New Aspect of Passivity

In this article I attempt to investigate the reasons why users remain silent and passive when it comes to confrontation with the state. More specifically, I attempt to add the factor of fear to the theories of Lefebvre for the passivity of the users. The way we live and interact in everyday life as “citizens” has changed radically since the 1970’s, when Urban Revolution was written by Lefebvre. We now experience the new “era of fear;” where people are more afraid than ever to interact physically and to express their political and social struggles. Furedi argues that “fear plays a key role in twenty-first century consciousness, when increasingly we seem to engage with various issues through a narrative of fear. You could see this trend emerging and taking hold in the last century, which was frequently described as an Age of Anxiety” (2007). Moreover, Hubbard (2003) argues that “ambient fear saturates the social spaces of everyday life.”



The social media as the main source of information, play a significant role in shaping the reality and the way that it is perceived by the ones who experience it. Source: <http://pintu-nu-lix-o.tumblr.com/>

But what specific fear makes the users of contemporary urban spaces feeling powerless and passive? According to Furedi, specific fears have been cultivated and fear towards the state and its agents its one of them (2007). This new culture of fear characterizes a new society, where people afraid to reject so that they won't be rejected. Rejecting the state and its strategies, as Lefebvre proposes, would automatically mean that the state and its representatives will react. This fear of rejecting the state and going beyond its mechanisms puts the users in a vulnerable and "risky" position. As Furedi (2007) argues "to be "at risk" clearly assigns to the individual a passive and dependent role, whereas someone defined as being at risk is seen to exist in a permanent condition of vulnerability. But how did the users of contemporary cities ended up in such a compromise with the state? What occurred during the last decades that made the users so much afraid of the state? How is this fear been cultivated?

During the last decades many socio-political changes have lead to the cultivation of the new "culture of fear". One aspect of our everyday life that has showed up recently is the use of social media as the main source of information and politicization. As Parkinson argues, "the public sphere, that realm of political talk and action between the state and society, burst out of the market and the coffee house long ago, whereas in the recent years the public sphere is virtual, digital across billions of desktops, laptops and mobile phones" (2012:1). The social media as the main source of information, play a significant role in shaping the reality and the way that it is perceived by the ones who experience it. According to Grupp, "individual fears are cultivated through the media and are less and less the outcome of direct experience" (2003). Moreover, she argues that "fear is decreasingly experienced first-hand and increasingly experienced on a discursive and abstract level" (Grupp, 2003). This "general shift from a fearsome life towards a life with fearsome media" (Grupp,2003) creates a situation of anxiety, where despite the fact that the users don't really know what they are so afraid

of, they still remain silent and passive. As Jeffrie argues, "fear is understood as a dialectical phenomenon, meaning that fear is used to silence and silo us, but it simultaneously acts as a catalyst for and a site of resistance to domination" (2015).

By creating a framework that explains the reasons why users have become more afraid of "rejecting" and "resisting" it is easier to investigate new ways of "breaking the fear". The thoughts and the motivations behind the concept of the right to the city, as analyzed by Lefebvre, create an important framework that we can investigate further. Thus, it is important to understand how this concept came into life and how it can be used by the users to break this new "culture of fear".

As Purcell argues, Hobbes and Locke imagined the original social contract to be one which "citizens agree to give up their own powers to the state in exchange for security" (2013:146). Lefebvre proposed a new alternative contract where people would change the conditions of the visualized contract between the state and the civil society. More specifically, he "hopes that enriching a new set of rights in the contract can begin the project of activating people in order to close the gap between state and citizenry" (Purcell, 2013:146). The right to the city as a concept, proposed a new reality in the urban space where the users will "take their voice back" by going beyond the state and its strategies. The right to the city, as introduced by Lefebvre, implies "not only the participation of the urban citizen in urban social life but, more importantly, his or her active participation in the political life, management, and administration of the city" (Dikec, 2001:1790). David Harvey defines the right to the city as a common rather than an individual right and underlines that it is mostly a right to change ourselves by changing the city (Harvey, 23). The right to the city as a notion can be proved a powerful tool for the inhabitants of the cities to understand their political power. Understanding and capturing the framework that holds the right



Breaking the fear in Athens: The need to take control and break the fear is visualised with graffiti in public spaces. Source: <http://uki--uki.deviantart.com/art/Merry-crisis-and-happy-new-fear-420857277>

to the city can give the motivation to the users to "break this fear" towards the state without feeling vulnerable or "at risk".

The City of Athens: Examples of Breaking the Fear

Rejecting the state collectively means that you are no longer afraid of the "consequences" that this resistance will bring. So, how is the "fear towards the state" connected to the political situation of the surrounding environment? How difficult is on the one hand to reject a well-functioning state and how easier it is to reject a state that has "nothing to offer"?

In this article, I argue that the citizens that are "less afraid to reject" and more motivated to claim their right to the city are to be found easier in cities with bigger socio-political problems. Rejecting a state that is already on stake makes the one-rejecting feeling more powerful and less afraid of the outcome. Knowing that you have "nothing to lose" can be proved a powerful motivation for collective political struggle. As Jeffries argues, resistance occurs in periods and places of severe oppression", whereas he observes that in many cases of crisis "people have acted against political fear in spite of their fear" (2015). The frustration and the need for political struggle that is created during periods of oppression create the fertile ground for political and social struggle. As Purcell argues "right are always the outcome of political struggle. They are the manifestation, the end result of collective claims made by mobilized citizens. Because they result from struggle, they are always subject to further struggle, to renewed political agitation" (2013:146).

The unstable framework of "states in crisis" and the fact that they have lost respect for their citizens gives the opportunity to everyday people to re-act and to re-claim, to mobilise. The residents of vulnerable cities have been disqualified from their rights, including their right to the city. In that case, fear can easily be converted to anger towards the state, and finally rejection. In order to investigate further these arguments, we examine one

city that is under serious political, the city of Athens. Athens, a city that experiences a serious humanitarian crisis is the case study of our analysis. Since 2009, Greece faces a serious economic crisis that has changed the everyday life in cities radically. During the last years, Athens experiences a dramatic increase in the rates of unemployment, poverty and education access. The rise of the left party in Greece and the increase of participation in demonstrations and in actions of political character, prove the frustration of the greek citizens towards the government whereas their willing to change the existing situation. This frustration has also been used as a motivation for the users to re-claim their own initial rights, including their "right to the city". There are many examples where the citizens of Athens have shown big resistance towards the state and its forces, and many times they managed to take back what they owned. In this article I will focus in one specific example, which is the park of Exarcheia, in the city center of Athens. This example is representative of how the residents of one neighborhood rejected the decisions of the state, and despite the peristent forces of the police, remained fearless towards the mechanisms of their government.

Commonly referred to as "park Navarino", the park of Exarchia is a self-organised park created by the inhabitants of the neighborhood in 2009. But what is interesting about this park is the history and the political struggle behind it. In 1990 the greek government provided one plot in the city center in the municipality of Athens in order to become a public square. Due to delays and legislation holdbacks, the square was never designed and the plot remained for years a leased parking area. Eighteen years later, the municipality of Athens decided to change the character of the plot and construct an office building block, a decision that found the residents of Exarchia on the area side of the table. Having as a motto "your parking-our park", the Initiative Committee of Residents of Exarchia got mobilized immediately and asked the conversion of the plot into a park: a green urban

space for the inhabitants of the area and not only. After the rejection of the request by the municipality, the inhabitants decided to claim the space physically and occupy the plot. The municipality of Athens, which never approved this action, tried to evacuate the park several times with the help of police forces. At that specific moment, everyone that was involved in the project decided to fight for the park collectively, claiming their own green public space. And they succeeded: Today, the park is a place of creation, empowerment and resistance, open to political, cultural, and anti-consumerism actions.

However, this is only one example and as such it does not represent the case for all the citizens of Athens. Comparing to other cities, mostly in northern countries, Athens can be proved more active politically as its citizens struggle more when dealing with the mechanisms of the state. Having lived both in Stockholm and in Athens, two cities of different political background, I can argue through my personal experience that the citizens of Stockholm are more satisfied from what the state has to offer and thus less “angry” towards it. Hence, if we take as common denominator the demonstrations and the riots of the city, the protesters in Athens are most of the times more violent and more angry. This is caused not only by the general frustration of the users, but also from the way the riots are being “seen” and “treated” by the government. Most of the times, the police forces reply to the demonstration by using violence, something that makes the inhabitants even more angry. However, “the culture of fear” still exists. During the last decade, the accidents that have taken place during massive riots have increased dramatically whereas the forces of police become more violent every year. Experiencing these type of phenomena myself, I can argue that these possible outcomes of physical evolution bring anxiety to the people involved and sometimes hold them back from participation. Although the citizens of Athens have been proved many times “fearless of the state” and motivated to reject, they still experience this new “culture of fear” that most of contemporary cities experience today.

Rejecting the State: a Utopia or a Dystopia?

As Lefebvre argues in his book *Urban Revolution*, “the worst utopia is the one that remains unnamed. The urban illusion belongs to the state. It is a state utopia: a cloud on the mountain that blocks the road” (1970:163). According to Lefebvre, the state controls the future for the urban and in order to create new utopias for the urban illusion, the users need to “break” their passivity and reject the state. In that case, Purcell argues that “citizens throughout civil society would become more and more active, radically active; they would increasingly take over governing functions from the state, to the point that they would eventually absorb it. As a result, the state would wither away” (Purcell,2013:146). Such a transformational change requires much more than the participation of the urban citizen in urban social life, but a “revolutionary change in human society”(Purcell,2013:144). Although this scenario could be

perceived by Lefebvre as a desirable utopia many people could perceive it as an unlikable dystopia. The users of contemporary cities have learned to live under the control of “some invisible power” , whereas fear as a feeling is becoming part of everyday life. Hence, it is really difficult to truly imagine the scenario where the state completely disappears from our lives. Some could say that true freedom will come, whereas others could argue that this would be the beginning of a chaotic society. Although it is difficult to formulate such scenarios, we can always argue that the “culture of fear” as a characteristic of contemporary societies must be vanished. Despite the fact that we cannot argue on what this change in human society will bring, we can always reject the “fear towards the state” as a feeling. The participation of the users can only be achieved if users stop feeling vulnerable towards the mechanisms of the current governments and only through collective actions. The “fear for the unknown future” could either be the motivation or the suppressive factor. It is the user’s decision to pick a side

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Whose Right to the City? Whose Revolution?

Marina Ziakouli

The right to the city means the right to urban life, to the production of space. It implies the right to affect the urban environment that is surrounding us, the right to participate in its formation and reformation, by extension, the right to the political processes that shape it. Harvey in his book *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (2012) argues that urbanization has been both the product and the driving force of the geographical and social concentration and absorption of a surplus product in the process of capital accumulation. He stresses that space is a class creation; but how can class be seen as one sole thing when it is composed by parts and groups that can differ so much? Gender and race when under the umbrella of class can be overseen. “Nothing unified and revolutionary will ever be formed until each section of the exploited will have made its own autonomous power felt” (James, 1975). This paper aims to explore whose revolution we are talking about, when talking about a change in current structures. Approaching this discussion from a gender critical perspective, Harvey’s texts will be seen in research of a gender inclusive revolution.

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Prologue

Being motivated by the concept of the right to the city and reading Harvey’s book *Rebel Cities* some thoughts were triggered. As James (1975) has put it already “Nothing unified and revolutionary will ever be formed until each section of the exploited will have made its own autonomous power felt”. Of course, knowing the effects of capitalism on the urban, whether that is gentrification or commercialization of space, Harvey’s perspective is very relevant and provides some understanding and means to change the structures that overrule daily life. He has been criticized, though, for talking about class only in a way that substantially ignores gender and race issues. This is a dysfunctional approach because, and especially when claiming people’s right to the city, it is not fully inclusive. Of course we assume that when the enemy is capitalism, it is all about class struggles, but who constitutes those classes? Individuals within social groups at the same time present social specificities. The power relations vary largely and not all parts are equally seen. Think about the power position of a white cisgender working class male and all of the possible combinations of white or black, cisgender or transgender, gay or straight, female or male. Think broader than the western, European or American, society. Think about developing countries, conservative countries and Islamic countries. Not all individuals can struggle, demonstrate and protest as freely, as safely or unsafely; they are not always emancipated enough to do so. This essay, through a feminist critique on Harvey’s writings, aims to explore what revolutionary reality is when it comes to gender. Examining the Arab Spring events and focusing on the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, the scene will be set and question will be raised.

A Rebel city

Harvey (2012) in *Rebel Cities* aims to analyse the globalized contemporary urban through his theory of urbanization based on the surplus of capital and labour and provide an approach to transform the urban via constituting anti-capitalist, class-based social movements.

“From their very inception, cities have arisen through the geographical and social concentration of a surplus product [...] Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomenon of some sort, since surpluses have been extracted from somewhere and from somebody, while control over the use of the surplus typically lies in the hands of a few [...] This general situation persists under capitalism, of course, but in this case there is a rather different dynamic at work”

(Harvey, 2012, p: 5).

So it is through class struggles that Harvey believes a revolution can be set off: “The whole capitalist system of perpetual accumulation, along with its associated structures of exploitative class and state power, has to be overthrown and replaced. Claiming the right to the city is a way-station on the road to that



Female and male protesters attacked with teargas
By Y. Weeks, via Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0f/VOA_Weeks_-_Cairo_protests%2C_November_20%2C_2011_-_06.jpg



"The girl with the blue bra" dragged by policemen
By Reuters, via The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentis-free/2011/dec/18/egyptmilitary-beating-female-protester-tahrir-square>

goal. It can never be an end in itself, even if it increasingly looks to be one of the most propitious paths to take" (Harvey, 2012, p: xviii).

He is basing his theory of an urban revolution on Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city: "revolutionary movements frequently if not always assume an urban dimension" (Harvey, 2012, p: xiii). He is seeing the urban spaces as the most fertile for dialogue, expression and demonstration of rights: "It primarily rises up from the streets, out from the neighborhoods, as a cry for help and sustenance by oppressed peoples in desperate times" (Harvey, 2012, p: xiii).

As the "public" of public space is being questioned, the action of social movements has more and more intense presence in it. Decontextualization of public space led to various grass-roots movements, as protesters felt the need to make a statement about the reclaim and re-appropriation of what was conceived as "sacred-untouchable" space. Public space has historically been the place of expression of the political; so it has hosted general manifestations of frustration towards governmental politics. Thus, public spaces, like squares and parks, historically obtain diverse symbolic dimensions, meanings, contexts. Their adoption by social movements as a base where their protest unfolds, acts as a medium of re-contextualization, rendering them "places of collective memory".

Whose Rebel city?

Appadurai (1996) stresses that the new global cultural economy cannot be understood and explain with the terms it has been so far. Models of surpluses and deficits, consumers and products cannot depict the complexity that derives from fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics. Here recognizes the importance of individual signifiers and how their characteristics compose the different landscapes of people (Appadurai, 1996).

In that view, class struggles that demand a right to the city and a right to difference, seeking a more just urban environment, have been disregarding important elements. The characteristics of social groups are not homogenous, and each struggles in different ways. Gender and race issues have not been addressed in Harvey's texts, they haven't been considered as important, and so, structural inequalities have been overseen. That, in the sense that a connecting factor to the different signifiers is the larger social fights, class fights, and the more specific needs are to be met through them:

"The ultimate aim of anticapitalist struggle is the abolition of that class relation and all that goes with it, no matter where it occurs. [...] Even when this struggle has to be seen, as it invariably does, through the prisms of race, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender, and even when it unfolds through urbanbased inter-ethnic, racialized, and gendered conflicts within the living spaces of the city, the fundamental conception is that an anti-capitalist struggle must ultimately reach deep into the very guts of what a capitalist system is about and wrench out the cancerous tumor of class relations in production"

(Harvey, 2012, p: 121)

Harvey has been largely criticized by feminist theorists for freezing the situated differences of gender, race and sexuality into essential identities (Young, 1998). The class-based universalist politics Harvey suggests are seen as "theoretically and politically counterproductive" compare to a "fragmented and relativist politics of difference" (Young, 1998, p: 37). Young (1998, p: 39), stresses that "class-based, anti-capitalist politics cannot be achieved by asserting some unity that transcends differences of gender, race, region, religion, sexuality and so on, but rather that such politics must be the outcome of careful coalition building which affirms social specificity". Harvey (2012, p: 137) argues that "gender equality and feminist consciousness emerge as crucial weapons in the class struggle"; but fails to discuss how the hard-won unity between gender, ethnicity, working and living can be achieved in practice. He ignores the essential social battles that need to be given for those fragments to be equally considered in the larger context of a revolution. To start this discussion, the role of women in the Egyptian uprising is followed. A role that changed and shifted a lot during the country's turbulence from 2011 to 2014, a role that has started being redefined, the final shape of which is still unknown.

Revolutions in the Arab world and women's role

The revolutionary events that started in 2010 and continued throughout 2011 and into 2012 in many Arabic countries, resulting in various outcomes, are widely known as the Arab spring. The chain of reactions was set off in Tunisia in December of 2010, where the protests led to a revolution and the ousting of the 24 years president Ben Ali. This win inspired many Arabic countries, including Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Algeria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and others (Lynch, 2013).

As documented by the news at the time, the protests and fights were given against political corruption, high unemployment, low wages and food price inflation. Freedom of speech and

expression was a significant demand in Egypt deriving from governmental censorship and control on media and internet. The ultimate and desired pursuit was the constitution of democracy in the form it is established in western world; thus the movements were widely recognized as revolutions. The suppression measures involved evictions from the places of demonstration and assembly, large amounts of tear gas, flash grenades, water cannon and excessive violence, resulting in numerous injuries and many deaths.

Women's roles in the revolution have varied depending on the country, but their participation in the demonstrations has been generally profound, although women's rights particularly were not amongst the demands. The reactions have been different: in Bahrain men created human chains to prevent women from participating; in Yemen women and men were kept separated by a rope; in Egypt the demonstrations were largely motivated by the activist Asmaa Mahfouz that posted a video on her Facebook profile, a call for participation, which went viral, making her an important revolutionary figure in the country (the video can be found with English subtitles on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RIuiWLTMonY>).

The case of women in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 is very interesting because of the drastic differences of women's rights and treatment, before, during and after the events of the uprising. In a country with a long history of corruption and inequality, where the President has been re-elected 4 times through referendums with no opponent from 1981 to 2004, where for 30 years a law has been legalizing censorship and high levels of corruption have been ruling historically, women's position has been very demeaning (McBroome, 2013). 90% of married women have had clitoridectomy, 4 out of 5 in Cairo have been sexually assaulted, marital rape is not a criminal offense and virginity tests have been a usual practice of the police forces towards those who dare to speak their minds, a practice that was applied also to female protesters during the uprising (Eltahawy, 2012; McBroome, 2013). In this country, the estimated participation of women in demonstrations before 2011 has been around 10%, a number that grew to the remarkable estimated 40-50% in the events of the Arab Spring. They were protesting with or without hijabs, with burqas or miniskirts.

Women have had for the first time leading roles in organizing protests and informing the rest of the world for the events that took place; a power widely given to them by internet and social media. Despite their weak position, female protesters were respected and protected by male protesters; they were all fighting together for freedom (Biggs, 2011; McBroome, 2013; Morgan, 2011; Soueif, 2012). Women were discouraged to participate to the demonstrations, though, and if they did so they were advised to "wear two layers of clothes, nothing with a zip and to double-wrap their hijabs" in case of sexual harassment by the police, who were "notorious for groping,

stripping and raping women as tools of intimidation" (Biggs, 2011 as cited in McBroome, 2013, p: 13). It was not only more dangerous, but also more difficult for women to participate in the demonstrations. It is not uncommon the family having to decide to give permission or not to the young, unmarried or unemployed members in order for them to follow the protests, a permission difficultly granted to young women. In families with small children (whose schools were closed) the mothers were the ones taking care of them and the household, while women of low income were very often working at the time the revolution was taking place. These situations were keeping many women at home, worrying but helping by any means possible, whether that was cooking and providing supplies to the protesters or spreading the events online (Winegard, 2012; Mallakh et al, 2014).

The events of 2011 that mainly took place in Tahrir Square (Liberation square in English) resulted in the resignation of President Mubarak in 2011. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) took over for six months, the period that was needed for election to be organized, the constitution was suspended and the parliament was dissolved. SCAF cooperated with activists and protesters to apply reforms (Zayan, 2011). This has been a great win for the people of Egypt, celebrated on the same square, the epicentre the demonstrations, a win that change the way women were presented in the media:

"The Arab Spring seems to represent a new era of emancipation for women in the Arab world. Yet, it remains to be seen whether women will be afforded the opportunity to play substantial roles in the futures of their respective countries, or whether they will be marginalized, secluded and silenced"

(Shihada, 2011).

An aftermath

The protests did not stop, as the country was still unstable, but they shortly subsided. The greatest fear now was that the military would govern indefinitely, as SCAF was delaying elections. Finally, in June 2012 Morsi, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, became the first democratically elected president of Egypt (The Gardina, 2012).

The Egyptian women that made their power felt and gained momentum in the events of Arab Spring, soon watched their rights being taken away. Since Mubarak's fall, women's rights "have been further de-legitimized and thrown out of the legal framework" (Alijla, 2015). The Khula law, that was introduced in 2000 and concerned the right of women to ask for a divorce in return for relinquishing their financial rights in marriage, was repealed. There were discussions for repealing laws about custody and divorce rights, as well as for new laws forbidding women from traveling without permission. Women were non-present in the new parliament, nor were their voices heard (Pratt, 2011). The once safe spaces of expression in Tahrir square had

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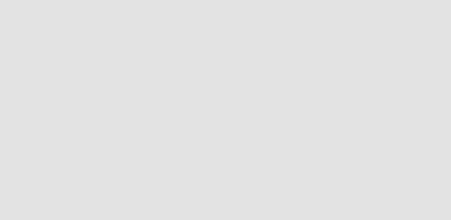
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started changing for them; on Woman’s Day 2011, the women that dared demonstrate for their rights were attacked by men; harassment and assault became again a tool police would use to scare and stop them. And as the events evolved, with new protests against the President Morsi, women were stripped, beaten, and gang raped. In only four days, ninety women were raped in public by men displaying the belief that women should be kept out of the public square and into the private sphere of the home (Burleigh, 2013; Nolan, 2013).

“This is not a free society if a woman cannot walk down the street without fear of being harassed, attacked, or even molested. Women have a right to participate in Egyptian society as equals – and this revolution will have achieved nothing if it does not recognise the basic right of the Egyptian women to exist, to demonstrate, to work, to live and walk the streets with dignity” (Younis, 2011).

Epilogue

President Morsi have been ousted by the Egyptian Armed Forces. His place was taken by Abdel Fattah el-Sisi in June 2013. Sisi resigned from the military and stood as a candidate on 2014’s elections for presidency which he won with 93% (Al Jazeera, 2014). The new president has taken a few steps towards the empowerment of women, the constitution now includes articles in favour of them: (Article 11) “The state commits to achieving equality between women and men in all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights,” (Article 180) “Every local unit elects a local council by direct, secret ballot [...] provided that [...] one-

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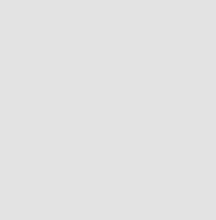
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quarter is allocated for women.” The new leadership is seen as better and as more gender sensitive than the ones between 2011 and 2013, but serious issues of violence and equality haven’t been addressed yet (Abdelatty, 2015).

As in *Salt of the Earth* (1954), women are allowed to play significant roles in revolutionary and historic moments. In the movie, men stayed at home to take care of the young ones, while women were holding the picket line. This change in roles forced men to appreciate how hard a woman’s life is, but what changed after that? In both *Salt of the Earth* (1954) and the Egyptian uprising, feminism and female power were used as a “crucial weapon in class struggle” only to go back to their usual everyday life at home. As Danahar (2012) writes: “If women have found themselves driven from their public space the revolution has also pushed them further out of the political arena.”

As mentioned in the beginning of this text, the “nothing unified and revolutionary will ever be formed until each section of the exploited will have made its own autonomous power felt” (James, 1975). Yes, women of Egypt made their power felt in 2011. But they also watched it crush to be oppressed again. The outcomes of this revolution remain to be seen and discussed. But questions are raised. Whose revolution was this? No doubt it was a revolution fed by both men and women, important political outcomes of which both men and women reap, but how have power relations shifted throughout the uprising? Is it enough to change your power position for a short while only to go back to where you were? Is it enough of a revolution then?

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Sleeping on Concrete

Paulina Österberg Lindroos



Excluding design, what is that? And what has it to do with the right to the city? All over the world, there are homeless people that are searching for places to sleep. For homeless people in Stockholm there is no guarantee to have a roof over their heads. For those that cannot find a place to sleep inside, outdoor public spaces becomes the only option. Recently, Stockholms stad put up a fence in front of a stair to Riksarkivet in Kungsholmen, Stockholm. A shelter space that homeless used to sleep. The fence was installed after complaints from residents in the area. This fence has gotten critique as excluding. However Stockholms stad blame other actors as contributing to excluding design while themselves, they argue that they would never use. By using Mitchell (2003) book as a standpoint, this essay will give a picture of the exclusion of homeless people in public spaces in Stockholm. How is excluding design interpreted and what does it say about contemporary ideals? By blaming others one gives the impression of being ‘the good actor’. That will never result in a progressive work in the fight for the right to the city for the homeless people.



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‘Where did you sleep last night?’ a homeless person might ask another. The answer on this question might be ‘in a harboring’ or ‘out in the streets’. The public spaces that ‘out in the streets’ refer to are according to Mitchell (2003) declining. For those that have no place to go, the public spaces become the single most important places. With *space*, I refer to a location that has physical attributes, and it is measurable. *Place* is rather a human construct, it is something that give value to a space and is not limited to the physical, but more the psychological in belonging to that specific place.

The public spaces as the notion above suggest are getting smaller, because in “a world defined by private property, then, *public space* (as the space for representation) takes exceptional importance”. Mitchell (2003) criticize Habermas’s theory in his book, Mitchell argues that an attempt to create an universal public space is a dead end from the start, public spaces need diversity because there is no *the public space*. How the public space is constructed and what properties it has enables or disables, and what events’ occurring at it contributes to place making.

The next section will shortly explain what the right to the city is, mainly according to Mitchells (2003) theory. In the following section the American context will briefly be introduced followed by the Swedish context including excluding design. The Swedish context will be followed by a general overview on homelessness and exclusion. Finally the essay will wrap up in a conclusion arriving at that affordable housing could be one key to decrease homelessness. However, it will also conclude that blaming responsibilities will never result in a work that brings results in improving the rights for homeless people.

Homeless and the right to the city
Words can be an important tool for limiting power or for qualifying it. Rights provide a set of instructions for how to interpret and impose power. The words are institutionalized, a part of a political discourse, limiting who gets access, and who don’t (Mitchell, 2003). To be able to express one and to claim access, words are therefore an important factor if one is to be accepted in society. In order to be understood it is also important that politicians and officials are prepared to listen to homeless. *Actions* are also important when it comes to the right to the city. *Actions* refers to when people are using the public space for a purpose e.g. demonstrations. Without actions and struggle, economic forces would probably shrink the public space even more and thus limit the space for homeless to use.

On paper, all have equal rights to the city. However, these are not always put to practice equally. Mitchell exemplifies the right to abortion in the US for when rights are not executed properly in everyday practice. The women and practitioners were confronted outside abortion clinics. This resulted in a work trying to limit the freedom to speak outside the clinics with the purpose of strengthening women’s rights to their own bodies. Mitchell



Commercial in Stockholm metro system. The text in the picture describes some of all homeless situations. Source: Paulina Österberg Lindroos

argues that this is something he calls negative rights and they are “expressed as a prohibition on some aspect of state power; for example, a prohibition on the state’s interfering in people’s speech acts is negative rather than positive because it defines the limits of state action rather than the extent of people’s ability to speak” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 38). Mitchell (2003) take Lefebvre as an example, the right to the city consists of right for housing and thereby homeless people does not have the right to the city. How does this connect to homeless and their rights? The next section will present the American context.

Homeless in America

Homeless people are still people, right? When Mitchell (2003) writes about the situation for homeless people in America, one can be terrified. Anti-homeless laws and regulations are common, limitations is added to forbid conducting ones needs in alleys, sitting on the sidewalks, sleeping on benches etc. However, these regulations do not address housed people or people with disabilities. Housed people are more than welcome to sit at outdoor terraces, to use toilets inside cafés, and most of all, doesn’t have to worry about having to sleep on the sidewalks or on benches.

Homeless people in the streets are so neglected that their deaths are often forgotten. The fact that homeless people are often out in the public spaces makes them particularly exposed to violence and crime. However, the political debate does not reflect this image. The homeless are instead often accused for committing the crimes (Mitchell, 2003). By neglecting the rights of the homeless to public space in order to have a proper behavior one might create “concerted progressive policies designed to attack social problems and to expand the content of urban social justice” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 211). That does not help the homeless at all, but rather shoves the problem elsewhere.

Homeless in Sweden

In Sweden’s largest cities, homelessness is a problem much due to that lack of housing in the cities (Boverket, 2012; Stockholms stadsmiission, 2014). In Stockholm, 2866 people were without a home in 2012, a decrease from 3081 in 2010 (Boverket, 2012). This number is though calculated during two days in April and not statistically significant (Stockholms stadsmiission, 2014). In 2012 there were 1372 people living at emergency housing, a decrease from 2499 in 2003 (Boverket, 2012). With this said, the places in the harboring must have decreased. In the official statistics, it is only Swedish citizens that are accounted for (Stockholms stad, 2013; Stockholms stadsmiission, 2014).

The municipality has a strategy for how to work with homeless in the city in which the overall goal is to decrease the number of homeless in Stockholm (Stockholms stad, 2013). EU-citizens that do not have the right to residence are not included in the program and cannot get any welfare support. The measures are often directed onto temporary solutions and not how actions should be done in order to help homeless with housing (Thörn, 2011). However, in Stockholm, the strategy is built upon the concept of *housing first* that aims to give longer term solutions before trying to fix other problems that homeless people might have (Stockholms stad, 2013). For groups that have it extra difficult to get access to housing, special solutions like *trial contracts* are tested (Ibid.). However, there is no guarantee for housing after the trial contracts due to the long queue time in the waiting list.

According to Thörn (2011) the Swedish planning discourse differs from the US anti-homeless regulations. In Sweden, *soft rhetoric’s* such as making the city clean and safe are introduced. These arrangements don’t target homeless directly; however they can as any homeless regulations in the US harm the homeless in different ways (Ibid.). In a strategy document published by Stockholms stad, words like *motverka* (*counteract*) are used. One can start to think about the purpose of using those words.



A homeless person giving food to the pigeons. Source: <http://barnimages.com/dove-feeder-in-paris/>

Thus counteract is a word in the political discourse, it doesn’t mean the same as eliminate and thereby doesn’t have the same value for all that are homeless. Similar strategies are also found in Gothenburg where they also should work to *counteract* homelessness. The *soft rhetoric’s* as counteract helps market the municipality as *successful* at beating homelessness.

Like Mitchell (2003) writes about the American context, Thörn (2011) writes that strategies to combat homelessness in Sweden don’t address the central issue of housing. Thörn writes that the strategies focus on the rehabilitation of the homeless person and access to temporary housing. The issue of the housing market is that it has been deregulated and privatized and any type of social housing has been dismantled (Ibid.). The municipalities (especially Stockholm and Gothenburg) now work with the strategy *bostad först* (*housing first*) that in first hand aim at providing long term solutions for housing (at least six months) rather than focus on other problems a homeless person might have (Stockholms stad, 2013; Göteborgs stad, 2015). This might be one step in the right direction, however planning and construction of affordable housing is thus needed (e.g. Thörn, 2011; Stockholms stadsmiission, 2013).

Rather than to discuss the rights of the homeless, they focus on security and that none should be forced to live out in the streets. But as can be seen in the following paragraphs, the places on the harboring’s doesn’t increase while more excluding design is introduced in the cities. Why are the authorities trying to keep us in the dark instead introducing strategies and rhetoric’s blaming each other for the excluding elements in Stockholm?

In March, a large fence under the stairs to Riksarkivet in Stockholm started a still ongoing debate about excluding design. The fence was installed after complaints about the littered environment and that the housed persons were scared using the stairs (José-Iragorri, 2015). According to Stockholms stad this

was not a part of increasing the amount of excluding design but rather to “keep everyone safe” (José-Iragorri, 2015). The cost for the fence was 200,000 sek (Ibid.). This might be the beginning of a rougher discussion on the homeless situation and cause more exclusion of homeless. The property director of Stockholms stad said in an interview that there is no struggle to get a place in the harboring that he knows of (Roström Andersson, 2015). With that he then assumed that every homeless person is seeking help from the municipality. Then again, there are people that don’t have the courage to seek help but are staying outside using the stairs for protection. Where else should they go? Where can they sleep during a cold winter night? Why does the municipality invest in a fence for 200,000 sek when they could actually invest that money to the homeless? These are hard questions with no straight answers. For instance, Stockholms stadsmiission (2014) writes that the number of persons sleeping outside is debated. The official number of homeless individuals sleeping outside is 280 in Sweden (Stockholms stadsmiission, 2014). However, Stockholms stadsmiission estimates that 400 people in Stockholm only experience sleeping outside, panhandlers from Europe excluded (Stockholms stadsmiission, 2014). This shows the discrimination of EU-migrants, not because a homeless title is something one would strive for. However, it is a title that gives you access to welfare benefits given by the municipality (Stockholms stad, 2015). The demand if EU citizens should get the same welfare benefits as Swedish citizens they should apply for jobs at full time, study or being retired (Socialstyrelsen, n.d.).

Excluding design, as the example in Stockholm affects all homeless, not only the native ones. Can we really be a city of inclusion and welcoming tourists if we just polish the edges and show a “homeless free” façade (NSD, 2015)? Removing homeless from the surface doesn’t address the homelessness in a humane way (Thörn, 2011). We need to take action helping homeless with housing so that they also can have the benefits of society. In an official statement published by Stockholms

stad in September 2015, it is argued that Stockholms stad does not, by any means use excluding design, the city is according to Stockholms stad for all. In the statement they say that no benches should be removed by social reasons but that people with disabilities should have access and places to sit (Stockholms stad, 2015). In the official statement, Stockholms stad blame other actors involved with the urban environment for the excluding design elements. Those actors are according to Stockholms stad (2015) not in their control. This is to me rather strange, if the property owner (Stockholms stad) has the responsibility for the space (that is supposed to be maintained for the public interest), then how can they blame other actors for implementing designs that exclude homeless. The ultimate responsibility lies at the public authority of Stockholms stad and they need to take actions at the actors applying excluding designs in public space. The next section will go back to the struggle for public space and why homeless people seem to be exposed in society.

(Re)thinking

The argument in the book by Mitchell is not that order is something bad when it comes to public spaces; it is rather about what 'order' contributes to in terms of whose interest the 'order' protects. 'Order' is according to Mitchell (2003) needed for a progressive city. However, it equally contributes to the oppressive and repressive city (ibid). The issue is according to Mitchell (2003) that the difficulty to find a balance between maintaining order when demanding usage of public space for organization and the rights to speak to be protected through the imposition of order. For us planners, order will be included in our work description, weighing different interests against each other and propose plans for development. We have a huge responsibility to take into consideration all forms of interests and people in our future profession. This essay makes a point for one of these groups.

Thörn (2011) exemplifies a campaign in Gothenburg named trygg, vacker stad (safe and beautiful city). The campaign was based on a common living room. When a well-dressed middle-class couple stands in the advertisement and do the cleaning up, the intent of for who they are claiming the space for becomes clear. Thörn writes about designing public spaces for housed people

“[t]he (re)designing of public space in a way that facilitates their supervision is one way to increase visibility and thereby facilitate social control” (2011, p. 993).

Those who have gained access to public spaces in the past know the struggle. Most people that live in western societies today seem to have forgotten about the struggle. The struggle for Peoples Park in Berkeley is just one of these examples that Mitchell (2003) mentions. It was major protests during the 1960s, but later the neoliberal forces won and transformed the park to be less accessible. This was probably, according to Mitchell (2003) due to that so many have access and that homeless people are displayed as dangerous and unhealthy in the public discourse. Mitchell however sees some hope in the postscript from 2014, when the occupy movement stood up against the one percentage group. As planners, we cannot forget the importance for public space; it is a part of any democracy to have places to meet that doesn't control the citizens that give opportunities for all to be present. With this said, in our future profession, we have to pay attention to excluding elements and try to remove them.

Programs and laws against homeless people seem to be nothing unusual in the US. According to Mitchell (2003) the intent of doing so was clear; it makes homeless people break laws just by living in the way that they have to (to survive). The politicians' are trying to implement regulations to decrease crime and to maintain order. However, the discussion about public safety becomes the main focus instead of taking actions to the problem of homelessness (ibid.).

The anti-homeless laws in America and the rhetoric's in Sweden redefine what is appropriate and acceptable behavior at public spaces. That is forcing homeless people to adjust or disappear. The laws are creating more room for a flow of global capital, causing annihilation of space. The fact that homeless people cannot use private property without the permission of the property owner, at the same time, as we normal people that have our own toilets, showers and beds, do not have to worry about having diarrhea and to be forced to carry out the needs in a public park.

“[W]e are creating a world in which a whole class of people cannot be – simply because they have no place to be” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 171). As long as normal people have our rights, our rights to order, comfort, places for recreation and relaxation, the rights of the homeless people does not matter in the eyes of the politicians. That difference make us stand apart, and I think that might to be a reason why people are so afraid of the homeless and don't want to see it happen in their polished surface of the public spaces. The anti-homeless legislation help institutionalize the conviction that homeless people does not belong in the public spaces, it belongs to those who behave according to globalization and capitalistic interests (Mitchell, 2003). The goal of the legislation against homeless people is according to Mitchell (2003) to only give the housed people the right to the city and the right to the public space.

Wrap up

Homeless people seem to be in the heart of Mitchell. What is it that has made him to put such great effort into the lives and rights for the homeless? Why even bother for public space? Why even reflect on who have access to it? Well, I personally never reflected upon that public spaces can be unjust and excluding. I lived in the picture perfect image of the public space being accessible for everybody. However, reading Mitchell (2003) has changed my mind set on the public space. Because who is actually the public, whom belongs in there? Just because that I fit in the group that feel comfortable being at public spaces. I don't have to worry about where I should sleep tonight. Just because I have access to a lot of things, the access is not given to all humans in society. The struggle for public space doesn't belong to me, it belongs to those that are not as privileged as I am. However, I should never neglect someone the right to the city and especially not the public spaces. The struggle of providing housing for all must be the centerpiece in planning if we aim for a socially sustainable country. However, different actors in society have to stop blaming each other and instead share the responsibility. Because all involved in urban planning may equally contribute to exclusion. We need to have accessible public space for all, because public space is the space of justice (Mitchell, 2003).

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DO-IT-YOURSELF URBANISM

A practice which applauds *an(t)archy* in its witty form. It is a positive force which seeks to hack the current system and bug it with its own interpretation of what is desired within the society. This chapter paints a myriad of examples of what might be brought about when the power of imagination blows through the society, strength-ening the inhabitants to act.



Uneven Growth and the Limitation of Tactical Urbanism

Hanna Becirovic

The Museum of Modern Art has collaborated with the authors of this book in order to enlighten the many problems of uneven growth. Even though each chapter is written by different people, there is one line of argument that consists throughout the book; the impacts of urbanization. The rapid growth in cities and the movement of people to urban areas has created several problems that can be seen in the structure of cities. Class divisions and extreme poverty in contrast to wealth is the main issue that has shaped our cities. Examples from places such as Rio de Janeiro and Lagos are given where the author describes the problems and then brings forth a design solution where tactical urbanism is an underlying principle. They also question the role of architecture and discusses whether it should be a more social driven profession rather than design oriented in order to meet the complex problems of today. I question the power of architecture solely to solve structured social problems and by looking at discussions in Swedish media on uneven growth, I want to find out how it is illustrated in Stockholm and if any tactical urbanisms are used to solve the problem.

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Uneven Growth - tactical ways for expanding megacities is a book that describes the ongoing urbanization in cities around the world and its problematics. It then brings forth six site specific design solutions, in six different cities around the globe. The solutions are tactical urbanism oriented where the idea is to offer a more bottom-up design process rather than top-down solution. It is said that architecture as a profession is a mirror of the "state of civilization". It is used in different ways depending on how we need it. The authors argue that we need architecture now more than ever to be more socially oriented in order to solve problems of uneven growth. The cities that are introduced in the book are Hong Kong, Istanbul, Lagos, Mumbai, New York and Rio de Janeiro (Gadanho, 2014, p.09).

Uneven Growth - Tactical Ways for Expanding Megacities
The first half of the book describes different theories about the problematics in cities. All of them are focusing on the social issues that comes with urbanization. David Harvey reminds us in one of the first chapters of the book about how urbanization has created an endless spiral of capital accumulation that produces a form of barbarism amongst citizens of the city in the name of profit. He then continues to talk about how profit changes our cities where we pour concrete everywhere in order to develop malls and suchlike areas to the extent of a global ecological and social crisis (Harvey, Gadanho 2014, p27). Teddy Cruz asks the question on what produces uneven growth in his chapter. His conclusion is an oil-hungry urbanization, privatization and selfish sprawl. He then suggests that the knowledge of what produces uneven growth should be used as a tool by architects and planners to find solutions (Cruz, Gadanho 2014, p49). Nader Tehrani talks about a similar discourse where he believes that architecture as a profession needs revising. He argues that architects should be aware of that urban design operates from a top-down perspective. Tehrani disregards the traditional architecture profession because it is too often oriented towards creating some new fancy design to win awards and contributing to capitalism rather than solving problems in society and the city structure. He ends his argument by believing that bad design can be overcome with tactical alterations and that architects should first and foremost be social workers (Tehrani, Gadanho, 2014 p58).

Design examples

The other half of the book brings forth solutions to some of the social problems described. The first design solution is the one of Hong Kongs problem with the rapidly increasing population. Since so many people are moving to the city, land becomes scarce. 60% of Hong Kongs natural setting is composed of water, thus, the design solution is about building man made islands and populating the sea. The idea is that the islands would be composed by local inhabitants in order to create different kinds of islands with different identities, such as in example a fishing island (Gadanho, 2014, p67).



Picture of the cityscape in Rio De Janeiro with favelas in the foreground facing new developed skyscrapers. This is a picture showing one extreme situation of uneven growth. (Photo by: Pedro Gadanho, Museum of Modern Art)



Skärholmen vs. Strandvägen
(photo from <http://www.internationalen.se/2015/06/stockholm-en-allt-mer-segregerad-stad/>)



In Istanbul, there is a problem with mass housing development that is a process started in order to solve the urbanization crisis. It has instead created a new problem where only one type of typology has been used and thus created clusters of gated complexes. A tactical urbanism solution is suggested to this where the complexes instead turns in to an citizen-driven open source urban regeneration program. The idea is to create a community that together resiliently coproduce it as a step away from privatization and overconsumption (Gadanho, 2014 p83). Lagos, which is the next city described, has a problem of massive socioeconomic gaps which results in large slum areas around the city. The solution is believed to be a mapping of all the areas around the city in order to understand the identities of each area. This is needed because the city grows so fast that planners can not keep track of whats happening since the city is ever changing. Creating a database of this mapping will then allow for prototypes to be designed around the city to later develop the area the way the prototypes shows it is needed (Gandanho, 2014, p99). Like Lagos, Mumbai has also an extreme problem with slum areas and poverty. A solid program that offers the inhabitants to co-operate with architects is suggested as a step into creating dynamic communities since slums are in themselves areas that are vibrant (Gadanho, 2014, p120).

New York has become a city of massive uneven growth due to the policies at a governmental level as well as profit driven investors that have shaped the housing market. This has resulted in an uneven expansion of wealth across the city. Housing is very expensive to the point where 1/3 of the New Yorkers spend over 50% of their income on housing. Slums in New York are conserved from view by design which means that an even greater division is created between the rich and the poor. Cohabitation strategies are proposed to develop housing cooperatives across the city. The idea is to challenge the traditional concept of property and taking away power from tenants, authorities and stakeholders in order to even out the price tags (Gadanho, 2014, p132).

Lastly, the favelas of Rio de Janeiro are the last design proposal in the book. Just like slums in Mumbai and Lagos, the favelas are vibrant and lively neighborhoods where in fact 60% of the residents are middle class nowadays. The notions of income distribution has changed but the city seems to have stayed in this uneven state where the contrast between rich and poor areas are vivid. The problem seems to be that money is being invested in the wrong things, such as the FIFA World cup and the Olympic games instead of developing areas in need. This has resulted in protests from the people and a trust issue against the government. The people of Rio de Janeiro seem to take these problems into their own hands by creating local design solutions to their everyday needs. Many of the residents have forced themselves to become skilled in carpentry and such alike in order to help themselves. Veranda products is something that is suggested to help people in these areas. The products offer architectural elements that can be used as add-ons to existing structure. They are products created by locals by using left-overs of material to create necessary design solutions within poor areas (Gadanho, 2014, p.150).

Tactical Urbanism

Tactical urbanism is described in the book as something that might impulsively arise from the streets by citizens when simultaneously it can emerge from professionals, a municipality or at government level. Tactical urbanism can be temporary, ground breaking or long lasting depending on the situation. It is a way of promoting bottom-up approaches to change local problems within an metropolis that is unevenly managed (Gadanho, 2014 p12). Ricky Burdett talks in one of the chapters where he puts forward his opinion on how the solution to uneven growth is happening on the ground, amongst citizens of the city. Together with metropolitan order, small scale interventions from the bottom-up is a tool and a necessity in order to create social cohesion (Burdett, Gadanho, 2014 p33).

Uneven Growth in Stockholm

So how does all this look like in a Swedish context? There are no slums in Stockholm like the ones in Rio de Janeiro. Even so, to claim there is no poverty here would be a lie. This takes us to the discourse on uneven growth which seem to direct itself towards issues regarding the housing problem situation in Stockholm. It is known that Stockholm has a severe problem providing housing for everyone. Being new to Stockholm means that you have to live temporarily and move around different apartments for a very long time, for a very expensive price. The queue to an rental apartment is long and it can take several years before it is your turn to rent one. (SCB, 2012).

Searching through media it is clear that this issue is of political form, were we can see that the right wing government assumes that people are born into equal opportunities whilst the left wing reminds politicians that people are born into completely different conditions which makes much of the society unjust, including the city. This becomes a problem since huge malls are introduced instead of public spaces that you can access free of charge. The same thing is happening with the housing market where the class divisions are becoming wider and wider because of the uneven socio-economical distribution. (Mathisen 2015)

So what about uneven growth in Stockholm? Since the housing construction has lagged behind quite extensively and is unable to catch up with the increasing population, the housing that is available becomes then quite naturally very expensive. The closer to the city core you get, the more expensive it is. This means that many districts outside the city core has become a cluster for the ones who can not afford to buy their own apartment or rent for a ridiculously high monthly price (Stockholm annual report, 2015). The highest contrast you can see in the built structure in Stockholm is the differences between areas in the periphery of the city core and those in the hearth of Stockholm. These are places where the working class works inconvenient hours far

away from the city core, these are city districts like Rinkeby, Spånga, Kista and Tensta. Here we can find cleaners, waitresses, the sick and the unemployed. Lately we can also find most of the immigrants and newcomers to Sweden in these areas because of the housing situation. There are thousands of rental apartments in Stockholm that have been remade into self-owned apartments. This is narrowing down living opportunities for the working class and the ones with less money, like immigrants and students. It is an living example of an divided Stockholm (Pejer, 2010).

This is how uneven growth looks like in Stockholm. Södermalm for example, is seen as one of the most gentrified areas. It has gone from being a working class district to one of the most exclusive areas to live in. Only 17% of the population in Södermalm are of immigrant background. This is astonishing if you compare to Rinkeby where 78% of the population are foreign (Aagård, 2011). One can say that this discourse of uneven growth is of political origin where I can draw parallels to Susan Fainsteins, *The Just City*, where she talks about solutions such as specific policies that would benefit relatively disadvantaged social groups (Fainstein 2014). Edward Soja and his investigation of spatial justice framed the same discourse as can be seen in Stockholm. Also, David Harveys mentions the importance of new modes of urbanization (Harvey, 2008). Maybe tactical urbanism is one of them?

Tactical Urbanism in Stockholm

Tactical urbanism seems to be quite a new concept in Sweden. It is known as "idéburen stadsförbättring" as has been used for a few projects around Stockholm. In 2014, the city planning office had developed guidelines for how to use tactical urbanism when planning in order to increase public participation in urban design projects (Jennische, 2014). Nacka municipality has used tactical urbanism for the development of Kvarnholmen in order to gather opinions from the inhabitants to fill empty space. They also believe that temporary projects are great to define or re-

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Figure 1: Aerial view of Kärrtorps square in Nacka kommun, Sweden, showing the layout of the square and surrounding buildings. The square is a large, open area with a grid-like pattern of streets and buildings. The buildings are mostly multi-story structures with light-colored facades. The square is surrounded by a mix of residential and commercial buildings. The overall appearance is that of a well-developed urban area.

define a space to later make it permanent. It is a secure way that is resourceful to get the most out of a plan for a new area since it also increases citizen participatory planning (Nacka kommun, Kvarnholmen under konstruktion, 2014). Kärrtorps square is another example where tactical urbanism has been encouraged by the city of Stockholm in order to get a glimpse on how the inhabitants invasion the area and what they feel that they need (Hornuggla, Idéburen stadsförbättring och tillfällig arkitektur på Kärrtorps torg, 2014).

In excess of policies and politics, module houses are the only design oriented idea that I have seen in the media as a suggestion to solve the housing problem in Stockholm. It can be seen as tactical urbanism because it is somewhat temporary and is suggested by the state as a pro-active approach (Gadanhó 2014 p.19). Mehmet Kaplan has suggested to build module houses for the huge amount of immigrants that are arriving in Sweden because of the crisis in Syria and Iraq. The idea is to solve the housing crisis since there is no room for the refugees as the housing market looks today in Stockholm (Olsson, 2015). This has created a whole new debate where the opposition believes that this is one form of Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) situation where it is believed that this type of development can be the start of new type of slum. Many argue that modules can be a solution for those who need somewhere to sleep right a way but that it will not solve the social problems and gentrification process but rather just cluster more people, thus creating more divisions and uneven growth (Fnordspotting, Hur Sverige blev med slumområden, 2015). Other than modul housing, the solution for the housing crisis in Stockholm seems to be spelled urban condensation and more state owned apartments (Nordlander, 2015.)

Uneven Growth

Then what does all this mean - from favelas in Rio de Janeiro to modul houses in Stockholm? It is all a reaction to urbanization and the effects of capitalism. In a world where profit is prioritized, I believe it is impossible to avoid uneven growth since the notion of profit is build on the fact that some people in society have to suffer in order for others to be wealthy. The solutions given by the design teams in MoMAs book are in my eyes not something that can solve the problems of uneven growth in itself but rather

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Figure 2: Aerial view of Nacka kommun, Sweden, showing the layout of the square and surrounding buildings. The square is a large, open area with a grid-like pattern of streets and buildings. The buildings are mostly multi-story structures with light-colored facades. The square is surrounded by a mix of residential and commercial buildings. The overall appearance is that of a well-developed urban area.

create solution to site specific situations. Tactical urbanism are smal interventions that hopefully will create a domino effect to later on becoming a solution. Although, the power of architecture to solve problems by design are still in my opinion limited. Why is this? Maybe because the problems that have occurred are in the first place political or economically oriented.

How capitalism works may need reconsideration if these problems are to go away and design can start to heal the scars in the city. Tactical urbanism in Stockholm is still quite new, especially when it comes to uneven growth solutions. We all agree on that we need more bottom-up approaches when designing and planning new areas. But to what extent this will solve gentrification processes or uneven socio economic expansion of the city is yet to be discovered. Module houses may be a solution to a very temporary situation rather than a solution to a wider social problem.

The book illustrates contemporary urban problems that comes with urbanization and the rapid growth of cities. Uneven growth looks different depending on the city but the same type of socioeconomic problems can be seen everywhere. In Rio de Janeiro they take the form of slums while in Stockholm they take the form of clusters of less fortunate people outside the city core. Tactical urbanism can be used as a way to solve site specific situations but it does not get to the root of the problem. More is needed. Is an urban revolution the only true way? Just like Henri Lefebvre could not describe how the urban revolution would look like, I can not answer to it either at this moment. Lets just hope it gets here soon (Lefebvre 2003).

DIY Urbanism: Goverments Time to Wake Up?

Joseph Billham



Is DIY (Do-It-Yourself) Urbanism seen as a cry for help by citizens? How long will it take for the government to have a ‘light bulb’ moment? Within Jeffrey Hou Insurgent Public Space two recurring themes are noticed, appropriating and reclaiming of public space in the world’s major cities. This can be emphasised from citizens having a ‘right to the city’ through people having access to urban life with full usage of movement and places. With citizens seeing no choice however and take control of public areas into their own hands through various methods of DIY urbanism. The purpose of this essay will be to see if and when will government intervene and release more needs to be done to the vacant and unused public spaces in major cities. Cities are not being allowed to express themselves and this stems from government not doing enough and the focal point in this argument is the opinion that ‘People know best.’



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DIY Urbanism is the process of people contributing in the regeneration of a particular area. This is individual people doing it themselves; this can be demonstrated through the physical improvements of places by improving what already existing in an area with no involvement from municipalities and this can lead to maximising the potential for positive change. Example of this are swings or in some cases self-built benches installed at bus stops, another example is telephone booths being used a mini library’s with a swap book concept. These types of DIY Urbanism are low cost, clever, sophisticated solutions to challenging urban problems the aim is to create a user friendly urban environment that attract all types of people. The purpose of the essay stemmed from Jeffery Hou Insurgent Public Space and will focus on what is overarching theme that is missing from the book being, government intervention. The main case study of this essay will be Belfast City as it is a prime example of citizens changing public space without government intervention. Hou 2010 summarises his book stating “it suggest the ability of citizen groups and individuals to play a distinct role in shaping the contemporary urban environment in defiance of official rules and regulations.” A precise and clear definition of public space written by I. M. Young (2002) sees “public space in a city as accessible to everyone and thus reflecting and embodying the diversity in the city.”

Case Study – Belfast

Belfast City is the capital of Northern Ireland with a small population of 281,000. The city is known and heavily related to scene of ‘The Troubles’ and with the city’s poor history has led to political instability throughout the country and consequently had an overall effect on the planning system. Belfast City has suffered ever since from this period of violence and has been undergoing regeneration of the city as well as trying to built-up its reputation again. There are individual’s however, who take in upon themselves to express their views through DIY acts. Including (Murals, flags, cub-stone paintings, sculptures and subliminal messaging within public space) these must not be mistaken for acts of DIY Urbanism, these are acts of vandalism.

As a city Belfast is relatively new to the concept of DIY Urbanism, even from my own experiences off having lived and studied in Belfast for the past 3 years I had not heard of the concept DIY Urbanism before moving to Sweden. However there are scare examples of DIY Urbanism showcased in Belfast, these include ‘Wildflower’ Alley and Parklets. All these examples will be discussed throughout the course of this essay.

The purpose of this essay is to showcase examples of DIY Urbanism within Belfast, which provides evidence that local government are not using public space to its full potential. Acts of DIY urbanism are a cry for help by citizens, the government are blind-sided in believing that public space is for modernising and promoting the style of a city. However what government are failing to see and consider, is how people interact with cities



Showcasing the 'Wildflower Alley' transformation



and fundamentally what makes a good environment for people? Looking towards Belfast current policy for public space within the Planning System of Northern Ireland is within PPS 8. This stands for Planning Policy Statement 8 - Open Space, Sport and Outdoor Recreation. Planning Policy Statements (PPSs) set out the "policies of the Department of the Environment on particular aspects of land-use planning and apply to the whole of Northern Ireland" (PPS 8) For PPS 8 it consists of policies for the protection of open space, the provision of new areas of open space in association with residential development and the use of land for sport and outdoor recreation, and advises on the treatment of these issues in development plans. The definition of public space differs slightly with in Young 2002 within Jeffery Hou Insurgent Public Space as it is defined through open space as "all open space of public value... including natural and semi-natural urban green spaces... that contributes to the quality of urban life by providing important green lungs and visual breaks in built-up areas." This implies that any public area or space within Northern Ireland and specifically to Belfast City have to coincide with the rules and regulations provided in PPS 8. Belfast is surrounded by the black mountains that create a micro-climate favourable to agriculture. Within Belfast there are a total number of 40 public parks, ranging from the Victorian Botanic Gardens in the heart of the city in Queens Quarter to Cave Hill Country Park. Public Parks and gardens are an essential part of Belfast's culture, and home to an abundance of local wildlife and popular places to host events and recreational activities.

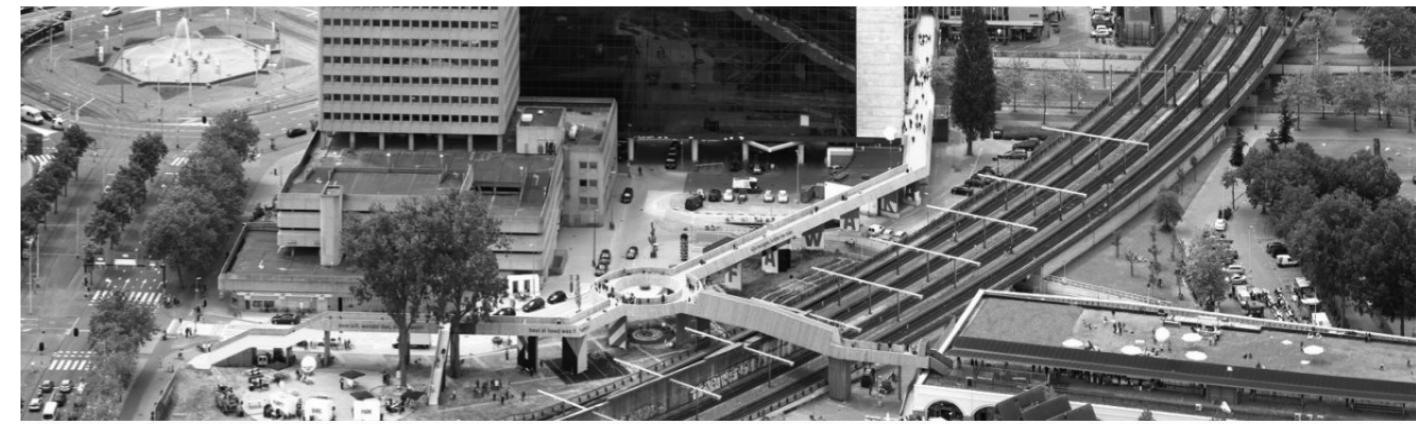
The Wildflower Alley

A prime example of DIY urbanism in Belfast is through 'Wildflower Alley' in South Belfast. The space is situated within a notorious student area known as the 'Holylands'. This is a very run-down area made up of streets of terraced houses, within the area there are high levels of anti-social behaviour including drugs, drinking and frequent civil disruption. This may be the reason why local Belfast City Council does not want to have any association

with the area as they feel it is a lost cause. One internet Forum describes the 'Holylands' as a "Warzone... that has led to the destruction of a Belfast community." Therefore a group of residents within the Holylands have made it their mission to transform the alley into what it has become today. The alleyway has been given a whole lease of life through the residents coming together and cleaning the alley before painting and decorating it with fresh vibrant colours along with an abundance of flowers planted. One resident commented in a recent interview stating "it's about taking control of your own space." (Grant, The Tab 2014) Indicated from this resident comment is the belief shared with Harvey 2008 how "The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city." Therefore suggesting local government can get it wrong when considering regenerating areas in a city as sometimes people do know what it best for their city. The project took place without the help or support from local councils and was completely non-profit. With Belfast being new to the DIY urbanism scene this project is the first of its kind in Belfast and will hopefully be a stepping-stone for further regeneration of public spaces in Belfast. Local newspapers The Belfast Telegraph commented on the alleyways transformation quoting "From boozy back streets to blooming flowers - the Wildflower Alley has been one of the Holylands most successful regeneration projects." (The Belfast Telegraph 2015.) The project has recently received recognition after being nominated for two awards, locally - WHO Belfast Healthy City Awards 2015 and nationally through Cultivation Street Award 2015, the residents are eagerly awaiting the results at the end of the year.

The Luchtsingel Project

On the other hand, the success of Wildflower Alley still begs the question of government involvement for public spaces. Belfast City Council chose not to regenerate the Holylands when the area was in urban decline. Belfast City Council should look towards the Netherlands for inspiration for government involvement



The Luchtsingel Project

through the Luchtsingel project. The Luchtsingel project took part in Hofplein, the busiest area within Rotterdam. Hofplein is a blind spot in the middle of the city that lies within Rotterdam's Central District which is a prime location in the heart of the city. The area before the project for twenty years lay forgotten and left in decline. At this point, the citizens of Rotterdam had had enough of watching this area stay untouched and realized something had to be done and this vacancy needed addressed quickly. This was achieved through, "business owners and citizens coming together and deciding if they wanted to contribute towards the development of an attractive public space." (Luchtsingel, 2015) The project was essentially a wooden footbridge 400 meters long that cut through Hofplein. Named Luchtsingel, which means "air canal", the structure runs through a building and across roads and railways to connect three previously disconnected areas of the city.

Project was originally funded through the unique method of crowdfunding, with the campaign slogan "the more you donate, the longer the bridge." (Luchtsingel, 2015) Within three months, citizens (1,300) had donated a third of the cash needed for the first span of the bridge, and the remainder was further awarded through government grants. The project has created a "pedestrian connection without traffic lights or intersections from the central station to a previously inaccessible area. The bridge has enlivened two dead corners of the city, seeding a new event space for the public." (Luchtsingel, 2015) Crowdfunding from the public had led to the recognition of the local government who now support, carry long term operation and maintenance expenses for the Luchtsingel project and is fundamentally liable for safety in the public realm. This provides evidence to suggest how Belfast City Council can learn from Rotterdam's example, through using public space to its full potential. The Luchtsingel Bridge was completed in summer of 2014 and has been recognized on an international scale through influencing further projects like the High Line in New York.

Parklets

A method of DIY urbanism that has proved extremely successful in major cities across the world is Parklets and internationally reendowed Park(ing) Day.

"A parklet is a sidewalk extension that provides more space and amenities for people using the street. Usually parklet's are installed on parking lanes and use several parking spaces. Parklets typically extend out from the sidewalk at the level of the sidewalk to the width of the adjacent parking space. PARK(ing) Day is an annual, worldwide event where artists, activists, and citizens independently turn metered parking spots into "PARK(ing)" spaces: temporary public parks and other spaces for people to enjoy. PARK(ing) Day is a non-commercial project, intended to promote creativity, civic engagement, critical thinking, unscripted social interactions, generosity and play."

(Rebar 2015)

For the case of Belfast City it recently took part in the annual Park(ing) Day. Belfast's Parking Day was organised by the PLACE (Planning, Landscape, Architecture, Community and Environment) Association through holding a Belfast Culture Night on the 18th September. The 'pocket-park' created was inspired by international Park(ing) Day. This act of DIY on the night generated debate on how public space in Belfast should be used. PLACE commented stating this pocket park has been constructed to "improve the quality of these spaces in Belfast City." (Culture Night Belfast 2015) Although once again, there is zero government or local council involvement. In recent times it is becoming increasing evident how successful parklets are becoming in modern day society, to the extent that San Francisco is 'paving the way' for the parklets by implementing them into planning policy.

Out With the Old and in With the New

Blake Cassidy

Parklets have become so successful that in San Francisco, America they have become part of planning procedure and citizens can apply for planning permission for a parklet. Bradley (2015) comments:

“The institutionalisation of the parklet is a good example of how a guerrilla action became a social movement, which in turn became incorporated into official public planning that then set rules to make parklets or other forms of urban commons enduring, transparent, democratically accountable and organised to serve a wider population in the city.”

This emphasises that urban policy should be used to implement public space and pedestrianism improvement for the city of Belfast.

Will Belfast City Council ever intervene?

Belfast City Council through what can be observed from the information above do not want to go outside their comfort zone and are sticking to the regulations provided in PPS 8. However with citizens in Belfast taking matters into their own hands through regenerating public space and holding Park(ing) Day events, the government need to become more flexible in their approach to public space and its policy. Within PPS 8 it states for future developments “land may be zoned for future open space purposes in the development plan to help meet the needs of local communities.” Although the needs of local communities are not being met, therefore these acts of DIY urbanism would not be taking place within the City. Despite criticisms that local government are not being flexible and open to new concepts, a new association setup that is in partnership with Belfast City Council is The Belfast Holyland Regeneration Association (BHRA). The BHRA represents the views of long-term residents in the Holyland area of South Belfast. In addition to Belfast City Council, the BHRA coincide with Town and County Planning officials and both universities’ situated in Belfast (Queens University and University of Ulster – Jordanstown). This assures suitable measures to help regenerate the area and to guarantee all relevant statutory planning, consultation and approval processes are followed. With the success of Wildflower Alley and comparing it with the success of the Luchtsingel Project, it is bizarre to believe that Belfast Council didn’t take any notice or any responsibility with maintaining or offering their services to Wildflower Alley. In reaction to the Luchtsingel project were Rotterdam City Council partly funded and opted to maintain the bridge even before construction of it had been completed. For the issue of the Alleyway this is contradictory with the government policy on public space in PPS 8 where it states “all open space is of public value... that contributes to the quality of urban life.” (PPS 8 2004). The government in their own policy claim to uphold quality of life through public spaces but wouldn’t help the ‘Holylands’ area in desperate need of regeneration. This leaves the question, what will it take for local government to intervene?

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There are promising results from planners and individuals who mobilize networks through temporal uses to nurture bottom-up growth and development. Temporal uses have become an important part of the urban environment and a valued asset to cities. They stimulate cities culturally and economically and can be used as a tool by municipalities, developers, property owners and individuals to create value. To understand why temporary uses have emerged, an overview of outdated practices is looked at in this essay. Particularly, planning practices and norms that follow a traditional neo-liberal perspective, which concerns itself with topdown planning and master planning. This essay also provides three examples of how temporal uses can be used to elevate planning problems and demonstrates how cultural planning can be used as appose to traditional planning approaches. The role of planners and key actors is evolving and new skills and practices must be learnt and developed to remain culturally competitive on a global scale. This can be done through the shift in function of master planner to facilitator, enabler and agent to support networks that encourage organic city growth.

All over our cities there are empty buildings, disused land, and underutilised areas. Voids of culture, economic prosperity and development are present in our cities. Many of the practices and processes that caused the disconnect still overshadow the planning profession today. This may be due to an economic situation or simply poor planning. However, strategies must be utilised to repair this waste. The role of planners and key actors is changing and new skills and practices are being developed and learnt. Various cities are now moving in a new progressive direction that fosters social capital to remain competitive and one of the key tools to achieve this is through temporal use. This essay describes a shift in role from master planner to temporal facilitator that has come about through a disconnect with the urban form caused by neo-liberalism and top down planning.

The Old

Initially planning was used to ensure public goods and provide a safe environment from the impacts of industrialization. This was transformed in the 1970’s when the corporate city emerged through public and private partnerships. Cities were then being designed and built for profit, which caused one-size fits all approach producing a standardized impersonal urban form. Temporal uses at this time were uncommon due to the neoliberal and capitalist structure of society.

With the advances in building processes and technology, many developments are beyond the scale and capacity for people to manipulate and make their own. Large-scale design is usually a one size fits all approach and can easily create a disconnection with the community. Though, before the industrial revolution, smaller development and less complex developments could be manipulated by residents or the community to make them personal. Citizens could take responsibility for their urban environment, particularly if they were encouraged to.

Master plans are used to fulfill a final concrete goal. However, variables in regards to the environmental, economic and social spheres are unpredictable making the fulfillment of these long-term plans difficult or disconnected. Master plans can be decades old and no longer meet the needs or wants of the population. A strategy to counter this is outlined in the Urban Catalyst: Power of Temporary Uses (Misselwitz et al. 2013), by which planning decisions should be made incrementally, through time, in order to develop a city that meets the needs of the people. Many of the planning and development laws, attitudes and norms from the 1970’s are still present today (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 118). Most notably is the top-down approach (using master plans) with long-term visions for the future. On the other hand, popular and effective temporal activities provide an alternative approach that is flexible and dynamic. Yet, planning law is generally not flexible and supports a top down approach, which can cause obstacles for temporal activities. This suggests that there is space for change in planning law to fix the disparity between law and the ever more common practices of temporal use.

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All places are temporal places.



City farming: creating jobs and community.

The capitalist structure of the planning system can easily be manipulated by big business. For example, if a company wants to build a factory in a particular way that does not meet the planning requirements, the company can demand favorable consideration in return for jobs and economic vitality. For this reason, the current planning system can be held hostage by developers. Planners and municipalities put economic benefit ahead of process, environmental issues, social norms and expectations (Lepeska 2012). Favoring minorities and under resourced actors as appose to large-scale commercialization supports diversity in cities. Large-scale privatization does not always work in the best interest of cities (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 355). Finna (2014 p. 91) in an article named 'DIY Urbanism: Implications for Cities' points out that temporal uses can challenge professional planning because of a "lack of creativity, flexibility, imagination and efficiency." This is mainly due to the bureaucratic nature of the planning profession, having to consider issues such as liability, budgets and politics that can make it unresponsive and disconnected.

The Now

Temporal uses are commonly associated with innovative cities and cultural production (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 134). One of the keys to fostering an innovative city is to support networks of entrepreneurs and the creative class. This can be done though the encouragement of temporal uses so that people can pilot ideas at a low cost. When a wider culture of temporal uses is established, it can create a self-perpetuating environment of cultural generation and innovation. This highlights a shift from traditional economies to innovative and enterprising economies focusing on information-based sectors. "Temporal uses offset local deficiencies that usually require a high degree of municipal engagement" (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 251). This may include social issues such as; help with the upkeep of disused sites, improve safety around sites, and help attract people to areas. In this sense, cities can become self-made incubators for positive

organic development. Three examples of where temporal planning can mitigate particular planning issues are as follows:

1. The idea of 'landbanking' has become common practice in recent years. This involves owners boarding up buildings or fencing off sites, so they can't be used until it is financially viable for the owner to sell, lease or develop the property. These sites are prime locations for informal uses such as market, small businesses, and galleries. This practice is beneficial to owners as it reduces the cost of maintenance, discourages antisocial behavior and squatting on the site. But most importantly it can develop social capital and establish a positive image for the site. One of the best examples of this is in Fremantle Australia, where a department store in the center of town closed permanently in 2012. The site is quite large, comprising of 20,000 square meters of floor space over five-levels. The owner, Sirona Capital intended on leaving the building unused for a period of time until it was viable to be sold, leased or redeveloped (Webber 2014). The general opinion about the building was that it was an eyesore, as the windows were boarded up and there was graffiti all over the walls. People felt unsafe around the site until a group called Spacemarket leased the building with the goal of turning the old department store into a mixed-use temporal space. The ground floor was allocated to retail and cafes that could be used primarily by small fashion labels and vintage shops. Designers, artist and small businesses have populated the basement, first floor and second floors. The rooftop has been turned into a community garden, bar and event space (McHugh, 2013). Overall, it's a very dynamic site with various initiatives that have produced a creative cluster in the centre of town that has oozed life back into the city.
2. Detroit was once known as the automotive factory of the world, however in recent time there has been a massive decline in production. This has resulted in the population falling by over fifty

percent. This left large portions of industrial areas vacant and dilapidated, which makes properties very difficult to sell or lease. "A radical solution has been to allow the development of urban agriculture as a temporary response to urban decline" (Royte 2015, p. 1). In Boston there are now hundreds of urban farms and community gardens providing fresh produce to local schools, supermarkets, restaurants and farmers markets. Initially it was to reduce poverty and support social inclusion while stimulating the local economy, but it has turned into a booming industry (Lehtovuori & Ruoppila 2012 p. 3).

3. The municipality of Amsterdam has used temporal uses to fulfill economic indicators. The Netherlands dock and shipbuilding company (NDSM) site, north of Amsterdam is a large site for urban renewal and temporal use is the main instrument used to develop the area (Wijnberg, 2008). It was previously Amsterdam's largest shipping yard and only a ten-minute (free) ferry ride from the central station across the river IJ. The 86,000 square meter site stopped producing boats in 1984 and the large empty building started to become populated with artists and craftsmen. The area is made up of ten main buildings used for housing (including student housing), studios, galleries, working spaces and events. The site also offers affordable spaces for businesses that include Redbull's head office for the Netherlands. There are now close to 300 artists working at NDMS in the fields such as design, film and theatre (NDSM 2015). This has created a fashionable and desirable feel of the area, which is due to the creative capital of users and is viewed as a success so far. This example shows how temporal uses have been used in place of traditional town planning methods to fix social and economic issues on a larger strategic scale. Little Blind Text didn't listen. She packed her seven versalia, put her initial into the belt and made herself on the way. "An alternative approach to master planning is beginning to emerge." (Bishop, 2012, cited in Lepeska 2012, p.2)

Berlin and Amsterdam are known for their creative class and knowledge based economies. This correlates with large amount of temporal practices in these cities. Accordingly, these cities market themselves to attract creative entrepreneurial people in order to perpetuate their cultural capital. Temporal uses in recent years have become fashionable, and can be seen by the way large organisations align themselves with temporal projects to enforce their brand like Redbull at the NDSM site. Clusters can also form that create innovative networks that align with goals of an information based economy. In this view, social capital becomes an important resource and should be the basis for future development of more permanent uses.

"Informalization must be seen in the context of the economic restructuring that has contributed to the decline of the manufacturing dominated industrial complex of the post war era and the rise of a new, service-dominated economic complex"

(Misselwitz et al, 2013, p.97)

The New

Temporal use initiatives are the building blocks for a reorganisation of development processes: a self-organizing system catering for the needs of the inhabitants and users. Using temporary uses as a tool for urban development differs from classical planning methods. Compared to classical planning methods temporal use "development is largely left to pursue its own trajectory" (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 217). Temporal uses can also be dubbed a form of soft planning whereby the planner can become a facilitator or enabler. This results in a culture of open sourced planning that relies on incremental development that is continually checked against reality before continuing. There has been a trend in reduction of planning staff that can make it difficult to process complex planning issues. Therefore third party groups have had success in facilitating the process involving temporal uses. The successful use of third party groups has also

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occurred in similar initiatives such as urban regeneration and urban renewal (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 129).

The role of private actors helping facilitate temporal uses has been shown to be a successfully strategy (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 308). Municipalities are often ill equipped to fulfill this role because their traditional bureaucratic operating practices can make it difficult to achieve results. But success has occurred when municipals or governments have outsourced facilitators to align economic goals through temporal uses. However, it is highlighted in *Urban Catalyst* (2013 p. 163) that temporal uses must not be standardized because every situation of temporal use is different and involves a different combination of actors, space, processes and laws. Therefore, temporal uses must be organic and supported on a case-by-case basis.

Planners can instrumentalise temporal uses by supporting programs or by seeking out actors to initiate programs. Though, the latter can be difficult as it take away from the organic nature of temporal uses. A softer approach that planners can take is to facilitate temporal uses between owners and possible users. Also, incentives such as higher property taxes for unused spaces could be used as a tool to encourage property owners to support temporal use.

An enabler is one who helps overcome hurdles from a neutral perspective and usually plays as a mediator between parties and actors. They can be part of a private group, branch of government or independent. Agencies fulfilling this need have emerged in places like Berlin. Their services consist of legal knowledge, procedural knowledge, helping to network with professional contacts and facilitating ways of finding resources. In some cases the enabler even rents a site and then sub-lets it to temporal users (Misselwitz et al. 2013, pp. 231-235).

Independent actors that take the role of facilitator can conduct feasibility studies to figure out the best way to use disused sites. This can be particularly instrumental when there is a deadlock between potential users, government and property owners. Facilitation can also be done through coaching to mobilize networks, drawing on past experience, knowledge and technical support. The most difficult time for temporal uses is the initial start up phase and as a result vital experience can become an essential tool for activation. These roles could be filled by government, planners, architects or independent actors.

Master plan development is being scaled back in some cities such as Amsterdam to create room for a "open-source program involving temporal uses" (Misselwitz et al. 2013, p. 373) which represents an important shift from top down planning to open source, bottom up planning. However, it must be noted that temporal uses cannot fully replace master planning, but rather, minimize its use. Bottom up planning can be instrumentalised planners through temporal uses with the focus of mobilizing networks. Temporal uses can be used as a form of experimental planning to pilot ideas in order to incrementally develop a place. It is also an essential tool for planners to move towards culturally progressive knowledge based societies. This practice has developed partly due to the disconnect between the city and citizens. And the best way to see whether temporal uses are instrumentalised in a wider sense is to watch how well universities and planners uptake these methods. Overall, it is an interesting time for the planning profession and hopefully planners use temporal uses as a tool in their day-to-day strategies to support a progressive open source process in city design.

Making Urgent Tactical Urbanism

Anna Hesselgren

This article questions how the worldwidely spread citizen-led approach Tactical Urbanism, as described by Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia, can contribute to long-term change and spatial justice. Or is it, through the mistrust in public planning, just a camouflage for the neoliberal urban agenda? A hobby for the already privileged in the inner city? Could it be of better use and developed as a tool for social empowerment in so called problem areas? How could the low-income conflictual million programme suburbs of Järva in northwest Stockholm, facing urban transformation and gentrification, benefit from the new public city guidelines "idéburen stadsförbättring" (idea-based urban improvement)? These vaguely formulated guidelines are maybe intentionally unclear to promote a searching and testing of this new kind of tactical approach by both citizens and administrations. My suggestion is a long-term program for Järva area that would test the new city guidelines departing from these neighborhoods' needs. An open-source manual for interventions based on the small or large experiences of tactical interventions in these areas could be created by the inhabitants encouraged by a moderator/facilitator, being a group of artists, committed to a long-term engagement in the area.

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Introduction

I will first briefly describe how Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia promote the approach of Tactical Urbanism in an American context that has inspired others to use the tactical strategy worldwide. Then I will question their lack of problematizing the fact that not all citizens are equally equipped with means, time and knowledge to undertake tactical projects. Can tactical projects really contribute to long-term change and spatial justice or is it, through the mistrust in public planning, a camouflage for the neoliberal urban agenda? How could the neighborhoods in Järva benefit from the new public city guidelines, idea-based urban improvement (Stockholm Stad, 2013)?

I suggest that the marginalised urban users in the million-programme suburbs of Järva, north of Stockholm, submitted to an ongoing urban transformation, should be encouraged to use the tactical method. It would there serve a better purpose than in "hipsterfied" innercity Södermalm by the wealthy middle-class reinforcing their "comfort zones".

Why Tactical Urbanism?

Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia show in their promotional survey *Tactical Urbanism: Short-Term Action for Long-Term Change* (2015) how this approach has been growing strongly in American cities in the last decade due to the Great Recession, the return to the cities from the suburbs, the growth of radical connectivity but also to the widening gap between the government and citizens (Lydon&Garcia, 2015,p.63-64). They present how tactical projects succeed in building and activating neighborhoods with short-term, low-cost urban interventions aiming for a long-term change in a larger scale. Through the power of social interaction in an open collaborative learning-process the method develops creatively an efficient use of resources in a response to both a perceived deficiency in the psychial urban space and the slow and manytimes outdated conventional urban building processes (Lydon & Garcia, 2015,p.2-3). Both authorities, citizens and planners can initiate tactical projects existing in a wide range between sanctioned and unsanctioned implementations. Though, activistic guerilla gardening is of course more likely to be performed by citizens, but can be sanctioned afterwards by local authorities (Lydon & Garcia, 2015,p.9).

Lydon & Garcia have identified three common and overlapping implementations of the approach: 1) Citizen-led civil disobedience and protestacts to show the need and possibility of change skirting public procedures of permission; 2) as a tool for public participation in planning and development processes instead of the existing structure for civic dialogue that often attract only a few. Better decisions can be made engaging a more diverse group of residents, and 3) A "phase 0"- a quick pilot version that can bring quantitative data before the realization of the large scale project (Lydon & Garcia, 2015,p.12-16).



Open Space I, mirrorinstallation, Husby, (Järva), 2012. Artist: Anna Hesselgren (photo). Investigation of spaces in-between in urban transformation. Part of the research project Performing the Common.



Open Space II, mirrorinstallation, Husby, (Järva), 2012. Artist: Anna Hesselgren (photo). Investigation of spaces in-between in urban transformation. Part of the research project Performing the Common.

Tactical urban strategies mitigate, according to the study of Lydon&Garcia, the tension between bottom-up (tactical) and top-down (strategical) approaches by creating better public spaces. They claim that governments should work more tactically and citizens more strategically, collaboratively for the same goals to create better cities (Lydon & Garcia, 2015,p.10).

The projects carried out in America are according to Lydon and Garcia mostly related to the fatigue of cars perceived as dominating too much urban space. Like innovative traffic and transportation solutions, open spaces for leisure in former lethal street intersections, (Intersection Repair), temporary markets in former car-parkings, building better blocks initiatives, small-scale building initiatives like bus-stops, signs for walkability in the city(Walk(Your City)), painted crosswalks and remedies for slowing down traffic speed in dangerous high traffic (Pavement to Plazas). The tactical projects have not only met many citizens concerns but are also often consistent with the city government's general policies for neighborhood safety, and therefore were implemented permanently incorporated in the city ordinances. All these successful projects used sharing online tools for the long-term impact. Rebar's Park(ing)Day has a well-developed open-source non-profit commons through Creative Commons which has been adopted worldwide, filling the framework with site-specific responses (Lydon & Garcia, 2015,p.92-169).

Tactical Urbanism is clearly a right-to-the-city-movement of a political ongoing struggle, as in Purcell's understanding of Lefebvre, for revolution beyond capitalism and property rights that redefines the urban space as part of the social network. Lefebvre places the "urban," the lived space for people at the core, not the capitalist commodified "city" (Purcell, 2013,p.148-149).And the city contains already the fragments of the "urban: a not-yet-realized potential for urban life" everywhere in situations where use value and self-management of space arise (Purcell, 2013,p.151).

I believe, even if Lydon and Garcia never mention it, that the tactical mindset is actually also close to what Lefebvre intended in his project of radical "urgent utopia". It criticizes, according to Purcell's work on Lefebvre, the existing society and aims towards another possible future world beyond capitalist society, leading to a socialist society of collective awakened self-management. The realm of urgent utopia is located between an ideal non-reachable utopia and short-term realism, combining the real and the ideal. Purcell holds that Lefebvre's utopia is quite attainable, though it needs a changed attitude of thinking of other possible worlds, questioning the present. A "revolution (...)" that requires millions of everyday acts of resistance and creation" and eventually the impossible transforms into the possible (Purcell, 2013,p.150-151).

Tactical projects - for spatial justice and long-term change?

Participatory tactical projects are problematic as they can be a way of justifying the increased lack of responsibility for planning by the city governments and even further feeding the hegemonic neoliberal urban capitalist agenda. As Bradley argues, self-organised urban commons can be exploited for marketing strategies of private real estate as these relatively small projects cannot defy large urban development processes (Bradley, 2015,p.91).

I find in Lydon and Garcia's description of tactical projects very little understanding for the disadvantaged in society. In their survey there are no examples of Tactical Urbanism in low-income, problematic conflictual areas reflecting residents desires for better urban neighborhoods nor how it would be possible to involve them in these kind of projects.Though Lydon and Garcia mean that equity often is the focus in these projects, they merely observe that the marginalised or those uninterested of all ages are difficult to engage (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p.11). Many conventional open urban planning processes tend to appeal to those already privileged in society with time, interest and education to engage in these issues. Instead of inviting people for

showing urban proposals in the City Hall, the proposals should, Lydon and Garcia argues, be brought to where the inhabitants are in order to better involve them in the work of designing the future shared living space (Ibid,p.11-12).

But doesn't the problem remain, that those most marginalised citizens still are not showing up. Wouldn't it be a important to include those unheard voices of the majority, the "Other"; for our better future coexistence? And isn't the question of spatial justice something that tactical approach as a tool would be very suitable for and could work on more consciously? In the design thinking manual's very useful checklist formulated by Lydon and Garcia as guidelines for the tactical making the starting point is "empathy," meaning that a careful consideration has to be made whom the project may benefit or disturb. Finding this out might lead to adjustments but also to more people joining the project, sharing concerns of the problem addressed (Ibid,p.173-174). Though, I still miss a concern for how to involve those unreachable who do not answer the questions.

But there are other compelling tactical spatial approaches, like the French team aaa (Atelier d'Architecture Autogérée), more inclined to promote social change and social empowerment in their long-term projects undertaken in Parisian suburbs. They aim through encouraging the inhabitants to critically transform temporary underused urban space at making the city more democratic. The social collaborative processes shape common spaces and provide as they say a "resistance to profit driven development."They promote the co-existence of a diversity of life-styles and living practices (aaa, 2015).

In La Chappelle, a multicultural, low-income neighborhood north of Paris the project ECOBox, a temporary garden collaboratively created with the residents in an abandoned area filled with many different activities (playing, cooking, cultural debates etc.) was initiated in 2001. It became an important self-organized social

platform for creativity for a few years with the daily presence and collaborative work of its initiator aaa. The urban garden concept, organisation and negotiation skills were passed on to its users that, politically awakened after the threat of eviction of the garden, started creating more self-managed gardens in the neighborhood (Bradley, 2015,p.98,100). Team aaa has also after ECOBox engaged in another suburban neighborhood in Paris, Colombes, with the project R-urban. In a fully city-sanctioned large-scale project they are building an eco-community with urban sustainable agriculture and a self-built cooperative housing with experimental community spaces, run by its users as urban commons. It is made as a prototype, free for others to learn from and develop further like the Creative Commons rules, with a open-source strategy following the criteria of commons, which they intend to make as a model for the refurbishment of neglected suburban areas worldwide (Ibid, p.100; aaa, 2015).

I appreciate Bradley's suggestion that the open-source commons could be a way out of the hold of neoliberal urban agenda and towards a sharing economy (Ibid) made possible through the digital evolution. Like the hacktivism that Lydon&Garcia mean tactical urbanism has so much in common with in findingways to skirt the system (Lydon&Garcia, 2015,p.78). They also point out how the projects they describe have benefitted from radical connectivity with the many available web-based tools in creating, funding, documenting and communicating the story of the projects. Like for Matt Tomsaulo's initial Walk Raleigh "guerrilla wayfinding" project's possibilities of long-term impact (Lydon&Garcia, 2015,p.90; Walk(YourCity), 2015).

Tactical approach - a challenge to the neoliberal urban agenda?

According to Brenner only very few cases of Tactical Urbanism can fight the neoliberal capitalist urban policy.The approach isonly subversive when it disturbs hegemonic market-oriented governance taken for "common-sense" and proposes an

alternative urban future based on spatial justice in a bottom-up approach (Brenner, 2015,p.5). And, as Lydon&Gracia also insist, it is important to place the tactical projects in a long-term thinking , aiming for policy changes.Brenner argues that spatial professionals should engage more systematically with progressive urban interventions towards “institutional (re) designing” the systems of policies controlling the production of space (Ibid,p.7).

Another promising strategy of tactical large-scale intervention is the URBZ/Ensamble-POP-lab that work with a counter-strategy to protect so-called slum neighborhoods from large land development by Mumbai’s neoliberalized economy. Through a design strategy promoting a counter-image of the “slum” as a space of productivity and creativity: a “tabula pronta” (“ready slate”), not as a “tabula rasa” easily erased when the area is exploited.Through reinforcing spatial practices that already exist in the neighborhoods they present a model of “up-building” that helps residents to construct new possibilities for local economic and social development. To give the slum a better reputation than being seen as a place for backwardness, also in its own residents’ eyes (Brenner, 2015,p.11).

But Brenner is pessimistic and means that in the absence of a political movement questioning the neoliberal urban growth model it is hard to make a difference in the long run for the slums. He points at the tension of finding alternatives to neoliberal urbanism and urban interventions that places themselves outside the institutions.(Ibid,p.7) As long as the policies of public infrastructures remain the same planning will continue camouflaging the crisis of neoliberal politics and economy of urban development. Evenso, Brenner is hopeful that tactical urbanism could constitute a radical counter-force if these projects pose truly critical questions on contemporary urbanism. They can with collectively shared capacities in the production of the city promote alternative, better structures of co-existence and economy (Ibid,p.12,16).

“Idea-based urban improvement”- tactical guidelines for Stockholm

The municipality of Stockholm presented in 2014 new guidelines as part of the civic dialogue, for making a better city through encouraging and facilitating citizens to propose self-organized short-term innovative urban interventions to the city district managements. The purpose is to open up our shared public space for small-scale development projects to make the city more lively and attractive. It states only shortly being inspired by the urban tactics in Times Square and San Fransisco. The projects should also be replicatable in other parts of the city. A budget of 10 million SEK was deposited.

The former mayor Sten Nordin wrote it should be easy to propose ideas about the development of Stockholm, the officials should be receptive and help through the process. He also expressed the concern to adapt the communication towards the target groups that usually have difficulties in influencing their immediate environment (Stockholm Stad, 2013, p.4-5).

The guidelines are perceived generally positively by the city district boards but as quite unclear in how the approach differs

from already established citizen dialogues. A strategy of the new ways of communication is missing according to many officials that Martin Bretz interviewed in his study of the guidelines (Bretz, 2015, p.44-45). The officials find this new policy to foster democratic values, a more sustainable city and as breaking the social barriers. It will also contribute to a better relationship between the citizens and the municipality. Though, a clear trend is that the major part of the project ideas that have been submitted since 2014 came from residents in the wealthy middleclass innercity areas and villa-suburbs. The voices of the large majority have not been heard, which is seen by some officials as negatively reinforcing the existing power relations (Bretz, 2015, p.50-51). Bretz means that a central coordinator that deals with these problems and more knowledge in the city districts about the definition of tactical approaches is needed (Bretz, 2015, p.61).

But these guidelines are, as I understand them, intentionally vaguely formulated to be further developed by the local district officials and residents. A searching and testing of this new kind of tactical approach would come up with new changed and hopefully better policies more attentive to the needs of the residents in Stockholm. With not so strict rules as for what kind of city interventions are being approved of would also promote the creation of truly innovative not yet seen improvements, which is also one of the criterias spelled out in the guidelines. The wish is also to define what the notion “innovative” should stand for (Stockholm Stad, 2013, p.57). Since 2014 a boulevards court for pensioners in Tensta, mural paintings and urban gardening in many places in Stockholm are among the projects that have been initiated, some ongoing, others finished (Bretz, 2015, p.48).

I find it remarkable that in the responses on proposal for guidelines it is only one of the city district boards, the middle-class high-income inner city district board of Kungsholmen, that points out the necessity of including marginalised groups (Stockholm Stad, 2013, p.53). I agree with the suburban Rinkeby-Kista district board that considers the guidelines as an appropriate approach to be applied in millionprogram areas in the large network of organisations, corporations, associations, schools, and authorities named Järva-Andan (The Spirit of Järva) (Stockholm Stad, 2013, p.54).

As mentioned earlier Lydon and Garcia’s tactical manual departs from “empathy”; a concern for whom the project is undertaken for (Lydon & Garcia,2015, p.173-174). I would like to include in this the responsibility for marginalised groups and their living environments in need of improvements as perceived by outsiders, non-residents. As Lydon&Garcia seem to mean, tactical projects originates from a personal problem in one’s own neighborhood, but I think citizens and especially design professionals also can and should perceive these things in others’ neighborhoods. Some of the local city district boards seem to interpret the guidelines as it is only dwellers in the hood that are allowed to come up with city improving projects.This is however not what the released guidelines from the municipal government state (Stockholm Stad, 2013,p.5).

Proposal: Tactical Järva

I would like to propose a specific program for the millionprogram suburbs in Järva district to be developed. Following the city’s

guidelines short-term interventions would be stimulated but in a framework of long-term change both in the physical environment and in a development of the policies as intended in the tactical approach (Lydon&Garcia,2015).

A group of artists and other spatial practitioners, with interest in and experience of relational, collaborative, urban approaches, like myself, could fill a gap as intermediators between residents not used to civic participation and the city officials and other organizations. They would facilitate and negotiate application and implementation processes working in a long-term commitment with the community. I agree with Bradley that the role of the artists in critical spatial practice would be, as Schneider and Till suggest (cited in Bradley, 2015, p.91) “agents of progressive politics”; where the authorship is transformed into a collaborative working process with shared outcome (Bradley, 2015, p.91).

As a brief outline, workshops will be held to investigate collaboratively the urban area and gather diverse data in a collective process aiming at creating truly innovative urban interventions that will be tested and developed further together. Methods will be created in the process and coordinated with all the neighborhoods in Järva, then shared as an open-source sharing approach (protected by Creative Commons) online for communication and facilitating further project developments. A cooperation with active local associations and other groups like Järva-Andan(The Spirit of Järva) will be established. The Public Art Agency Sweden will in 2016 present examples of artistic improvements to public spaces together with local partners in millionprogrammes in Sweden. If they choose to work in Järva it could benefit my proposal (Public Art Agency Sweden,2015). The program would be inspired by team aaa’s work, the artistic participatory action research Hustadt,Inshallah, by Apolonija Šušteršić in a German suburb (Šušteršić, 2013) and the artist Kerstin Bergendal’s long-term engagement in Hallonbergen’s urban transformation (Parklek, 2015).

I want to conclude this short article emphasizing that encouraging tactical projects in Järva is a great opportunity for Stockholm to develop and clarify the guidelines for idea-based urban improvement through the context of these suburbs in need of empathy. It would be an experimental “urgent utopia”-social-empowerment movement departing from these neighborhoods’ desires, capacities and resources (“tabula pronta”) improving their reputation and self-esteem. But it would also benefit Stockholm in large with innovative solutions for cohabitation and urban improvements.

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Citizens Participation in Barcelona Urban Planning

Cristina Igual Gero

Cities must be rethought from beneath, from the needs of its citizens and the needs of the city itself. How to breathe the city, how to walk and how to live, are key factors in order to build an adapted, sustainable, inclusive and fair city where we all fit in. The cities that we experiment nowadays are no longer focused on the actors but on the economics; the public sphere is surrounded by expressions of power and control rather than dynamism and spontaneity. The purpose of this essay is to analyze citizens' participation in urban environment and the city. My purpose is to evaluate the challenges that citizens find while trying to change the everyday urban space. To do so, I focus on Barcelona and compare and discuss its mode of production to the articles from *Insurgent Public Space* book (Hou, 2010). In this essay I study the neighborhood organizations in Barcelona as an instrument of management of the urban sphere. These associations and many other popular movements respond to social conflict in the city and try to give answers to the failure and lack of representativeness of the local institutions.

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Public space in modern cities

Public space has always been the center of city life in European societies, as it allows citizens to interact, socialize and express their public opinions. These spaces enable dwellers to break their scheduled urban life and provide the city with memories and meaning.

However, during the last few decades the public space in many cities has changed its initial purpose: Instead of representing the civic life of the urban actors, they are now sites where economy grows and where government seeks control and ownership. As a consequence, the city can't ensure the right of inhabitants to express and communicate in public spaces because they are now regulated and controlled. Despite the regulations and the oppression, dwellers always find alternatives to claim their place in the city; creating spaces where they can demand justice, diversity and democracy in the city.

Unconventional urban planning

Insurgent Public Space by Jeffery Hou shows us various examples of how a different process of city making can be done. He claims in his book that unconventional urban planning can be produced without being under the domination of experts and professionals (Hou, 2010). Although citizens have limited opportunities to engage in the urban planning of their cities, when they do so, they are not only creating a more democratic space but also they are encouraging other citizens to acknowledge the fact that urban conditions are not perpetual, and that changes can be done against the dominant forces of the city.

"In modern democracies, as power has shifted to the people, public spaces have at last provided a legitimate space for protest and demonstrations an expression of the freedom speech. But such freedom has never come without considerable struggles and vigilance."

(Hou, 2010:3)

As Jeffery Hou mentioned in the aforementioned quote, challenging the defined public spaces is not an easy project; the practices often interfere with political statement and with the structured urban life. Therefore, citizens have to organize themselves to work for the transformation of their everyday urban space into a place that best suits their needs.

Urban Participation in cities

It is complicated to give a proper definition for the term "urban participation", a definition that could be shared by everyone and that would satisfy the different practices and experiences from social movements, and the actors of civil society and even private business. However, despite the existence of different approaches of the concept there are common elements that allow the introduction of a generic definition: it understands participation as the political and social practices where citizens are able to influence any dimension of what is public. Within this wide range

of possibilities, we can locate very different ways of participation: from voting in elections to any other form of collective actions, or even protests. Consequently what defines urban participation is the willingness of a part of the city dwellers to be involved in the urban public sphere.

Case of study

Throughout the present essay I will try to analyze these methods of urban participation by focusing on a European city: Barcelona will assess the opportunities and challenges that city dwellers are confronted with while trying to improve their everyday urban space. I will research local organizations in Barcelona and evaluate their work on managing urban conflicts.

As various authors from Jeffery Hou's (2010) book have, I will offer my own critical point of view and I will research on participation opportunities that Barcelona provides. Since I have lived in Barcelona for 22 years I consider myself an actor of its public space, thus I have gained an insight on our chances as citizens to change our own city.

Barcelona Context

The last few decades, Barcelona has become a prime tourist destination internationally; tourism has become the major source of income for the city and as a consequence, the industry and the economy has shifted towards attracting new visitors. Undoubtedly all Barcelona attractions have been promoted by different government policies that focused on attracting visitors with a very plural profile, origin and motivation. The large presence of visitors in Barcelona highlights the urban impacts tourism has had and also, how the government is not focusing anymore on the citizens' wellbeing. The problems of overcrowding, the changes on the commercial activities and having to coexist with tourists are some of the main conflicts in the city. As a consequence of these tensions, citizens have started to react to the transformation of the city atmosphere: dwellers can't claim the city as theirs anymore.

"By delineating what constitutes public and private and by designating membership to specific social groups, the official public space has long been exclusionary"

(Hou, 2010:3)

As commented in the introduction of *Insurgent Public Space* book, urban public space has always been exclusionary: those who had more power always prevented the participation of other social groups (Hou, 2010:3). This dominant group in modern societies (and also in the specific example of Barcelona) is represented by the city government and the investors; these actors aim at economically-driven cities and only allow city dwellers to interact and express themselves in certain areas of the city.

Participation forums in Barcelona

The greater regional actors in Barcelona that have emerged from civil society are the neighborhood associations (*associacions de veïns*). These are non-profit organizations, established by citizens in different districts, which seek quality solutions to collective problems. They tackle with issues such as quality of life in the neighborhood, collective interests and neighbor relationships.

These associations believe that many of the city's problems require cooperation between the citizens and the institutions; re-thinking the model city, from the perspective of planning, must be done through analyzing all the social elements in order to understand the distribution and the management of the city.

Inside look into neighborhood associations

In their small scale, neighborhood associations are allowed to participate in the management of municipal facilities and services of their district: they are able to organize non-profit activities in their everyday urban space. As a result, these civic corporations are instruments that promote citizen participation in initiatives of public interest. However, the City Council regulates and sets the conditions for granting facilities that are property of the municipality and formalizes the arrangement through a license. In order to get involved in more considerable plans (like the design of their districts or the involvement in urban planning) the members of the Neighbors Society participate in open talks and debates to create different projects regarding issues concerning their urban space.

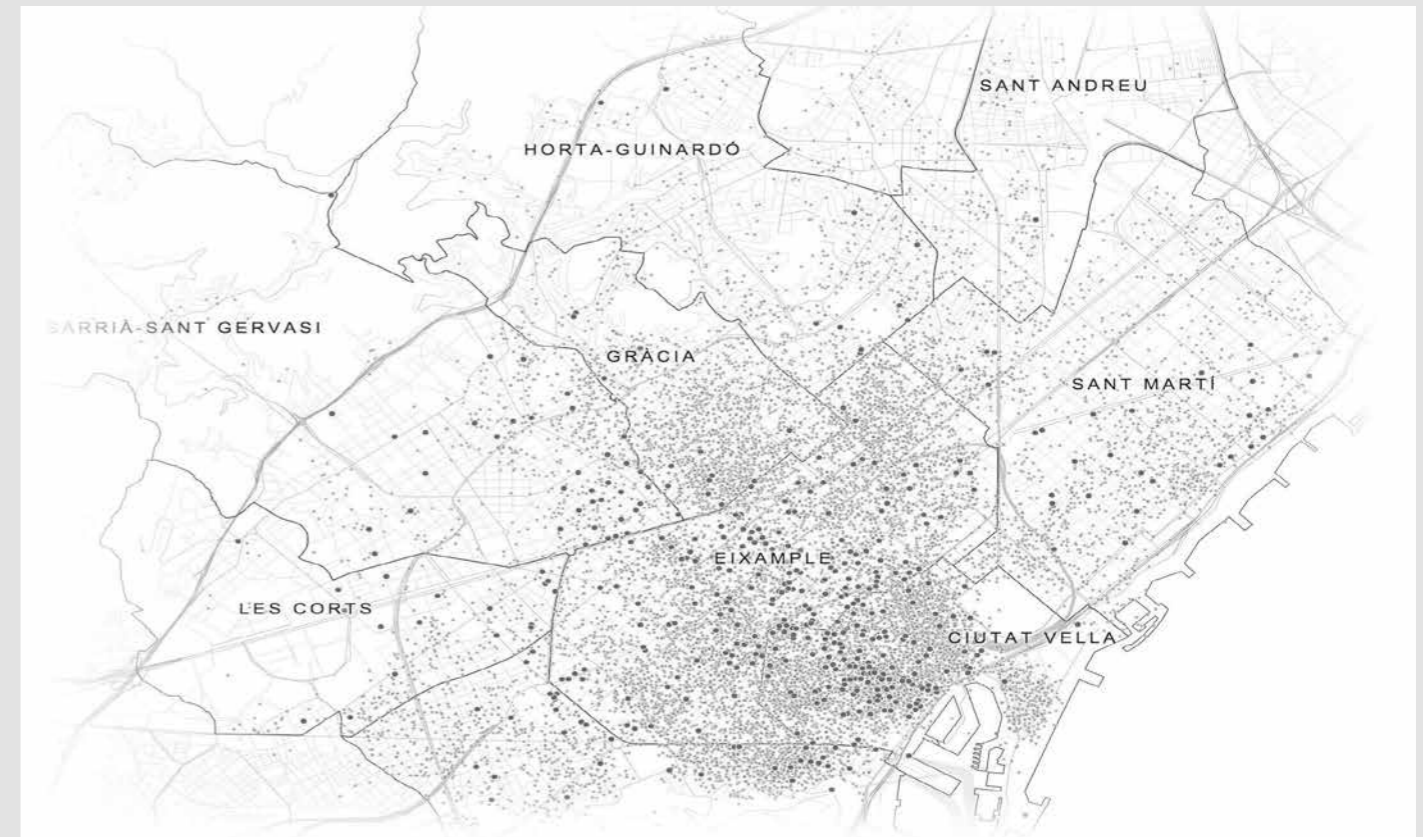
In the following paragraphs I will focus on a specific area of Barcelona that is affected with the transformation of urban space: the district of Ciutat Vella. I will analyze and discuss how the district association of this neighborhood tries to deal with certain issues of their concern.

Ciutat vella framework

Back in the 50's Barcelona suffered from many migratory waves of workers that came from the rest of Spain, and settled down mainly in re-rented flats in the old town (the district of Ciutat Vella). During these years the urban life grew substantially in the old town district; these immigrant workers adapted quickly to urban life by creating small businesses in the area and establishing close bonds with the local residents. During the same period, a law forbidding rent increases was created. As a consequence, the owners started not to care about flats conditions and avoided any kind of reform. All of these elements turned the area into a proletarian neighborhood with a very strong feeling of fraternity but with poor housing situation. During the 70's an economic crisis emerged and with it came a considerable rise of unemployment. At the same time the concept of tourism was appeared for the first time in Spain. It was the moment that investors decided to aim at the touristic market and speculate with the housing market in the underprivileged districts like the old town.



About a hundred of Barcelona residents protesting in front of hotel construction to fight against tourism industry. (Rugrand, 2015)



This map of Barcelona shows the concentration of hotels and touristic flats in different districts of the city. (Lorenzo, 2015)

There will have been several consequences of the aforementioned process, but the most important fact was that not only did the citizens of the district see themselves forced to keep living in this degraded urban space but also, they had to cohabit and get used to the mass consumption that tourist attractions generate.

Mass tourism and spatial injustice

The tourism has changed the daily routine of the district dwellers: the disappearance of typical shops that have been turned into souvenir shops, strolling has become impractical because of the tourist crowds and it has become impossible to have a good night's sleep due to the street noise. These are only a few of the situations that the citizens have to confront.

The discomfort that the coexistence with tourists creates is the main issue that neighbors debate in the neighborhood association of Ciutat Vella. The district has reached its limit of tourist capacity, more than the 30% of the touristic apartments and hotels in Barcelona are concentrated in this district (see figure 1).

If we examine the concept of spatial injustice we may easily find some aspects in this district that prove the fact that citizens no longer have rights over their own city. Lefebvre critiques capitalism and the consumerist society, stating that it reduces the quality of citizens' life. He advocates for a society where the city is focused on human activities and events rather than in economic issues (Dikéc, 2001: 1785-1803). Tourism is undoubtedly an economical issue in Barcelona manifesting itself in this district as oppression towards its citizens.

"The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise

of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."

(Harvey, 2008:23)

As Harvey claimed, the district must overcome the injustice and regain citizen control of urban development over capital production. By creating the associations, the neighbors are claiming government response on urban transformation in the area (Harvey, 2008:23-40).

Throughout the next two sections I will present two events organized by the association in Ciutat Vella and I will compare their tactics when dealing with urban injustice to the concepts that appear in *Insurgent Public Space* book (Hou, 2010).

Occupation of a public square

On March 28 of 2014, the Neighborhood Association of Ciutat Vella organized a meeting at Sant Miquel's square reclaiming this public space for local residents. The organizers placed tables with snacks and some games for children to invite everyone to come and enjoy the place. Over one hundred people participated, neighbors and other citizens that were walking around the area stopped to have a drink and to ask what was going on there. Children played and painted on the floor while the parents had a chat with other parents.

Sant Miquel's square is one of the main squares in Ciutat Vella because of its location in the heart of the district. This place used to be a space where neighbors gathered around especially on weekends, enabling them to take a break from their everyday life. Nowadays the square is invaded with bar terraces for tourists and children have to play in a small area limited by a fence. Participants voiced their discomfort regarding the increase of bars that take up the public space with their terraces, stating

that nowadays it is impossible to interact with other neighbors without having to consume anything. The terraces of the bars are only an example, but many other places and parks of the city are now becoming private so that the government could profit from the tourist visits.

The purpose of the occupation was to create a community environment in the area and a friendly place for children to play. Furthermore, neighbors were trying to rebel against the political forces, to protest that they did not want Barcelona to be sold to the tourists. This occupation of a public square can be correlated with the term Appropriating: "represents actions and manners through which the meaning, ownership, and structure of official public space can be suspended" (Hou, 2010:13). The organizers of the event intended to re-appropriate a public space that has become overwhelmed with consumerism and privatization.

"Rebar defines generous urbanism as the creation of public situations between strangers that produce new cultural value, without commercial transaction" (Merker, 2010:51). As Rebar mentions, a greater space can be created if we erase the economics and introduce instead some human value to the place. The neighbors of the district of Ciutat Vella transformed the use of the space to allow citizens gather in a place where economy was not anymore the center of interest. We could notice an analogy between the occupation of St. Miguel's square and the term Transgressing: "crossing the official boundaries between the private and public domain through temporary occupation as well as production of new meaning and relationships" (Hou, 2010:14). The term Transgressing refers to overpassing the limits of the private to regain the public space that once belonged to the citizens.

In Kinoshita's example of Transgressing we can observe that private space can cross the line of public realm to create a better environment for the city (Kinoshita, 2010: 159-167). In Barcelona's

case, terraces of bars occupy the public square, so it is also the private one that is crossing the public boundaries, although in this example it only does it having an economical purpose. In this case, the public space is the one that must overcome the limits of private to achieve a better environment; otherwise the city is prioritizing the commercial transaction to the citizens' wellbeing.

FUB (Forum veïnal d'urbanisme a Barcelona)

fUb was a forum on urban planning held on October 30 of this year. The forum purpose was to bring together urban experts and several neighbors associations to analyze and discuss different decisions of the Barcelona urban environment. Several months before the forum, the organizers asked the different neighborhood associations to assess the evolution of their district during the last decades in order to understand the current situation on urban design. With this research, neighbors were able to analyze the foundation of urban participation and urban planning in their districts. In addition during 2015, the associations organized meetings in their districts to discuss about current urban issues that concerned the residents. The conclusions drawn on these meetings and workshops would, later on, be discussed in the forum to try to work on possible solutions. Using this methodology it was possible for all the opinions to be taken into consideration.

During the forum the aim was clear: to move towards the definition of a city model that includes interests and aspirations of city dwellers. To promote citizens participation in urban planning, the organizers of the event presented six lines of work as open workshops that discussed the following issues: "Barcelona, a metropolitan city", "Space and reindustrialization", "Public spaces and facilities: access and rationalization", "Justice of space in the city", "Planning and community development districts" and "Urban planning, housing and land policy".

The Power of Temporary Use in Nacka Municipality

Beata Iverson

Finally, the conclusion of these debates was published on the website to make the information available to the public thus time generating a city concerned with the welfare of its residents. This event can be related to the term Contesting: “the making and rediscovery of public space through active reinterpretation of hidden or latent meanings and memories in the urban landscape” (Hou, 2010:14). This term refers the actions that pretend to gain back the meaning of a public space to create greater justice in the city. Therefore, when citizens rediscover a public space, they are trying to bring back the memories that this place had before. The event was a process of rethinking the current state of the city but considering the past and memories of the citizens.

“If urban planning is to “know the city” (Rendell, 2002), a creative answer or discursive transformation in neo-liberal historical preservation in the city must include retentions of the memories of everyday lives and concretization of a culturing process that includes people of all classes work types and genders.”

(Chiu, 2010: 159-167)

As Annie Chiu mentions, in order to identify new urban programs to transform the city, we have to analyze the whole background. Every conception and interpretation of the city needs to be considered; otherwise the city would have to be reassessed. (Chiu,2010: 159-167).In Barcelona we can observe a transformation of the concept of the city. Citizens are not pleased with the place where they are living, as a result they aim at the creation of a new urban sphere through overpassing the limits of polices and the government.“As the boundary between public and private in today’s society becomes increasingly unclear, creating a new public sphere requires more ingenious solutions” (Chiu,2010:212) In order to generate a non-monolithic urban space we need appropriated solutions to urban problems.

Conclusion

People in Barcelona struggle with the Government policies, as they create an unjust city, which prioritizes consumerism over the citizens’ well-being. This situation urges the residents to react, thus organizing themselves in district associations’ to try to gain the city back. Through these associations, neighbors re-think their model of city from the perspective of planning

“Today, even though more and more public spaces have become heavily regulated and privatized, there are attempts by individuals and communities at greater freedom.” (Hou, 2010:7). In Barcelona and in many other cities, citizens are starting to react to spatial injustice, and come up with new urban concepts that are more connected to the city dwellers life. However, Barcelona is still lacking a citizen public sphere where the residents could express their opinions and concerns regarding the city’s urban planning. Therefore, their insights are never taken into account by the Government.

To sum up, I can say that although the Government doesn’t enable citizens to participate in urban polices, the people of Barcelona can easily claim their rights with the help of the Neighbors associations. Participatory planning in Barcelona only exists on a district scale but not within the government urban polices. Even though there is a long way to go, I can state that this is a good starting point.

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To complement traditional planning and utilize the whole potential of cities, temporary use is seen as a possible alternative, where the already existing urban space is used to create new functions and alterative usage. In the book *Urban Catalyst* (2014) temporary use is described as a great potential for several different types of actors that can exploit temporary use to both personal advantages and create positive impact for the city. Often are the projects that are classified as temporary usage seen as part of a bottom up process of creating, shaping and utilizing the city. But is temporary use now becoming a part of the official municipal strategies for urban development? By investigating the concept of temporary use in urban planning in a relationship to Nacka Municipality and projects related to temporary use in the municipality, this article aims at exploring if temporary use is becoming a part of the official planning and how this concept can be used from the municipal and official planning perspective.

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What is the power of temporary use?

In the book *Urban Catalyst – the power of temporary use* written by Oswalt, Overmyer and Misselwitz (2014), they claim that the conventional or established tools of urban development are limited and that temporary usage is a supplement to the traditional planning and a possible component in new development strategies. This since traditional city planning often misses many of the places in the city with high potential or considers them as a flaw in the urban fabric. Facilitating for temporary use in urban development or planning instead of only traditional planning can contribute with new inspiration and bring forth new perspective into to the new development of cities. It can also influence the quality of urban life. Furthermore temporary use can be used for owners and developers to explore the potential growth for a specific site. This to maximize and utilize the full potential of cities since many cities have vacant space, long planning processes, shrinking municipal budgets for development, high construction costs, uncertainty regarding outcomes of development and many cities also experience shrinking investments. Temporary use contains many different types of projects and involves various actors. It can also vary how temporary they are and if they are legal or not. Examples of projects can differ from informal markets, guerilla stores, parks, golf courts and cultural centers in old warehouses to sport centers, festivals, clubs, museums and start-up incubators, that all temporary operate in abandoned or unused places or in spot until more permanent development take place (Oswalt et al. 2014). There is a general critique towards these types of initiatives as it questioned whom they are benefiting and if they are contributing to a larger change in society (Brenner 2005).

Oswalt et al. (2014) has developed and defined six strategies based upon actual cases that incorporate the practice of temporary use. The strategies aim at creating an urban development that facilitates temporary use, and these are; enable, initiative, claim, coach, formalize and exploit. In this essay these strategies will be used to investigate if and how Nacka Municipality is using the power of temporary use in their urban development.

Nacka Municipality and temporary use

The municipality of Nacka is situated southeast of Stockholm and it has a population of 97 790 (Nacka Kommun 2015a). The municipality is experiencing a rapid growth and is one of the municipalities in the Stockholm region where many urban development projects is going to take place in the coming couple of years (Nacka Kommun 2015b). In the coming 10 years a new subway line is planned to be operating in Nacka (Nacka Kommun 2015c) and an objective from the municipality is that the new development bordering Stockholm Municipality and along the new subway line should have “city feeling” or “city like structure”. In Nacka Municipality’s official document referred to as *Developed Structure Plan for Nacka* it is described that during their development of creating a city in Nacka one of the strategies



Temporary use are part of creating an interesting living environment during the construction of Kvarnholmen, photo by Beata Iverson (2015)



The new temporary use in Nobelberget are exploiting the abandon structures, photo by Beata Iverson (2015)

is to welcome people during the construction. This aims at creating a good environment and including people to these places during the consecution time. Within this strategy three categories related to temporary use exist, the first one is temporary and short actions referring to activities as festivals and events. The second category is temporaries and a bit longer actions, these are for example pop-up parks and using empty studios or other activities that can function as inspiration and create retreats in the construction chaos. The third category is temporary structures that become permanent. Within this last category, temporary projects that can create attractive focal points or public spaces using public participation are included (Nacka Kommun 2015d). Nacka Municipality describes opportunities with working with temporary structures during the development of an area as a chance to create a vibrant municipality and "A temporary café, a event or a pop-up park can for example contribute to a magical energy in the middle of the construction chaos and shift the attention towards something positive" (Nacka Kommun 2015d, p.21, author's own translation).

The two projects that this article will focus on have been part of the project of creating a city in Nacka with temporary activities combined with traditional development. The first project is Kvarnholmen and the second project is Nobelberget. Kvarnholmen is situated on a peninsulaneighboring Stockholm City and used to be an industrial site. The factories are today closed and in 2006 Nacka Municipality decided to develop Kvarnholmen into a new vibrant city district. When Kvarnholmen is fully developed it will contain 2500-3000 new housing units and 3000 new workplaces. Additionally it will also contain a new district center, new public school and several preschools. From the summer of 2014 and during the whole construction time available and empty spaces will open up for temporary projects. Nacka Municipality and the developers of Kvarnholmen together with a consultant firm developed the projects referred to as Kvarnholmen under construction, where several different

temporary activities will take place at Kvarnholmen while developing the area. During the summer of 2014 activities such as clubs and festivals, a park with café where there is a focus on children, a food truck and an art and exhibition space. Several different actors operated these different temporary activities (Magnusson 2015).

Nobelberget is a smaller project, where 600 new housing units (Nacka Kommun 2015d) together with a preschool, offices and commercial space are planned to be build. The area of 3,5 hectare is situated in between the newly developed areas of Sickla and Hammarby Sjöstad. It is a former industrial and office space, however there are still some active companies in some of the buildings (Nacka Kommun 2010). 10 000 square meter of today abandoned space divided on three buildings is be rented for two years and will function as entertainment, culture space and clubs (Wallgren 2015-11-12). Before this new contract was given for two years the same space have occasionally been used for clubs and festivals during the spring of 2015 by some of the same people that previously organized temporary activities at Kvarnholmen (Gelin 2015-01-30).

Strategies for temporary use

As mentioned previously, the strategies developed by Oswalt et al. (2014) have the intentions to enhance temporary use. These will be used to investigate if and how Nacka Municipality is using the power of temporary use. The first strategy is the strategy of enable. The strategy of enabling is aiming at lowering the hurdles and obstacles for temporary use. In practice, this could be to announce where vacant spots are located, to facilitate an easy access to these spaces, solving legal problems for temporary use and the communication between property owners and potential is enhanced and made simpler (Oswalt et al 2014). In the cases of the projects in Kvarnholmen and Nobelberget in Nacka municipality, it is possible to see that the municipality is enabling temporary use. This since it now exists as a strategy in their

Developed Structure Plan for Nacka, and the municipality within this document discuss the different types of temporary use and its role in planning (Nacka Kommun 2015d). By acknowledging temporary use and utilizing it in the municipality they're enabling temporary use, however it has only been used under a short time and on a limited amount of projects. Additionally in the project in Kvarnholmen it was a consultant firm that helped to find the specific temporary projects (Magnusson 2015). Therefore it can be questioned if Nacka Municipality is actually enabling a wide range of temporary use and enabling temporary use in the whole municipality.

In the strategy of initiative the aim is to create a cluster of temporary use in a sizable unused area. In this cluster several different actors and activities should be present. Agents act to develop strategies for temporary use (Oswalt et al. 2014). Nacka Municipality acted as an agent to initiative the projects of temporary use since Kvarnholmen was started by the municipality's own initiative. It is also a large area of which holds several different types of activities. It is also a combination of the developers at Kvarnholmen and the consultant firm (Magnusson 2015). In the first project of Nobelberget people who were a part of Kvarnholmen states that they had a good relationship with the municipality (Gelin 2015-01-30). It appears that a network of temporary use is stated to be developed in Nacka. Even if it is limited it can be a start of creating clusters of temporary use in Nacka Municipality.

The claiming strategy is described by Oswalt et al. (2014) as a strategy to create new types of public space, where the public space is protected from commercial development and instead these places should act towards creating new cultural and social impulses. These should be inclusive spaces, especially towards marginalized groups. By temporary use it is possible to claim space and therefore illustrate the potential use of the space towards other activities then commercial development according

to Oswalt et al. (2014). In the cases of Nacka Municipality the activities are mostly commercial activities both in Nobelberget and Kvarnholmen, even if one of the temporary projects in Kvarnholmen called the Magical Garden have a goal of creating a dialogue over how children's perspective are represented in planning for example (Magnusson 2015), it can be questioned, when investigating the cases in Nacka, if not all activities can be seen as commercial and many of them are inside, thus limiting their impact of the public space. At Kvarnholmen and Nobelberget it is planned for future commercial development (Nacka Kommun 2015d). However these projects have not been operated for a long time and if the public appreciates the activities there are perhaps opportunities for claiming the space and additionally creating a dialogue over what is desired in a city.

The fourth strategy is coach. The coaching strategy aims at linking together different interested parties in a network and creating platforms for temporary use. Support for further activities is offered to interested parties as well as to train and strengthen people who are interested in creating temporary activities (Oswalt et al. 2014). As mentioned before, a network seems to have been created after the development of Kvarnholmen and a relationship between the involved actors was established. Since Nobelberget was developed after Kvarnholmen and some of the same people are involved (Gelin 2015-01-30) this is further an indication that the Municipality is seeing the project of temporary use as successful and can provide further development of the temporary use. Kvarnholmen have become a platform in the sense, because there are possibilities for a longer period of time to try different temporary use projects. But it is important to be aware of that the municipality, consultant firm and the developers picked the temporary use that was at Kvarnholmen, (Magnusson 2015) because of this it can be doubted how open the temporary use is for different people or activities.

The aim of the strategy of formalize is that temporary use should generate a critical mass that is needed to use the potential for temporary use in the longer perspective. The strategy of formalizing is the potential for individual projects to become more permanent as well as that the legal structures or organizations are adjusted so that temporary use is possible in future development (Oswalt et al. 2014). Non of the individual projects are formalized however, the time these have been operating is not long, but in the case of Nobelberget it has the possibility to operate for two years (Wallgren 2015-11-12) and in Kvarnholmen during the construction time (Magnusson 2015) this can create opportunities for generating a critical mass and support for the projects to be formalized. Nonetheless, since Nacka Municipality is using temporary use in several places and the municipality has performed an evaluation it is possible that the structures of enabling temporary use are becoming more formalized.

The final strategy is exploit, this is when other parties, e.g. a developer, use the temporary activity to pursue their own interests. This enables the other parties to capitalize from the temporary use and create public awareness, attract commercial users since temporary use can contribute with attention and create interesting environments. The profile of temporary projects can be influenced and adjusted after the wanted target groups. Therefore temporary use can also be functioning as a marketing strategy to create a certain profile (Oswalt et al. 2014). Nacka Municipality together with the developers of Kvarnholmen has expressed a will to draw attention to the new development and they have seen temporary use as their own way of achieving this, as well as to attract more people to Kvarnholmen (Nacka Kommun 2014). The strategy of exploit is according to Oswalt et al. (2014) a way to facilitate more temporary use and in the case of Nacka Municipality this seems to be a driving force that has resulted in actions towards temporary use.

Is Nacka Municipality using the power of temporary use?

Yes, Nacka Municipality is using the power of temporary use not only on paper as can be seen in their official document Developed Structure Plan for Nacka, where temporary use is described as a strategy of the municipality to open up development sites for the public during the construction. Additionally it is not only described as a strategy but it can also be seen in practice of the municipality, in two cases both Kvarnholmen and Nobelberget, despite being different cases of size, activities, period of time and how they where developed. This can be viewed as the municipality is opening up for different types of temporary use and see it working in different types of urban developments. However the temporary use has been realized, particularly in the case of Kvarnholmen is on the municipality and the developers' terms. In the evaluation of Kvarnholmen, Nacka Kommun (2014) state that many of the individual actors that had a temporary activity were positive and want to continue working with Kvarnholmen. However several of them had problems with the economical part of the action. The mission

of putting Kvarnholmen on the map was successful as well as it created buzz and many people visited Kvarnholmen according to Nacka Kommun (2014). Nacka Municipality and the developers have therefore exploited the power of temporary use for their development.

Nonetheless as seen by using the strategies from Oswalt et al. (2014) Nacka Municipality is using the power of temporary use in a way where they to a degree is enabling, initiate and coaching. Since the municipality is to an extent creating opportunities for temporary use and networks with in the municipality together with developers and interested actors. Formalizing temporary use in the municipality is still to early to say but the strategy of temporary use in official documents can offer opportunities for many projects because of the large developments taking place in Nacka Municipality in the future. However the Nacka Municipality is not using the strategy of claiming in these cases of Nobelberget and Kvarnholmen. Still it would be interesting to see temporary use in Nacka to be complemented with usage that is not build on commercial activities, more in line with the official strategy of creating public spaces using public participation. It could also be more beneficial to create more diverse types of activities in the future, now the activities are mostly cultural or clubs, as well as lowering the hurdles for more interested agents and not only hand picked by the municipality and developers. A more detailed investigation on how temporary use in planning is affecting the citizens should also be an interesting and important factor to examine.

Evaluation done after Kvarnholmens first summer shows that the municipalities had a positive experience and see potential benefits with temporary use. Also it describes how it has achieved many of the goals set by the municipality (Nacka Kommun 2014). In 2015 Nobelberget is opening for use for temporary development (Gelin 2015-01-30) and in 2015 the Developed Structure Plan for Nacka containing strategies is published (Nacka Kommun 2015d), this suggests that Nacka municipality have a positive experience of temporary use and that is something that will continue in the future. This can have the outcomes that many other municipalities see the potential of temporary use from an official or municipalities perspective, and more projects will include temporary use during the construction time. The power of temporary use in Nacka Municipality can therefore act as a motivation, example and strategy of other parts of Stockholm experiencing large developments.

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Tactical and Guerilla Pluralism Approaches – How They Coexist?

Oksana Kolbovsckaja

Contemporary urban practices frequently appear in nowadays city development process. Some of them represent planned actions, while others are spontaneous and catalyzed by powerless society. While many researchers question how politics should react to these interventions, I would like to investigate what is the planner's role in today's urban development. Will urban planner remain an important actor of urbanization process? Trying to find answers to these questions I will investigate case studies of "Seattle Night market" and "ChungShan Sundays" cultural events that has significant impact on life's of minorities but at the same time represent different approaches – planned and not planned occasion.

In era of global intense migration in the pursuit of better life, job opportunities and safety many migrant groups feel detached, struggle with social and cultural alienation in the foreign country. In the book *Insurgent public space. Guerilla urbanism and the remaking of contemporary cities*, Jeffrey Hou discusses reasons, ability and ways of claiming public spaces, illustrated by different case studies, investigated and described by different authors. In this article I would like to focus on pluralization concept illustrated with case studies of Seattle Night market and Filipino Sundays in ChungShan events and investigate urban planners or academic representative possible roles in this concept implementation and expansion.

Pluralization concept

According to the related to urban studies full definition of pluralism, it is a state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain and develop their traditional culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization (Merriam-Webster dictionary, 2015). It is important to strengthen that pluralism is not diversity or tolerance alone, but the energetic engagement with diversity and the active seeking of understanding across lines of difference. Pluralism is based on dialogue. Dialogue doesn't mean that common agreement will be achieved. But it is important to be critical and self-critical, give and take during this process (Eck, 2015).

Selected case studies of Seattle Night market and Filipino Sundays in ChungShan tends to describe pluralization through actions of specific ethnic groups or practices of academicians to transform existing public spaces, with intention to make it more heterogeneous.

Case study 1: Seattle Night market Night market phenomena and history

Night markets phenomena have a long history behind it. Night markets first appeared in China during Tang Dynasty during natural development from the street vendors. Some sources state, that night markets were and are so popular phenomena because of specific climate and appreciation of pleasant evening temperature for shopping and culture of late night snacking (Night Markets, 2015; Kiniry, 2011). They usually took root along busy streets in response to local demand. Night Markets became a core of Chinese nightlife and during China expansion spread around Asian countries in areas inhabited by ethnic Chinese, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Japan, and Taiwan, flowing into the local culture. In each of these countries night market culture is slightly different in response to existing culture and social structure (Morris, 2004; Tsai, 2013).

It is worth to mention that Taiwanese night markets are consciously recognized by the list of researchers as most significant ones (Tsai, 2013; Valks, 2014; Yu, 2004). Indeed they have unique preserved traditions, enormous amount of night

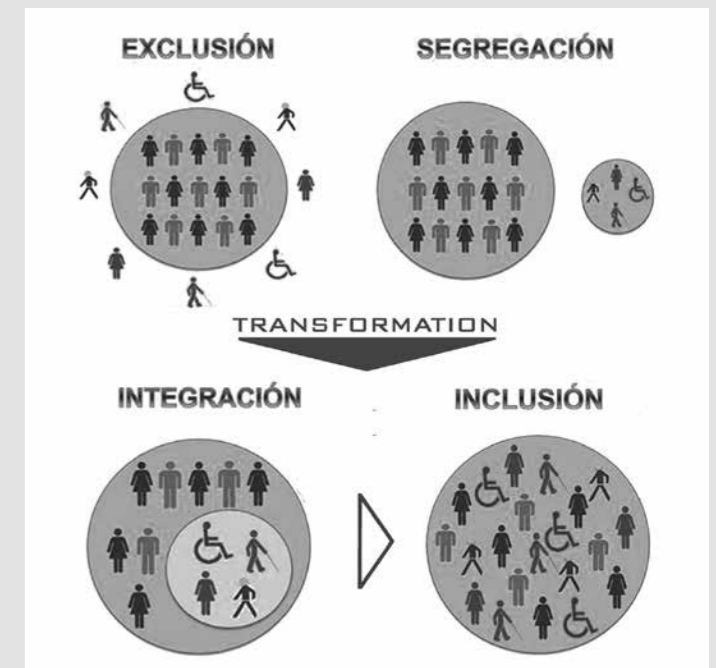
markets and outrageous frequency local people visit them. They represent high historic, social, and economic value and usually serve as role models for new Night markets. Nowadays Night markets have gone mainstream in North America. In the past few years they represent a way of revitalization downtown spaces by capitalizing on ethnic consumer preferences. Most of them appears in Chinatowns occupying either sidewalks adjacent to streets or entire streets and are considered as a popular place for people of all ages to come together to gaze, socialize, and relax, representing a positive corollary of immigration and cultural diversity.

One of the main attribute of night market is its temporality – it opens out in evening hours around 18pm and closes usually after midnight or 2 am. These evening working hours defines main difference between simple market and night markets –its purpose to serve leisure activities. Usually main attraction at night markets is cheap Asian fast food, most night markets also have some small restaurants that allow people to sit down and enjoy their meal. Also in average night market you will probably find numerous products for sale, traditional carnival games such as balloon shooting, net fish, shooting marbles, and an assortment of mini games that could only have otherwise seen many years ago. Some of them also have fortune telling and live music performances. Some night markets gradually went beyond serving the local community and became sprawling tourist attractions as well (Kiniry, 2011). In some places they appear every Sunday, somewhere on monthly occasion, in some places couple of times in a year.

Implementation of Night market in Seattle Chinatown international district

Seattle's Chinatown is nestled in the south of downtown and is considered as cultural hub of local Asian-American community. It is one of Seattle's oldest and most unique neighborhoods. Unlike other Chinatowns it is perhaps the only area in the continental United States where Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, African Americans, Vietnamese, Koreans, and Cambodians, settled together and built one neighborhood. Because of that city officials proclaimed it as International District (Chinatown History, 2015).

The idea of implementation Night market in this neighborhood emerged after several successful implementation experiences in nearby North American cities – Vancouver and San Francisco. The goal of implementation was to revitalize the neighborhood and activate neighborhoods parks and open spaces, increasing their safety (Hou, 2007). Implementation process was issued by community organizers, but designed and arranged with great help of Jeffrey Hou, Professor of Landscape Architecture at the University of Washington, Seattle. More organizations participated in process, for example Wilderness Inner-city Leadership development, a local youth leadership program and for this occasion created studio for landscape architecture students, dedicated to investigate cultural landscape of night markets



Explanation of different concepts
Illustration by Francosourd. Accessed via <http://www.francosourd.com>
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in the Pacific Northwest and make proposals for night market implementation as a regular activity in Seattle in three different areas of Chinatown. As well students had to produce temporary functional support providing design installations that would help interpret stories of immigrant communities and represent aspects of the social life and history of community.

The first night market took place in 2006. Inspired by outcome and high participation, event organizers made it a constant occasion. Tradition to host night markets remains in Seattle Chinatown up to this day and this neighborhood became a popular tourist and local attraction point with largest night markets in the city.

Chinatown night market does not differ very much from traditional night markets – you will find here lots of Asian themed food trucks, selling fast food as well as local restaurants serving up the district's popular staples. Vendors are welcomed to purchase a stall and sell handmade local goods, fresh cut flowers, and Asian inspired items. The modern adjustable approach also includes performances of local DJ's, break dancing groups' tournament and dance party for all ages. Nowadays night market is arranged by the Chinatown-International District Business Improvement Area non-profit organization that works on behalf of the community to improve and promote Seattle's Chinatown-International District. Upwards of 25,000 people took to the

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Sincere condition of marginalized immigrant in foreign country
Photo by Oshi. Accessed via <https://twitter.com/timelesstweets1>
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streets to mingle and soak in the latest dynamic Chinatown District's night market event.

Hou states that it was successful mostly because of well investigated patterns of other night markets in West Coast cities and that it involved grassroots community-building processes. He investigates night market as a fusion of social, political and transcultural spaces. A planned event supposed to bring people of different ages, gender, ethnicities and create opportunities for them to socialize. For this purpose variety of activities such as material arts, cooking demonstrations, mahjong, fortune telling, ring toss and others were organized. These types of activities encouraged people of different ages to bond and share their traditions and knowledge, for example to teach children and foreigners play traditional games. This helped to activate social relationship between people and according to Hou it determines this case from other in West Coast cities.

As for political aspect this case illustrates successful clash of organizations and individuals that collaborated together despite their ideological differences. This gave not only the advantage to use exclusive expertise and resources but also made everybody in charge of outcome. In this case successful outcome lead to sharing experience of pride and encouraged further collaboration. Event created a new quality of relationship between actors in neighborhood with possibility to have productive dialog while solving local issues. Due to the transcultural relations, Seattle Chinatown now represents different cultural spectacle than majority of redeveloped Chinatowns in North America, it helps to transmit more nuanced understanding of cultural diversity and complexity. Student design installations served to this purpose admirably. Six installations ranging from seating and lighting elements to game booth appeared on different sites, representing stereotype-free cultural element while providing a window for interpretation and understanding the cultural heritage. It is important to mention that they also represented

noncommercial nature that is usually absent in other night markets events (Hou, 2007).

Case 2. Filipino Sundays in ChungShan, Taipei

ChungShan Sunday events have very similar concept with night markets. The main difference is the timing these events take place and the reason people gather here. Sunday events in ChungShan district occur during morning and afternoon times because they are related to the time of masses that are provided in the St. Christopher's church, these masses are the main attraction for Filipino population and the reason of existing phenomena. Filipinos are known for their religiousness and devotion to the Catholic faith. When Filipino workers started to come to Taiwan with work contracts Catholic churches in Taiwan naturally became their main meeting places (Lee,2003).

St. Christopher is a modest Catholic church located on ChungShan Nord Road in Taipei. ChungShan North road centers the church, which geographically links two public parks, a commercial strip along a major boulevard and several smaller lanes of commerce and services. The Church was originally built in 1967 to serve American soldiers and renovated in early 1990s. Initially this was the only church regularly holding English services in Taipei, for this reason religious Filipino migrant workers started to attend its messes. As more and more people from Philippines visited the church, they started to serve five mass sessions a day on Sunday, starting from 7 a.m.: two in English and three in Tagalog, the Filipino native language. Each session serves about 800-900 people. The church and its surroundings became the most popular place for Filipino migrant workers to gather on Sundays, the only free day they have according their working contracts.

The area around the church has become a social hub for Filipino laborers. While one group of worshippers fills the church, others who attended earlier services or who are still waiting to attend

later ones mingle and chat. For many newly arrived workers, ChungShan is the starting point for entering the local Filipino community in Taipei. They had heard of the church even before they arrive in Taiwan. (Wu, 2007; Lee,2003; Huang and Douglass, 2008).

Meetings and social coherence usually takes place in the open public spaces nearby – parks. Parks are accessible and allow people comfortably spend time with friends. Since majority of home workers are forbid to use cellphone during working hours that means 6 days a week straight – home calls becomes a common activity here as well.

ChungShan North Road Fine arts Park is big meadow-like area usually is not frequently used by locals because it is separated from residential area location. This feature allows Filipinas to use the space for leisure and organized big outdoor events. In ChingKuan Park gathers people who want to spend time in more calm atmosphere. The most important park is XuanCheng Park that is located behind the church. It is compact and usually crowded. People who gather here tend to greet and engage in conversation with friends and strangers. It is also a popular site for Filipino groups and clubs. Most interweaved people say that they stay here for 3-4 hours, while some of them tend to spend all day there (Huang and Douglass, 2008).

In addition, many pursue another traditional Sunday morning activity - shopping. Commercial activities are usually contracted about 300m to the south of the church along ChungShan North Road. There are roughly two types of businesses – vendors and fixed shops. Vendors usually are located around the church and along sidewalks of ChungShan North Road and beside the church. Mostly vendors are Taiwanese. Few of Filipino vendors appears in the area, but they have less capital to invest in vendor business and suffer from higher risks – if they will be caught by police they might be deported from the country.

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Now in neighborhood there are Filipino grocery stores, delicatessens, karaoke clubs, remittance and cargo services that are available on Sundays. As well you can buy Filipino newspapers, cosmetics clothes, etc. Migrants also can purchase homemade Filipino food and use low-cost services of hairdressing, manicures and others in the alley behind the church. Local businesses adapted to existing situation and started to serve Filipino delicatessens only on Sunday while remaining to be Taiwanese diners during the week. Marriage migrants have a possibility to develop their businesses due to existing demand of Filipino production. They play significant role in the cultural economy, where food is one of the major markers for identity negotiation. Their skills and knowledge may not be appreciated by their new families, but contribute greatly for cultural recovery of other migrants (Lan, 2006).

Some larger shops stay in the district permanently during week. Most of them are funded by overseas capital. Despite main commercial activity they also broadcast some sport games and Philippines celebrity performances on the big screens near the entrance and display information about Philippine celebrity's visiting's or fund rising programs for the homeland. That way they become not only commercial spaces but also places of strengthening cultural identity of the foreign workers (Huang and Douglass, 2008).

These annual Sunday events replicate Filipina workers formal lifestyle and help to overcome social and cultural alienation in a foreign country (Lan, 2006). Although, local Taiwanese community showed resistance to Filipino Sundays activities in the districts. Until interference of Taiwanese government occurred and consciously planned events appeared Taiwanese people failed to overturn their perception of Filipinas (Wu, 2007).

Can Tactical Urbanism Speed up the Planning Process in Stockholm?

Fanny Larsson

Implementation of Night Market in Seattle Chinatown International District

Both case studies are examples of temporal occasional events that encourage pluralism approach in specific neighborhoods. Case study one illustrates an example of tactical urbanism with planned process, clear goals and participation of professional from academia with deep knowledge and skills. Second case study represent guerilla urbanism concept when urban situation changes because of the favorable circumstances and possibilities of place to host and satisfy needs of marginalized group.

While first case is considered as an example of successful implementation of night market concept with emanating from this positive effect of social cohesion in the neighborhood and acceptance of another culture, second case study suffers from different problems. Firstly excessive piles of rubbish that are left after Sunday events bother local citizens a lot. Secondly, Taiwanese are threatened that immigrants are taking over their public spaces. More other local citizens still assume Filipinas as disgraced ethnic others that are not good enough to represent their neighborhood (Huang and Douglass, 2008). It is important to mention that originally guerilla night markets experience similar resistance of local citizens on the early stages of their development. Local citizens complain about excessive noise, traffic jams and not good enough food hygiene (Tsai, 2013). But in case of tactical night market implementation they managed to escape negative consequences of event.

As a result of unmanaged process of ChungShan Sundays, culture of Filipinas is not accepted by Taiwanese people of ChungShan district and can be considered only as temporary tolerable with high desire to remove it from existing neighborhood (Huang and Douglass, 2008).

In my opinion comparison of outcomes of these different approaches illustrates how important is planners or academics impact in contemporary urbanism practice. The knowledge they possess can be crucial in achieving good results. Of course it is not questionable that urban practice should always be perceived as experimental process and outcome of it can vary from site to site. While it is also obvious how important is to have someone in charge, having responsibility of implementation attempt – it allows to eliminate weak points of pursuit on early stages. It doesn't mean that guerilla urbanism approach is unable to provide positive changes; it has positive side as well. The problem is that in order to achieve long term positive impact and existence of these events, marginalized activists must remain high interest in the process and additionally educate themselves during the process.

To conclude, it is important to state that urban design practice despite contemporary changes must remain as vital part of urban implementations. Even though the participatory process and investigation of existing trends is important part of today's urban planning process. Urban planners shall remain in urban development processes as initiators or as consultants in order to enhance chances of successful outcome.

A debate is going on about what is causing the slow planning process in Sweden. One extreme example is the planning process of Slussen in Stockholm which has taken 22 years to plan. The cause of the slow process is unsure. Is tactical urbanism possibly a tool for authorities to shorten the planning process and decision-making process in Sweden? It is not easy to engage all different kinds of people in planning. However, Tactical Urbanism can help release the tension between top-down and bottom-up initiatives since it creates a more responsive environment for all to engage in. Different suggestions exist on how to become more efficient in planning. An example that took place in Sommerville, Massachusetts, in the US showed that Tactical Urbanism can be a way to gain a wide public support. This is since the plan is brought to the citizen in real life, therefore it reaches more people than the ones who commonly come to consultations. One can conclude that tactical urbanism can possibly be a tool for authorities to shorten the planning process and decision-making process in Sweden in the long-term. However, the use of it can be more difficult in large, complex projects like Slussen.

There is a debate going on concerning the cause of the Swedish planning process being too slow, especially in the Stockholm area. One example of where the planning process has been extremely long and expensive is at the place "Slussen", centrally located in Stockholm. The work with creating a new Slussen started with an idea competition in 1991 that never led to any plan being put through (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2013, p. 4). Then the question was brought up again and a new competition was held where a winner was elected in 2004 (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2013, p. 4). Several consultations have been held and many citizens have expressed their opinions on the sensitive question of changing the view etc. to the city planning office (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2013, pp. 5-6). Not until 2013 a final planning suggestion was becoming law and the start of construction has now been set to 2016 (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2013, pp. 5-6). This is an extreme case in terms of having a long planning process and the place is at a very central location in Stockholm meaning that many people are automatically affected by any change. However, there might have been different ways of dealing with the process that could have made it more efficient.

Some claim a change in the law is needed to have a more efficient planning process while others claim it to be a question of routines at the municipalities. No matter the cause, there are several benefits that could be gained by having a more efficient process. Tactical Urbanism is flexible responses and solutions to places inhabited by people by the use of short-term, cheap and scalable interventions and policies (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 2-3). It is used by several actors such as governments, business and non-profit organizations, citizen groups and individuals (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 2). Is tactical urbanism possibly a tool for authorities in Sweden to shorten the planning process and the decision-making process? Why just invest when one can first test, and then invest when feeling more sure that the outcome could be great. Some have suggested that by gaining a lot of citizen support one can make the planning process more efficient since it will not have to be opened again after being put through. Then the question is if tactical urbanism is a way of reaching a wide public support?

Authorities and Tactical Urbanism

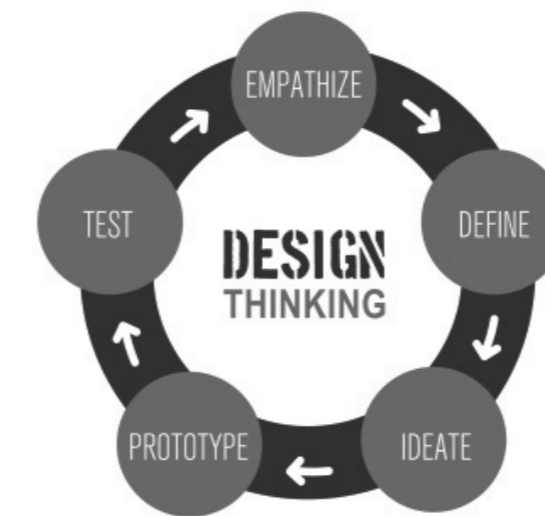
The classical way of working with planning in authorities might not be by using flexible solutions to problems, as I have defined Tactical Urbanism to be. But logically it is a good way to try out if suggestions will work and if they are liked by the people using them. Lydon & Garcia claims that Tactical Urbanism is a tool for city governments and developers to engage a wider public when planning projects, delivering and developing (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 12).

Magnusson claims that TTUI (Tactical and Temporary Urbanism Initiatives) implemented broadly would be a benefit for the municipality as well as the public in creating a more just and democratic community (Magnusson, 2015, pp. 49-50). Solely

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Tactical Urbanism is being used from top down to bottom up.



The five steps of Design Thinking

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TTUI is not enough to have a successful urban development; it should be seen as a complement to the long-term planning process in Sweden that also is of great importance (Magnusson, 2015, p. 50). Tacticians can be found at all stages of society, as well in the top as the bottom of planning (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 11). However it is not as easy to engage everyone in society, especially not the younger, older, uninterested and the ones not able to vote (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 11). Later in this essay I will come back to an example of how Tactical Urbanism was implemented in a successful project in Somerville, Massachusetts in the US.

Opinions on the Swedish Planning Process Being Slow

Many say that the Swedish planning process for detailed planning is too slow and different opinions are occurring on whether or not it is the municipalities fault (Larsen, 2015, p. 1). One of the advantages with a more efficient planning process could for example be that more housing is built in a shorter time so that more people get a place to live (Larsen, 2015, p. 51). In a study made by Olander and Landin the result is showing that many housing developers consider the planning process to be too long and that they have therefore many times avoided engaging or abandoned a project after a while (Olander & Landin, 2008, p. 250). The time it takes for municipalities to create detailed plans is considered to be too long and is criticized as a contributing factor to the long planning process (Larsson, 2013, p. 1). In a report conducted by the Swedish government it is stated that the planning process is often taking a long time and therefore there is reason to change the binding requirement of having a detailed plan in the planning and construction law, *Plan- och bygglagen*, (Regeringen, 2014, p. 65). The committee working on the latest planning and construction law, from 2010, was claiming that in many cases the routines and ways of working at the municipality rather than the laws is what makes the process inefficient (Larsen, 2015, p. 1).

Making the Planning Process more Efficient

Larsen claims that efficiency in the planning process has shown to be reached by communication and citizen participation (Larsen, 2015, p. 47). However she also states that since planning processes are hard to compare it is difficult to give one universal solution to how to reach efficiency in the planning process (Larsen, 2015, p. 47). One way of getting a more efficient planning process is to make the decision-makers consider wider costs and benefits in society of housing development as a response to market signals (Olander & Landin, 2008, p. 246). Participation of different stakeholders can be time-consuming, costly and blocking and there is a need to consider if it is worth the democratic value of participation in the planning process (Olander & Landin, 2008, p. 247). In the Swedish planning process citizens have the right to participation during consultation (Larsen, 2015, p. 11). Planners can also hold a citizen dialogue between stakeholders and citizens to exchange opinions and ideas (Larsen, 2015, p. 11). One can question how democratic citizen participation and dialogue actually is since not all get a say but mostly those citizens who are already influencing a lot in society (Larsen, 2015, p. 11). Olander and Landin (2008) stated that when planning a facility one should avoid unnecessary expenses and extra work that do not contribute. Therefore planning processes should be adjusted to maximize acceptance and public participation while planning and making decisions using organizational and economic resources (Olander & Landin, 2008, p. 253). A consultation stage that is at large might cost a lot of time and resources; however it is not necessarily affecting the efficiency in planning (Larsson, 2013, p. 83). To have a very democratic process, like in Germany where the consultation stage is generally 70 percent of the time used for planning and implemented in the early stage of when plans are made, could be a good idea. It can be more efficient since it all in all becomes quicker and cheaper if the process does not have to be opened again (Larsson, 2013, p. 83).

Another reason to inefficiency could be for example the common problem in Nacka municipality where there is a culture of trying to reach consensus with everyone working within the municipality in a step before moving on to the next (Larsen, 2015, p. 54). Larsen (2015) suggests that one could work with that by adding a new policy or updating their working model in some way. The study conducted by Olander and Landin (2008) shows that housing developers perceive an uncertainty, especially concerning the time-scale, when developing new housing; therefore they are less prone to risk capital. Larsen (2015) claims that efficiency in the planning process is not only about time but also about quality, democracy and feasibility. To have a more efficient process in that meaning is for most people beneficial either economically, socially or environmentally. The most powerful measures can be done in municipal activities, not when making the detailed planning where long-term thinking is needed she states (Larsen, 2015, p. 65).

How to use Tactical Urbanism

For municipal authorities, organizations and project developers Tactical Urbanism can be a tool to get a wider public engagement, to test plans and quicken implementation of great new places. Planners thinking ahead in New York have realized that coincidental pilot projects can soothe NIMBY feelings when the possible changes are shown during a short while (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 14). According to the architecture company Melendrez (2015), cities now have a way to work around troublesome planning processes when improving public spaces. This way is to change sites temporary to show people passing by what the thought of future projects are. Often the initiative to the temporary spaces comes from community members, then the city or county responsible for the space approve of it (Melendrez, 2015). It is suggested that Tactical Urbanism can help release the tension between top-down and bottom-up initiatives since it creates a more responsive environment for all (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 10). There are some city leaders reacting negatively to

civic-minded activity, however there is an increasing view on it as an opportunity to gain citizen support and change necessary policies and implementing longer-term projects (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 14).

Lydon and Garcia (2015) means that there are five steps to follow when using Tactical Urbanism in the design process of a place, a method called Design Thinking. Design thinking recognizes that in design and city building there is no such thing as absolute solutions and the five steps to follow are: *Empathize, define, ideate, prototype* and *test*. The steps often overlap so there is no need to do them in a linear way. Also they are a tool to address several urban problems. It is suggested that the steps should be repeated when needed (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 171-173).

By *empathizing* the authors mean that the one planning or designing needs to know for whom. A common problem is that those creating our built environment often do not understand local problems and the different needs of the many affected people where change is taken (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 174). An advice to professionals is to get out and listen to and see where people are in the project area to ground ideas better and speak to those who seldom participate in the common planning process (Ibid., p. 174).

To *define* means to identify a certain place with problems and define the root causes of those problems (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 175-179). First one need to define the scale of the site and investigate what is there and what is the use of it, then it is suggested that you think of an issue bothering you in the neighborhood and phrase it as a problem statement (Ibid., pp. 175-179). You should ask yourself why the problem exists and then answer the question (Ibid., pp. 175-179). The answer should then be rephrased as a question which you try to answer in order to get to the root cause of the problem by repeating this process (Ibid., pp. 175-179).

Pluralization Against Segregation

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By *Ideation* Lydon & Garcia means to find ways to address the problem. One should consider all ideas that make use of insights from empathizing and address problems and opportunities from defining (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 179, 184). Lydon & Garcia suggest that municipalities should be proactive with citizen leaders of tactical urbanism projects. Temporary interventions are good opportunities to engage in a dialogue on how to best address the concerns triggering the illegal activity (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 179, 184).

The fourth step of design thinking is to *prototype*, which claimed by the authors has the meaning to create a cheap and lightweight temporary version of the long-term response. They say the point is to make action of the idea quickly. Important to remember is that the prototype represents the intent why it needs to be within the framework of the long term change (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 185, 193). Very few cities have a permitting process that is easy and enable possible Tactical Urbanism projects (Ibid.). Also the cities lack a user-friendly and informative cooperation that makes activists understand the things involved from the beginning (Ibid.). Some cities, like San Francisco and Los Angeles, have begun creating a permitting process and an inviting public cooperation for citizens to engage actively in making the city better (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 193).

Last in the design thinking method comes the *testing* of the project. When doing this one should measure the impacts made from the test and then learn from the outcomes (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 199, 202). This process of testing, measuring and learning should be repeated until project proponents decide to try something completely new or implement something in the long-term (Ibid.). The ultimate value of Tactical Urbanism is that assumptions made can be tested in the physical design and be seen openly, but if the impact is not measured half of the point is lost (Ibid.). A reason that Tactical Urbanism is working in the political world is that testing eliminated the risk of changing the current state, we get the chance to learn continuously what works and what does not (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, pp. 202).

An Example: Pop-up Urbanism Initiative

Tactical Urbanism can be a way to provide equal opportunities to participate for a wider range of people by providing a real-life exhibition where people pass by (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 11). Usually the planning process that is functionally open for the people is appealing to the certain group of people who are educated, are interested in civic issues and have spare time (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 11). One of many examples of Tactical Urbanism is the one in Sommerville, Massachusetts, where planners made a streetscape plan where a small public parking lot was changed into a plaza called Davis Square. The first public meeting where Davis Square was proposed was held in 2012, then the plans have been edited and additional meetings have been held in 2013 and 2014 (Sommerville by Design, 2015). The plaza was immediately rejected by the public, however the planners realized that only a few citizens were appealed by the way the plan was exhibited (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 15). The planners then decided to create a three days pop-up plaza on the parking lot to bring the concept to people in real life instead of discussing it in theory at meetings (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 15). The pop-up-plaza gave the public time to share their thoughts

about the future of the square and the city of Sommerville the chance to gather opinions and ideas from the public (Orchard, 2013). Food trucks rented some of the parking stalls and the Public Works Department put out tables and chairs while street artists and musicians performed (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 15). After holding this three days event it was clear that a lot of people supported a transformation of the parking lot into a public space (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 15). The general neighborhood buzz, public meetings and comment cards from visitors all showed that the support had increased to build a plaza on the parking lot (Lydon & Garcia, 2015, p. 15).

Tactical Urbanism as a Solution

There are many different views on why the planning process in Sweden is too slow. However there is a general agreement that it is too slow and that something or many things need to be done. What will actually make the planning process more efficient is not yet fully discovered. Different measures can be done.

From the above given empirical theory one could conclude that tactical urbanism have shown to be a quick means to gain a wide public support by bringing the suggestion to the people physically. Also, it can be considered to be a more democratic means of public participation since it confronts more people than the common group interested in coming to consultation meetings about planning proposals. As stated by Larsson (2013), to gain a lot of public support can be a way to make the planning process more efficient in time and usage of money since it prevents the process from having to be opened again. Therefore one can conclude that tactical urbanism can possibly be a tool for authorities to use to shorten the planning process and the decision-making process in Sweden in the long-term.

A problem with Tactical Urbanism is that it might not be as applicable in large projects like the one in Slussen, Stockholm, as mentioned above. However one could imagine that some elements or smaller trials of temporary interventions could be a way to engage the citizens in the changing of Slussen. For example one could make a broader bicycle lane and decorate it with street painting, close the traffic for cars as a trial or throw some kind of event changing the use of the space. Maybe this is a way to not get as strong tensions between citizens and authorities at least.

A criticism to the statement that Tactical Urbanism could be a tool for authorities might be that it is very manipulative as an authority to make the suggestion in real life to try to convince people to like the suggestion and then more easily implement it for real. However, one can also see tactical urbanism as a way to try things out when one is still open for change and therefore it is not a way to manipulate but just a way to test if a new solution works. That way it becomes a more safe way to invest in something new in the end.

The book 'Insurgent Public Space: Guerilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities' by Jeffrey Hou deals, as the title already expresses, with a current topic of our nowadays cities. It is an accumulation of diverse examples by different narratives all dealing with the issue of public space. The book is divided into six thematic sections to highlight types of interventions like: appropriating, reclaiming, pluralizing, transgressing, uncovering and contesting. On the basis of worldwide examples they are all discussing, how the society or excluded groups are struggling for the cityscapes and thereby trying to get accepted and integrated in society. However, the narratives of the book encourage the readers and citizens to insurgent grassroots and bottom-up movements which can lead by different actions to the remaking of the cities. Finally this claim for 'the right to the city' and the public could bring up new forms of democracy. In my research of chapter eleven I am figuring out. How outsiders find home in the city'. Besides that I compare it to an immigrant area in Stockholm.

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Insurgent Public Space: Guerilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities

First of all, I want to explain the term of Guerilla Urbanism as it is used in the contents of the book. Guerilla Urbanism is a strategy of DIY Urbanism, thus 'DIY urbanism' has a wide diversity in its outcomes and expressions. This term can be considered as an umbrella term which deals with individuals or communities of citizens who represent the same conception. Therefore they take it upon themselves to improve an urban problem or make an urban statement without the permit from the municipality.

The 'DIYers' as the 'Guerilla urbanists' deal with current urban issues of local importance and pop up in places where they are not supposed to be. Thereby they can raise attention, for example by confusing the audience and use this for their improvements. The lack of public spaces in their neighborhood causes a remaking of contemporary cities by several spontaneous, unauthorized, cheap and small scale actions (Finn, 2014: 382). These actions are of creative nature and temporary limited and they can also be removed.

In the last years it developed that this way of actions are used in cities as an ironical way of criticism instead or additional to political debate and as a way to acquire public spaces. These desires are originally caused by the urbanization and go along with mass housing. The actions have the common aim to make a limited part of the city more lively and livable as a general public benefit. That is also reflected and summarized in the theoretical approach of the citizens demanding for 'The Right to the City' like Henry Lefebvre already mentioned in the 70s and the 'can-do-spirit' (Finn, 2014: 386; Crawford, 2005: 18).

In case of chapter eleven the struggle for an urban space shows a citizens resistance against the surrounded neighbourhoods inhabitants. They brought actions to live on their own but with additional support of the municipality. DIY urbanism can also include meetups, flash mobs, and gatherings where people temporarily take over a street or a space for a particular activity, as dancing on the street, a market or a festival like in the case study (Hou, 2010: 141).

Based on the abstract and the explanation of Guerilla Urbanism I am going to give a short summary of the contents of the book. Jeffrey Hou as a professor of landscape architecture chose different authors who narrate their experience with the investigation of insurgent public spaces. Those spaces question the mode of how we use and define public space. Hous' research focuses on design activism and the segregation of minority groups in the public space.

Apart from that the book is based on different theoretical approaches of recent publications e.g. of Everyday Urbanism by Crawford, Watson, Stevens and Holston (Hou 2010: 12). Moreover each of the 21 chapters inform of an example of different regions



like Asia, United States and Europe to enable a comparison between geographical and social contexts.

The first section contains 'Appropriating' and focuses on conversion of less used and neglected landscape spaces by citizen groups. These realms in Beijing (Chen), Los Angeles (Rojas) and San Francisco (Merker) get new uses, as a reason of a lack of space and as social meeting points, which are more or less tolerated (Hou 2010: 13, 19-45).

Section two, 'Reclaiming' describes an adaption in Berlin (LaFond) and Tokyo (Aiba and Nishiba) of unused spaces for new collective functions and a reusing of existing buildings. This approach of 'informal planning' is a bottom-up process (Hou 2010: 13, 59-81). Section three, 'Pluralizing' presents examples of ethnic minorities who make own collective spaces in the United States (Rios), Seattle's Chinatown (Hou), Southeast Asian immigrant women in Taiwan (Chen and Lin), and Filipino guest workers in Taipei (Wu). I chose the case study of my investigation out of this section therefore I will also describe 'Pluralizing' later in the text more detailed (Hou 2010: 14, 97-135). This article of Filipino guest workers in Taipei is written by Pina Wu. She is a Taiwanese woman who graduated in Building and Planning therefore she could do a good investigation of the issue in her case study.

Section four, 'Transgressing' examines the interface between private and public realm and the crossing of those official boundaries. The scene takes place in Tokyo (Hayashi), Matsudo (Kinoshita) and in a rural town where farmhouses should be reinvented for public uses with a 'city meets country' purpose to reinvent public space (Ono, Sato and Nishiyama) (Hou 2010: 14, 147-168).

Section Five, 'Uncovering' has chapters of Seattle (Gendelman, Dobrowolsky and Aiello) and San Francisco (Przyblyski), as well as of Taipei's Wenminglo landmark (Chiu) and Shezih island (Kang).

The contents of this chapters refer to projects of citizens' actions aiming at rediscover and renegotiate potential of underused public spaces meanings and memories (Hou 2010: 14, 179-213).

Finally, the last section of the book is 'Contesting'. It explains the demanding and struggling for a right to the city, meanings and identities in the public realm. The case studies include privatization and surveillance in Vancouver and Toronto (Pask), urban farms in Los Angeles and Seattle (Mares and Peña), and vacant land re-utilization in East St. Louis (Lawson and Sorensen) (Hou 2010: 14, 225-255).

Case study 'Pluralizing'

With regard to the preceding explanations I want to point out the case study: 'How outsiders find home in the city' this theme is part of the third section 'Pluralizing'. The case study in the book discusses how Filipino guest workers have created ChungShan in Taipei. This area became part of their own collective space because of social exclusion, tailored to their internal cultural needs (Hou 2010: 14, 135). ChungShans' urban life mainly exists on Sundays when the guest workers have leisure time. On the pedestrian ways in front of the church street vendors arose: markets, food selling and hair dressers etc. Finally the area started to be full with life and many services and activities were offered here. The church started to be a common gathering place for all inhabitants of ChungShan. It provides social support, a translation service and recreational activities.

By adapting a space which the Filipinos feel comfortable with, ChungShan became in a way the starting point for joining the local Filipino community. Here they create a community life where they can participate in, without having the feeling of being different (Hou 2010: 14, 139). Thereby the guest workers caused tensions and also provoked changes in the city since 1990 (Hou 2010: 14, 136). Additionally, the media strengthened the common negative attitude of this outsider space. Moreover

the growing district caused tensions in the whole city. Residents especially in the neighborhood of ChungShan have different opinions about the Filipinos. The majority thinks that the immigrants do not have the right to occupy a part of the city (Hou 2010: 14, 140).

Finally, this caused an argument, which had as result that the government and the organization HOME started to counter. Additionally, they arranged a traditional Filipino culture festival which was intended to counteract the prejudices against the strangers and bring them cultural closer together with the rest of Taipei. Moreover this should influence the Taiwanese opinion about the distribution of public space. In the same way the government demanded for regulation of safety by laws (which are still not confirmed yet) and more inclusiveness in urban politics. Furthermore they raised attention to the citizens to treat the Filipinos as residents with the same right to urge the city as they have (Hou 2010: 14, 140).

After reading the book of Jeffrey Hou and the class of 'Contemporary urban theory' I have been sensitized for the themes of segregation and the unequal distribution of public spaces. After an experience during a design project, which takes place in Tensta, Stockholm I decided to investigate in my essay about excluded ethnic groups of the cities. Tensta, a neighborhood in western Stockholm with 87% of inhabitants with a foreign background seems to me as a smaller scale example like ChungShan. The title 'How outsiders find home in the city' would also fit in relation to the situation in Tensta. It is to mention that I do not have the knowledge or background, as maybe native Stockholmer have of this area, but that could also be seen as an advantage for the comparisons.

The exclusion of a group of immigrants in Stockholm in mind, I would like to draw a comparison to ChungShan. Of course we have to keep in mind that the background of the asian

guest workers and the immigrants in Tensta could have an absolutely different background, but for showing the point of my investigation it should be appropriate. To begin with my impression when I came to Tensta for the first time it was obvious that there were almost only immigrants living in this district. The other students of my design project and I felt very uncomfortable in this area - like observed outsiders which were not supposed to be there. So as we entered this district we had the feeling of being the outsiders. In ChungShan the inhabitants created a community by pursuing their cultural preferences, like going to church. Out of this it developed that the former maybe economic weak area ChungShan became a retreat for more and more immigrants. In comparison to Tensta this seems to be a similar situation.

After analyzing this district, several shops and restaurants or in general services attracted my attention. Those settled down because of the immigrants needs. This is like the development which Wu also observed in Taiwan. By occupying or creating a new urban space immigrants change and reinvent the cities according to their desires and enrich the cultural heritage (Harvey 2008: 23). It was also quite interesting that in this district informal programs were perceived.

For example one man was selling things on the street and a group of other men met in an unofficial cafe for discussing current political issues. Maybe the citizens were not really aware of what they did but as an outside observer it seemed to be a way of transforming and appropriating the existing public space. Additionally, I could not have seen any women or children on the street. They also seemed to be excluded of public life like in chapter ten 'The experiences of immigrant women in Taiwanese townships'. Similarly to the developments in ChungShan the neighbourhoods of Tensta and e.g. Spånga have also tensions because of cultural clashes (referring to my design project teacher). In contrast to the situation in ChungShan I could

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not find out if there is a political discussion in Stockholm about how this immigrant areas could be improved. Apart from the political discussion the citizens do not seem to influence their segregated situation by any actions, or at least not in a way that you can find out something of it in the media.

In conclusion I would like to refer to the idea of 'Pluralizing' which is the basic for the case study of chapter eleven. Pluralism in political science is a term shaped by the diversity of social forces. These play a role in the political community. In contrast to a hegemony of a particular social class or elite, the power is not centrally compiled. Additionally, that power is distributed to different, relatively independent groups in society. It is essential for pluralism, as a political idea and aim, that there will be no center of power in society, but the power should be fairly distributed across different groups.

Thereby the question of 'who has the right to the city' should be seen as a challenge which the immigrants of ChungShan have started to decide for themselves. By presenting their culture to other citizens of the city and by support of the municipality. It is also to mention that struggles of social isolation of immigrant or guest worker areas like ChungShan and maybe Tensta are wide spread phenomenons in Asia, Europe, North America and all over the world. In contrast to ChungShan it is also to add that the immigrants in Tensta do not seem to have a problem with the segregated situation, because they created a part of their home in this occupied district.

Finally, it is to mention that they right to the city, like the examples showed, is obviously not based on ethnicities. As Lefebvre already mentioned 'the right to the city' is a collective right of the cities' inhabitants and not individualistic and not property related (Harvey 2008: 23). Additionally, I want to highlight that the current political situation evokes great movement of people. Therefore we should see immigrant areas as a cultural enrichment because those will nowadays be even more than ever an integral part of our cities and will transform the urban landscape.

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Pictures

FIG 1: (n.d.) Available: https://cdn3.cdnme.se/2158614/6-3tenstacentrum_54342ccce087c33209d8fc5f.jpg [Accessed 20.11.2015]

FIG 2: Hou, J. (ed.) Insurgent Public Space – Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities. Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 20.11.2015

On a global basis, cities and the urban spaces within them have long been a focal point of public life. Today, they are progressively developing and adhering to varied forms of commodification, control and ownership involving many different actors. However, both small and large scale persistent acts and challenges against the expansion of privatized and regulated public spaces gives rise to many forms of 'Guerrilla Urbanism'. Many of these bottom-up, unconventional methods of Guerrilla urbanism have been responding to the contemporary ideals of the city and its public space and continue to do so. In "Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities", Jeffrey Hou carefully selects several case studies to showcase these statements. These forms of Guerrilla Urbanism are at grassroots level and highlight innovative temporary fixes for long-term solutions with regards to urban issues surrounding the rights and desires to urban space and public life. This essay will be a reflection of the book by Jeffrey Hou; and I will attempt to illustrate this through the grassroots project 'Wildflower Alley' in Belfast. Finally, then attempt to showcase that it is possible to change the government's outlook towards insurgent public space.

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Introduction

Cities are complex and diverse places, and over time an abundance of change occurs within them, which requires planning strategies to adopt and change along with it. This text will have a focus on contemporary alterations in public space, which was motivated by Jeffrey Hou's book "Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities". Public space has always played an important role in cities; it compliments the structure of society, as these spaces are the centre of civic life. These urban spaces ranging from parks, streets, markets and plazas provide opportunities for urban dwellers to gather and socialize while indulging in the many recreational activities open to them. In this sense, public space is more than just a physical place; it serves "as a vehicle of social relationships, public discourses and political expressions" (Hou, 2010, p.2), which suggests why it is important that these spaces require careful and considerate planning. Contrary to discourses surrounding public space today, they often express how the renewal of public space is necessary. However, these discourses do not suggest specific actions towards long-term solutions in planning for open and inclusive public spaces. These solutions have more recently been implemented through grassroots movements, which have started influencing decision-makers outlook and intentions towards the renewal of public space.

This text is divided into three main chapters; the first chapter takes a look into spatial justice and how it shows relevance towards this text. Further, Guerrilla urbanism will be explored in greater depth to understand what it is, and how this trend is important in public space today. The third key aspect of this text will comprise of the case study in Belfast of 'Wildflower Alley'. I will seek to illustrate how this project was constructed and later, due to its success in changing the mindset of those decision-makers views in Belfast on this instance of insurgent public space. Finally, I will conclude with a short overview on whether Guerrilla urbanism can have an influence on the overall government's views on insurgent public space in the contemporary city.

Spatial Justice in the Contemporary City

Spatial justice is frequently becoming a focal matter in today's contemporary cities; hence it needs to be discussed when considering notions of public space. The reasoning behind this argument is that, increasingly a large amount of time and money is being commodified in cities today. Luxurious shops, bars and restaurants, along with a vast array of other consumable resources are being prioritised before all-inclusive public spaces are given any particular thought. Urgent changes need to be implemented "for an equitable distribution of spatial resources for all to ensure spatial justice given that space is claimed by dominant groups in the society" (Dikeç, 2001). The city is a place for everybody to congregate and enjoy, so equal opportunities should be invested in together to reduce the unbalance and injustices when planning cities for all. If cities and the decision-



All great public spaces are for lingering in, not just moving through.
Image by: Cealan O'Neill, 2014



(Source: The Tab Belfast. Image by unknown)
"The product of imaginative Guerrilla Urbanism"

makers within them become more spatially just, the issue of exclusion in regards to those who are less fortunate in society may no longer feel the need to go to extremes of Guerrilla urbanism. Those individuals who remain less included in society may not always seek to be viewed as equals; however, current urban policies and discourses should not heighten their vulnerability anymore than it already is. Moreover, the question remains how can these issues be achieved in practice today? Control, ownership and domination play key roles in this area, and the top-down approach governments portray only escalates this when planning for public spaces are considered. Even though the public elect politicians in power today who make these decisions, having them recognise a more participatory planning system could help remedy some of these growing issues when planning for spatial justice. Providing these Guerrilla urbanists and general individuals in society with a stronger role in policy outcomes can possibly help create solutions to frequently ignored issues today in contemporary cities. However, this could pose a problem as these grassroots statements can often be a collective group working to implement a place specific to only their desires, nonetheless, its better than total exclusion.

Guerrilla Urbanism

Occurring more frequently in cities globally, Guerrilla urbanism is a grassroots initiative which is generally unapproved or unpermitted by city officials. It can be defined as a method of pop-up urbanism, in which individuals or groups of people independently attempt to remedy issues regarding the urban structure. This is usually without being granted approval from the site it concerns; these bold statements are mostly instigated in public space. Even large organisations have been recognised to get involved in these expanding urban strategies. The concept of public space in urban planning is both outdoor space and indoor space that the whole public can access. The most valid point is that *"public space means simultaneously: open to all, well known by all, and acknowledged by all"* (Henaff and Strong, 2001, p.35).

The main areas in which Guerrilla urbanism usually unfolds are in squares, streets and parks. The book that motivated this text "Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities"; Jeffrey Hou has combined a wide variety of case studies from a collection of different authors. These authors illustrate many different forms of Guerrilla urbanism that have renovated urban public spaces all over the world, regarding people that are truly using the space. To gather an idea, specific examples within the book like; eXperimentcity that has taken place in Berlin, Germany. This example highlights how abandoned lots were converted into places for organizations, youth projects and even ecological housing. Dancing in the streets of Beijing, illustrated also in the book as large groups of urban dwellers locate in spaces to exploit the lack of public space for recreational activities. Pop-up night markets in the heart of Chinatown Seattle, even temporary makeshift parks implemented in car parking spaces on the streets of San Francisco. The case studies illustrated in the book showcase a variety of reasons to why there was a need to implement change in them cities. They were all statements suggesting that new changes need to happen and if the decision-makers can't see it, the public will show it with their specific methods.

Jeffrey Hou's book is an excellent example of Guerrilla urbanism as his descriptive approach using various precedents from around the world; it provides a clear insight to the absence of effective strategies surrounding these current issues. The regular planning system is generally formulated from a top-down approach, which leaves the public with an abiding opinion of the physical structure and usage of a space. On the other hand, Guerrilla urbanism makes use of the unlimited ideas from the construct of imagination to inflict change into urban public space. The majority of examples used in Hou's book apply to the U.S and Asia; moreover a UK context is compatible as will be illustrated through the case study of 'Wildflower Alley' Belfast, Northern Ireland. In Belfast, with a growing economy and increasing urban lifestyle

developing, these contemporary urban trends are evident. Private interests cloud public needs, further creating instances of insurgent public space through Guerrilla urbanism.

Case Study: Wildflower Alley, Belfast

Competitiveness and profit-making goals within planning systems As highlighted in the previous chapter, Guerrilla urbanism in Jeffrey Hou's book is illustrated through different transformations of spaces at different scales. In the case of Belfast, local residents took it into their own hands to implement change in their urban space due to the lack of government cooperation and investment. The local council did not see any initial reward from investing in what is now coined 'Wildflower Alley'. This case study is an example of a successful project self-organised and non-profit orientated developed and maintained by a small group of local residents in the South Belfast City area. Originally, this alleyway was broken down and eroding away from years of neglect due to the fact the alleyway is situated in a notorious student area.

The area has had some civil disruption and anti-social behaviour in the past; nonetheless Wildflower Alley acts as a useful link between a residential area and Queen's university. There is a frequent flow of people making use of the convenient linkage, which made the residents step forward and seek investment from local council for help to clean it up and ensure the safety of individuals remain when passing along its path. The council replied to the residents, stating that they could not fund the project even though millions of pounds were being injected into other projects in Belfast like retail areas. This again is a clear sign of investment prioritised in commodification and private sectors within the city. This earmarked the start of the first case of Guerrilla urbanism in Belfast, as the residents used their own imagination and funding to remake their own public space in the form of a funky and inviting Wildflower Alley. One of the residents leading the initiative stated in a local Belfast news article "...its

about taking control of your own space" (Grant, 2015), and its exactly what they did.

The residents completely regenerated the passageway even after the council said it was not worth investing in. They cleaned the surface up vigorously revealing the old cobbled stone paving on the surface, clearing away weeds masking the walls and used bright imaginative ideas and designs and painted them on the walls of the Alleyway. Benches were installed and plants lined the once dull and uninviting passage, ultimately producing a bright, open and all-inclusive public space for anybody to use. Its success spread widely throughout Belfast as local residents and individuals passing by started using wildflower alley to both their convenience and most notably, their leisure. The projects popularity seen it make the local newspaper and even creating its own Facebook page, this small form of an insurgent public space through a specific method of Guerrilla urbanism seen recognition by the council shortly after it was finished. Wildflower alley has certainly sparked the idea of DIY urbanism and Guerrilla urbanism throughout Belfast, even in large city wide events like culture night seen car parking spaces used as small public parks like the San Francisco example in Hoe's book. Councils have even started contributing to initiatives for local communities in projects of small scale like wildflower alley due to not only its clear success, but as a sign to say there is a need to listen and consider the publics view when it comes to public space.

Conclusion

It is important that the public have knowledge on their rights and opportunities in relation to public space. Jeffrey Hou's book "Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities", along with the Wildflower Alley case study are great examples that showcase the opportunities for the public to make a stand and exploit their ideas and desires of public space in contemporary cities today. As highlighted at the start of this text, spatial justice and public inclusiveness are still

major issues in cities worldwide as the mass commodification of today's society dominates a large section of public spaces in cities. However, as illustrated through the book and the case study referenced in this text, instance of insurgent public space through Guerrilla urbanism can help battle the growing conventional ideals of the city. Nonetheless, Guerrilla urbanism must not always be the way to counter issues of spatial justice. Governments and planners must get on board and use these strategies in effective ways to provide harmony to society at large, before those excluded in society enforce their own strategies as seen throughout the book and in Belfast.

In conclusion, after expanding my knowledge on these current issues in today's contemporary cities, I believe that Guerrilla urbanism can turn the tide in regards to how public space is distributed. Decision-makers in power need these insurgent public spaces to keep popping up so to help ingrain the bigger picture to provide whole and inclusive spaces for all, in order to challenge the conventional understanding and making of public space today.

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Realizing the Sports Truck by Applying Tactical Urbanism?

Louice Persson

Urban planning is a field full of disappointment, stressed processes and unexpected results. In some cases the municipality thinks they do exactly what the citizens want, but will later on be proven wrong. To reduce unwanted effects Tactical Urbanism and Design Thinking should be used together. Tactical urbanism is used in cases where citizens are engaged. But doesn't bring people into the process if they don't want to/don't have knowledge/confidence to participate. This is the point where Design Thinking comes in. In its process the user is the main focus. Both methods can be used with various aims and scales. This article will enhance the perfect match of Tactical Urbanism and Design Thinking. This will be exemplified by a project called Stockholm in Motion, which aimed to find a solution of an emerging challenge that Stockholm faces: How does the future arena for sports look like? The answer that came out was "Sports Truck". Firstly I will give a brief introduction to Tactical urbanism and Design thinking. Secondly I will tell you about Stockholm in Motion and the Sports truck. Thirdly I will reflect on how Tactical urbanism could be a helping hand for realizing the Sports truck.

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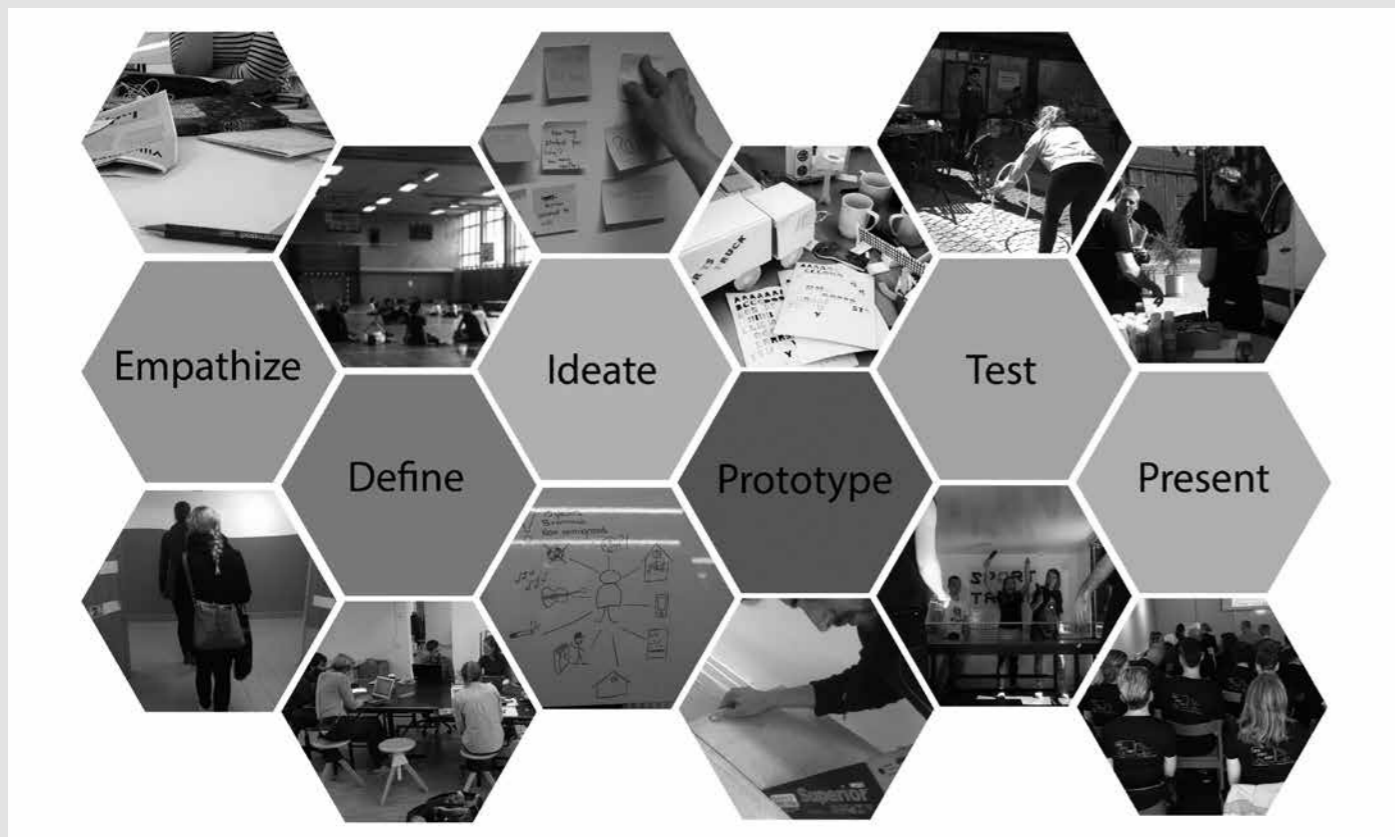
Briefing

Emerging cities of today face several challenges everyday. Shared by most of them is the need for citizen involvement and short action for long-term change at a low cost. This is what tactical urbanism does. Tactical urbanism is also a great tool for urban planners to reach citizens whom want to be involved in shaping the city. Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia have written a book with the title *Tactical Urbanism – short-term action for long-term change* (2015). The book presents several examples where tactical urbanism has been used, including professional and non-professional insights in the method.

Tactical urbanism projects can appear everywhere, according to Lydon and Garcia (2015), as well as Finn (2014) and Brenner (2015). Tactical urbanism is filled with possibilities, both regarding improvement and funding. It also can be characterized as low-cost and high-impact projects. Tactical urbanism is often led by a group of citizens, government, organizations or professional designers that want to highlight emergent issues in the urban environment. The comprehensive city plans as well as formal legal codes and stiff blueprints are usually the opposite of what tactical urbanism stands for. Due to this fact tactical and DIY urbanism is similar. The vision for Tactical urbanism is to reform urban areas with public involvement and hands-on methods. It is common that the people who are most touched by the issue mobilize to continuously influence the evolution of aim and methods (Brenner, 2015; Finn, 2014).

What is interesting about Tactical urbanism according to the project Stockholm in motion is its fundamental idea that people themselves can change and create the already built city, and use places in the city in other ways than they are planned for, just like DIY urbanism that Finn (2014) talks about. DIY urbanism can be everything between graffiti and flash mobs to expensive parks. The core with DIY urbanism is that citizens change infrastructure, public space and municipal designs on their own. Often the DIY urbanism projects is all made and paid for by citizens themselves. These projects also generally emulate or augment the municipality's official infrastructure in public spaces. Not to be forgotten, the aim for DIY projects usually is to create an environment that is more user-friendly (Finn, 2014).

Tactical urbanism (just like DIY) encourages the citizens to create something new, something needed or something game changing. Tactical urbanists are actually hacking the city in different ways; culture, life, routines, you name it. When speaking of hacking in the field of Tactical urbanism and DIY I also want to bring up Everyday urbanism, which has a connection to the Stockholm in Motion project and the Sports truck in its relation to public space. Brenner (2015) and Lydon and Garcia (2015) state that Tactical urbanism is used differently depending on the initiator. For citizens it is normally a question of attention and to point out dissatisfaction. For municipalities, organizations and other developers it can be a matter of widening their perspective and



The Design thinking process for Stockholm in Motion and the SportsTruck.
Illustrator: Author, Louice Persson

sphere of public participation and engagement, but also a matter of testing new ideas several times and in several places.

Everyday urbanism as an approach applied both by the municipality and citizens. It is characterized by feelings of home; it is about re-familiarizing public places. An everyday urbanism project starts with an already existing place then supports and strengthens it. There is no set outcome for the projects though, they are shape shifting and adjusted for specific conditions and interests. The heart of these projects is their variety and heterogeneity. These projects are located in everyday places, for example bus stops, parks and pedestrian streets. The form of everyday urbanism can be everything between knitted objects around benches to unofficial markets. Just like DIY and tactical urbanism these "projects" can pop-up without warning (Crawford, 2014; Finn, 2014).

Usually Tactical urbanists, according to Lydon and Garcia (2015), are using the process "problem-identification-to-project-response". But Design thinking and Tactical urbanism matches great as well. Both of the tools have understanding that city shaping is a never-ending process. Design Thinking is a tool often used for innovations and complex questions. The method's core is multidisciplinary, creativity and user focus. Design thinking goes through a process of 5 different stages, 6 stages if you include the presentation. Those stages are not in any way linear; the process will go back and forth and is meant to. It is important to do, think, and do again to reach the most beneficial result. In other words, learn by doing (Lydon & Garcia, 2015; Openlabsthlm.se, 2015; Kelley & Kelley, 2013).

Empathize: The focus for Empathize is to gather information about the problem in order to understand the user's needs. Without this information it wouldn't be possible to understand the actual challenge. This step might be useful to get back to during the project to dig for more detailed insights about the users.

Define: After the fieldwork in Empathize, it's time to analyse the information with the aim to clearly define the users needs, emotions, thought and behaviours.

Ideate: Now it is time to brainstorm and developing ideas to fulfil the user's needs. You should generate as many and as crazy ideas as possible. Co-creation with the users is a good way to ensure the ideas do meet their needs.

Prototype: After ideas are generated it is time to make them visible. In the Prototype step you make prototypes of your ideas that are clear and concrete concepts. The aim is to get to know the user's experiences of the idea, but also to get a view of the actual new activity, service or product.

Test: The focus in this last step is to go out and try your idea and concept on the actual user. Note that the service or product doesn't need to be finished, it is important to let the user come with feedback and discuss if there are any needs missing for further development.

Present: Time to show the users and others what you came up with (Lydon & Garcia, 2015; Kelley & Kelley, 2013).

Critics of Design thinking means that it doesn't solve what it supposed to. Bruce Nussbaum who is a former Design thinking advocate states that Design thinking has taken design and creativity to a wider perspective by adding societal problem solving that are useful even for non-profit organizations. But Nussbaum means that the original thought about Design thinking is fading out. When design thinking was new and fresh businesses and organizations got the Design thinking process as a package in order to create efficiency and creativity within the business or organization, but the success rate was low. In fact there was a lot of mess, conflicts, emotions and failure within the processes. Even if Nussbaum is very restricted towards Design



Testing day in Vällingby, Stockholm. In the truck two girls, 13 years, playing ping-pong. Photograph: Author, Louice Persson

thinking he means that it have been a very important method for all kind of humanistic design (fastcodesign, 2011). Also Tactical urbanism meets criticism, even if the Tactical urbanism initiatives aims to make urban places better there are critics. Some critics mean that the initiatives only attract people with money and that tactical urbanism is not at all a democratic process; this criticism is directed against the process, not at the result. In the criticism there are also opinions about taste and priorities (the university of Chicago, 2014).

Focusing

I have in my previous work faced one big challenge for the emerging Stockholm. I, together with a multidisciplinary team, was challenged to create the future arena for sports in Stockholm. At first we thought about creating a high-tech and flexible arena for the whole population in Stockholm. But during the Design thinking process our thoughts changed totally regarding insights of the users needs. Information and statistics that the team got from the Sports and Health Administration was clear about which groups were especially exposed to low physical activity, and thus we found the relevant target groups for our project. It was people with low socio-economic background in all ages, young adults (particularly girls between 12-16 years), people with disabilities and immigrants. During the Design thinking process we learnt a lot about these target groups by meeting them in person. We also met their coaches, friends and families who also gave us valuable insights of reasons behind the low physical activity. During empathize phase we decided to focus on young adults because of the importance for them to be physically active to gain health and personal development.

Lack of time and too much schoolwork, lack of knowledge about sports, limited budget, interest in trying different sports instead of signing up for a whole semester, access to sports arena and friends were the main causes behind low physical activity among young girls. Building on these insights we created the concept

of a movable sports arena, the Sports truck. This truck should be filled with equipment and coaches for the physical activities. Personal equipment like rollerblades and dancing shoes should be possible to borrow for each activity. Hockey sticks, balls, a music system and other equipment should also come with the truck. Place as well as sport/activity should differ on trends and demand.

The challenge came originally from The City of Stockholm, Sports and Health Administration. After the project delivery the Sports and Health Administration was very positive about the concept and highlighted advantages such as flexibility, low cost and short-term action, which are also benefits from tactical urbanism (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). The Sports and Health Administration, and other departments at Stockholm municipality, even looked forward to seeing the Sport truck in the city soon. My team and I were very satisfied and thrilled concerning the positive feedback and discussed how to maintain the work after the concept delivery. But the only thing we heard from the Sports and Health Administration after that was silence. The Sports and Health Administration had put the Sports truck on the shelf.

During the Design thinking process we prototyped and tested the truck, of course. Our prototypes went from trucks in cardboard to a real truck, with driver, coaches and activities. So the testing went from discussions around a small truck model in cardboard to a 1:1 scale prototype which was actually less difficult to manage than we thought. It was easier to get feedback and explain the idea by interacting with a real Sports truck. The idea with the Sports truck, as previously stated, is to brighten places and people with activity, both at random and at focused areas where it is needed. During the testing day, in spring 2015, we drove to Vällingby in north Stockholm and parked the truck in a square and invited people to join our activities. For the testing day, these activities were pretty simple: Ping-Pong inside the truck, hula-hoops, jumping ropes and some balls and Frisbees.

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The testing was successful! Not only young girls were attracted to the Sports truck. The user age range was between 4 and 85, and included both men and women. An 85 year old man even played Ping-Pong inside the truck. He told us he used to be a PE teacher and had long awaited an idea like this. One of the greatest insights after testing was that it was not as hard as we thought it would be. The testing could actually have been a Tactical urbanism initiative. Some weeks after the concept delivery we spoke about the Sports truck and further possibilities with the Sports and Health Administration's development director, who did not know what Tactical urbanism was and again they got very exited about the Sports truck. But now, months after our meeting, nothing has yet happened.

Reflecting

Independent initiator and whether a municipality, organization or citizens host a Tactical urbanism projects, it is important to remember that everything big and important starts with something small, both in scale and design (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). If the citizens hosted the Sport truck the action could be illegal, regarding using public spaces in ways they're not meant to. Chapter 4, Lydon and Garcia (2015), highlights examples of Tactical urbanism projects, partly with illegal elements. One of these examples is "The rise of the parklets" where people have taken the initiative to make parks out of parking lots. After project "Park(ing) Day" there have been many spinoffs of using parking lots in different ways. Today, especially in San Francisco, parklets are well known and well made. San Francisco has even made a manual for creating parklets and had a structure around permission for it. This is a very good example of how good ideas can grow, both in terms of scale and design (Lydon & Garcia, 2015).

Municipal challenges partly come from high population growth that creates long to-do-lists. (This was the reason the Sports and Health Administration gave this challenges to my team and I). The process of getting things done in the municipality is often long, way longer than their patience and often much larger than the budget. The same applies for organizations (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). Regarding funding, if the Sport truck was an initiative by local citizens, all the sport equipment, truck and advertisement would naturally be donated by people, for a good cause. Probably the funding would be donated also if the initiative came from a municipality or sport organization. But there would be one small, but even more noticeable difference. The municipality and the organization, with their name behind the "product" would probably be stricter about requirements for aesthetics. I'm not sure whether this would affect the sport truck's achievements or not. Aspects that for sure would affect the achievements are the process contents, in which way would the citizens be involved, and time, how long would it take to make something happen. Both of these aspects are causes of tactical urbanism (Lydon & Garcia, 2015).

Looking at the sport truck case, I can only see one thing missing to be an actual Tactical urbanism initiative: the citizens desire to make a difference. During the Design thinking process creating the Sport truck we got a lot of user insights. Important when thinking of Tactical urbanism is the lack of time. Both youngsters and adults have a tight schedule and would love a sport arena that is flexible, cheap and adaptable. Those people were satisfied by the Sport truck and wanted to attend its activities close to places in their daily life. But none of these people were especially interested in running the project. Some projects might be easy and limited in time and energy, but in my opinion that is not the case for the Stockholm in Motion and Sport truck. It would require the truck, equipment and coaches, which would be the easy part. The harder part would be arranging the Sport truck activities and the structure, for example a schedule of activities.

By this article I have told you about a project, made without regard to Tactical urbanism. But still the project fits very well with the tool. This shows that Lydon and Garcia (2015), Finn (2014), Crawford (2004) and Brenner (2015) are right when they in different ways state that the first step of creating something small or game changing is to have an idea. Then it is just a matter of engagement. The next step for the Sport truck would be to hit the road spreading sports, health and joy around Stockholm, just like it was meant to. By applying Tactical urbanism and gaining knowledge about pros and cons with Tactical urbanism the Sport truck may be a reality in the future. Considering the previous example about parklets, it is too much to drive off with full operations at once. If it would be fully operational immediately, the possibility and value of learning by doing would disappear.

Everyday Urbanism The Way to Make a Proper Dialogue

Leila Shah Malakpour

There is a burgeoning demand toward Green cities in almost all western countries. There has been controversial discussion among people, urban designers and government on whether professional actions toward provoking more people to utilize bikes over cars for transportation are efficient, encouraging and motivating enough or not. If the term of Everyday Urbanism is being considered as banal and ordinary routines and people are supposed to be the main elements who by their ordinary experiences identify the real shape of the urban society, Do the professionals apply the concept of Everyday Urbanism in their thoughts and actions? why residents are always dissatisfied with newly made actions, which are mainly expected to improve the situation of the city.

In this essay, the writer is dealing with several phenomenons which are Everyday Urbanism, New Urbanism, Post Urbanism and Public Realm in the context of Stationary Bikes in City of Stockholm which is one of the most influential issues for having a Walkable Stockholm in 2030 and Fossil Fuel- free Stockholm in 2050 in Stockholmsstad's future perspective. She tries to propose a convenient urban solution for everyone to come to a consensus in which, both sides, citizens and administrations could achieve their targets.

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Based on Stockholm's Urban Mobility Strategy, the essay will argue about an important issue which is how to encourage more people contribute in making the Stockholm city a walkable city in 2030 and fossil fuel-free city in 2050. Furthermore, I want to clarify four urban paradigms which are Everyday Urbanism, New Urbanism, Post Urbanism and Public Realm and make a comparison which its ultimate aim is to show how different urbanism approaches can affect Public Realm who are obviously the main users. StockholmsStad is trying to motivate people using more bikes than cars for their daily transportation however it seems their effort are not efficient and motivating enough for people due to various reactions that people who are not biking supporters show. What are the main obstacles of not utilizing bicycles as main public transport vehicles? Are there just physical problems or there might be some attitudinal barriers or mistrust between residents and administrations?

Three paradigms: Everyday urbanism, New urbanism, Post urbanism

In accordance with Douglas Kelbaugh's claim, there are at least three different discourses of urbanism which are understandable by inner feelings: Everyday Urbanism, New Urbanism, and what he calls as Post Urbanism. Public Realm as the fourth factor has been influenced by all three aforementioned urban approaches in different eras (Kelbaugh, 2001).

The Informal/Vernacular Paradigm

To begin with the definition of Everyday Urbanism, it is obvious that the combination of Everyday and Urbanism carries a contradictory meaning in which Everyday is the most ordinary, stereotyped and Urbanism is the most obscure and professional-based approach which together can illustrate the functional concept of the city. It seems the latter issue might neglect and underestimate the former one. Therefore, for having a better understanding, it would be easier to define what Everyday Space is. The definition of everyday space describes the physical realm of everyday public actions. There is a wide variety of everyday spaces like home, workplace and institutions where people can easily understand the activities running in these spaces. Everyday Urban Space is the connecting string, binds daily lives together. It is in contrast with specifically planned cities in which every square meter of space has been planned to be specifically designed by professionals. There should be something for giving life identity to everyday Space which in Lefebvre's viewpoint, it is Everyday Life. As Margaret Crawford argues that he is the first philosopher who mentions that insignificant and routine activities which are mostly ignored by professionals are the foundation of all social experiences (Crawford, 1999, p.9). Lefebvre described daily life as the "screen" on which contradictory characteristics of society are protruded like power and weakness, public and private (Lefebvre, 1991, cited in Crawford, 1999, p. 9). Moreover, he proposes that these factors are easily identifiable. He claims that there are two elements within everyday life: the quotidian, the stereotyped, repeated style of living and the modern, the



In the process of observation on a sunny day, why locking the bike on a tree when there is enough convenient parking space? Image by: Leila Shah Malakpour



Everyday Urbanism, it is not clear whether there is a lack of dialogization among bikes or bikers. Image by: Leila Shah Malakpour

technologically- affected way of life which has been changing through human's lifetime (Lefebvre, 1971, cited in Crawford, 1999, p.9).

If based on Lefebvre, Debord and de Certeau, we define Urbanism as a human-based paradigm, the city would be "the social product" (Crawford, 1999, p.10) which is connected to ultimate effort of residents through what is called "dialogism" (Bakhtin, 1981, cited in Crawford, 1999, p. 11) due to achieving a common goal which is having a brighter future. However, whatever the intention, professional abstractions inevitably produce spaces that have little to do with real human impulses (Crawford, 1999). "Dialogization" (Bakhtin, 1981, cited in Crawford, 1999, p. 11) occurs when there is an up-to-date process in citizens' communication and this dialogue never experiences repeated attitudes. Whatever remain, would be Undialogized and authority based language (Crawford, 1999). If everyday urbanism is presumed to be prevailed upon the society, there should be comprehensive, simultaneous changes in the urban strategy, switching the power from professionals to people. However, the presence of some experts for removing the distance between executives and users, between highly qualified planners and ordinary people, between governmental rules and traditional customs is necessary. The designers should be involved with different aspects of current urban situation rather than being just leaders of new urban discourses. In that case, their ultimate endeavor would be showing social loopholes of everyday life from a closer view (Crawford, 1999). Although it is not a complete approach which can be used in different situations, it is the way in which, all the applied changes are in order to make the present condition better instead of converting a public area to a private residential complex (Crawford, 2004).

The Formal/Classical Paradigm

New Urbanism, received its charter in 1996, has been an inspiration for reaching utopian goals in urban design. Its ultimate

purpose is to create a society in which different people from various cultures and backgrounds, with different economic, social and educational position live together by sense of unity and belonging to the society. New Urbanism followers intend to construct popular public buildings and spaces to bind people with urban fabric to encourage them to feel responsibility and devotion toward what architects and urban designers built and planned for them, actually based on expected needs and desires of ordinary users.

However, their goals in different projects and communities had not been fulfilled mainly because of their ambitious strategies. New Urbanism attempts to oppose disloyal social and functional division which principally creates polarization in contemporary modern cities. The New Urbanist manifest exceeds affecting on just physical planning and design and struggles to reform the present capital system in order to explore patient investors who would participate in long-term beneficial investment projects (Kelbaugh, 2007).

The Avant-Garde/Inventive Paradigm

Kelbaugh proposes that Post Urbanism is not a usual phenomenon by which anyone might call himself as a Post Urbanist. This paradigm is a great critique of traditional attitudes and discourses and it prefers to be eye-catching whether as a fragmental construction or continuous. This approach never accepts to be underestimated. They claim that in the "dynamic global information" era, it is impossible to predict and then prescribe exact solution to different recently existed phenomenon related to urban paradigm (Kelbaugh, 2007).

Post Urbanism is mostly product of innovative, sophisticated and VIP-mentality users' thought. It criticizes New Urbanism for its lack of connection to technologically-advanced qualities of society. Although Post Urbanism professionals are sophisticated in theoretical aesthetics, here a question arises: Is there any

balance between what this avant-garde paradigm takes from the society and what it gives in return? (Kelbaugh, 2007)

Civitas: the public realm

Public realm is a human-centered phenomenon which can be experienced by contributing in usage of any public facility made for citizens like parks, buildings, shopping centers, streets, pedestrian lanes and any other publicly accessible space or place. The experience of people in public space could have a direct effect on quality of Public Realm and it can evaluate its efficiency. In a successfully designed society, all the delivered public services are convenient and easily accessible for public users. People are always using the Public Realm unconsciously and they are the key factor to shape and put some spirit into it. If no one uses the streets, pedestrian lanes, schools or parks, how could we define them as spaces made for having social experiences? It should be noticed that without public realm, all the efforts made by professionals would be useless. In that case all the urban facilities would be just individual expressions of different artists which might not be generally understandable for people. This sense of belonging to a specific urban space satisfies everyone due to an inner feeling in humankind's heart which is devotion to their public community. That is why a society must at the same time respect to citizens' individual and group interests. Therefore, for achieving to this goal there should be a "forever readjustment" in the process of decision making (Kelbaugh, 2001).

With the definition of Public Realm, one of the aforementioned urban approaches, Everyday Urbanism which is mainly based on public contribution in different urban situation, seems to be quiet relevant for solving Civitas' urban obstacles. Yet, first we need to have a broader perspective for understanding the problem and then we can come up with the comparison of different approaches in order to make the proper selection.

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Stockholm: a desirable biking city

Today's urban situation is a "physical record" (Kaliski, 1999, p. 106) of everyday actions and reactions of decisions made by professionals. The results would illustrate that whether the process is interactive, convenient and prosperous for public users or not. According to Stockholm Urban Mobility Strategy (2012, pp. 3-6), there are two perspectives for Stockholm city. The first one is changing the Stockholm city to a Walkable city by 2030 and second is transforming the city to the Fossil-Fuel free city by 2050. In order to achieve this goal Stockholm Stad is trying to run some projects which their ultimate aim is to identify how they can motivate and encourage more people to use their bikes instead of their cars. It is easily understandable that, in this case, people are part of Public Realm who has the main role. Therefore, there is a willingness to find what is the biggest concern for people who never want to use bikes as their daily transportation vehicle. What happens in reality is:

"Daily use of city places provokes responses and counter-responses to utopian visions. The result, the everyday cacophony of the city, is not traditionally defined as beautiful, existing situations become a starting point rather than a stumbling block."

(Kaliski, 1999, p. 107)

I participated in a course at OpenLab at KTH in which student are supposed to deal with a challenge mainly given by Stockholm Stad. Our challenge as a group of nine students was to find a solution for Stationary Bikes situation in Stockholm. To answer some questions like why all people do not bike in Stockholm? Or why do people leave their bikes in the street and never come back to take them? Or how can we motivate more people to participate in making the biking situation better? Our approach toward this challenge was according to BootcampBootleg guide which is based on design thinking method. The process was divided into different phases:

The ANThology game

Empathy, Define, Ideate, Prototype and Test. On Empathy phase, we had to observe people in different levels and situations in order to uncover their insights. These insights are the foundation of human reaction in various situations. To answer the aforementioned questions, we should engage to their daily problems. So, immersing in their thoughts could help us to engage, then observe and finally empathize (BootcampBootleg, 2010, p.1).

At first we tried to observe individually. We could easily see that there is a problem in the biking system. Yet the question is who is responsible? There were so many left out bikes distributed through the city. There were so many inconvenient bike parking spaces. People lock their bikes on lamp post, advertising post, Fire Department valves without noticing to their wrong actions. What makes people being so careless about their Everyday life? Is there any efficient dialogue between officials and people? Is Everyday Space made for them by professionals convenient for their Everyday actions? Do they know, what are the expected perspectives for their city in near future? What kind of Urbanism paradigms which aforementioned before would be appropriate in this case?

At second step, we went out in different streets in the city and made interviews with almost 40 people with different backgrounds, living in different locations that used different vehicles for their daily transportation. There were some issues which were mentioned by people as problems like safety, lack of convenient bike parking, lack of super safe bike parking, not having innovative and inspiring bike parking. Their answers were what we expected and that was the moment we underestimated the problem. We would never imagine that what would happen in following future. Second phase of the process in which we could achieve to several point of views made by the interviewees was Defining. By using those points of views, we tried to Ideate, not exactly for finding the solutions, to go wider in terms of reaching many concepts and outcomes. Then, we started making different prototypes based on the needs of interviewees (BootcampBootleg, 2010, pp.2-4).

Based on the method of design thinking with a human-centered approach, we had to test the prototypes on citizens. We went out and tested our prototypes on more than 40 people. The feedback given to our prototypes was positive. However, when we immersed in the feedback, we were amazed that citizens do not see bike parking as a problem. Also they mentioned that they want to park their bike according to traffic rules and in a way so they do not disturb traffic or pedestrians, if bike parking is available and close to their destination. When we iterated the process it was really game-changing for us to find out that the most influential problem with stationary bikes in Stockholm is not safety issue but it is also being close to destination and convenience. Another game-changing point which is highly effective on people's everyday approach toward biking is

attitudinal issues which are mainly affected by lack of efficient communication between people and city officials.

Convenient approach

Which of the aforementioned urban paradigms are convenient for dealing with the challenge of Stockholm Stationary Bikes? What would happen if we apply Post Urbanism as an urban approach to help Public Realm and urban designers to come to a consensus? Is there any common goal between them? The answer is, in Post Urbanism designer disvalues shared ideas and having common goals in the era of Global Village and telecommunication-based world, furthermore, he wants to impress all the observers by his "disconnected hypermodern buildings and shopping mall urbanism" (Kelbaugh, 2001, p 2).

In New Urbanism, all the changes are due to a utopian approach in which there is a growing desire to renew all the physical and spiritual features of the urban society. By renovating the society a new type of neighborhood would replace the old one, which used to be more familiar with citizens. In this newly renovated urban fabric, which is mainly proposed by urban designers and professional, people from different backgrounds, income, culture and general interests would live side by side whether with common interests or not. By applying this method to solve the Stationary Bikes problem, our fundamental belief which is dialogization among citizens, would be ignored by the preference of experts.

In my opinion, Everyday Urbanism is the key solution for approaching to the aforementioned problems. Unfortunately, there is a gap between people and StockholmsStad which was made by lack of dialogization. If there was a proper dialogue between StockholmsStad and people, they would never experience this unacceptable situation in which both sides evade from having a direct dialogue. They expect each other to be more patient and tolerable to hard situations. Everyday Urbanism will eliminate this distance by making both sides closer and much more familiar to real urban potentialities. Also, it can propose new solutions without ruining people's cultural and traditional history. Although its ultimate aim is to encourage everyone to come to a consensus in order to make the urban space desirable for all the residents, its approach is not just utilizing professional and utopian methods but instead, it is a proper field for more understanding and sharing ideas. If we want the citizens to keep up with pace of changes in future perspective of the city, we should learn how to make an appropriate conversation with them and how to transform the results of this dialogue to action.

The ants are not happy with the rules of the Queen. They get organised and try to reach her in order to demonstrate against her. They want their voice to be heard and they are determined to even overthrow her if she doesn't take their demands seriously into consideration. The game is about collaboration and imagination. The players are not competing against each other but work together against an imaginary Queen. The game is an open-ended process which means that is flexible, more guidelines, even roles, can and should be invented.

The game is played with 3-6 players with one dice. The goal is that all the ants reach the Demonstration Room (DR) next to the Royal Room (RR) where the Queen of the Ants stays. For this to happen, the players can move along the board according to the dice. However, dangers exist. Some rooms lead directly to the RR. If the dice leads an ant into one of them, the ant moves directly to the Queen, it gets re-institutionalised and moves back to the start. If this happens twice during the game, its situation is irreversible and thus this ant is banned from the game. If 3 ants manage to gather into the DR, their voice can be heard and the game ends with a tie (if there aren't more players). If 4 ants are gathered then the ants overthrow their Queen and the game ends in favour of the ants. The Queen wins if there are not enough ants to demonstrate against her (less than 3), this can happen if too many are completely institutionalised, thus banned. In order to avoid this danger, the ants start building new rooms in order to move faster and safer towards the DR while those rooms are the most helpful for the ants that have to start again from the top. Collaboration is the key for a successful decision making of the new parts of the den.

How to build

In order to build, the players use the cut-out figures of rooms and ladders which combined create DIY routes for faster and safer mobility within the den. The building process occurs in two stages, so as there is enough time to cancel the decision according to the progress of the game. The dice is rolled and the ant moves to the respective square, it places there a room if it thinks it is necessary and a ladder demonstrating where the second room will be placed. The ladder can be placed in all directions. The second room will be placed later. When it is this ant's turn again, it can either move with the dice or stay put and place the second room. This can happen later as well, but in any case, if the ant decides to complete the construction, it cannot move. The construction can also be canceled at any time during the course of the game.

Further instructions

When an ant moves at a (complete) DIY room it directly moves to its other end. This applies for both ends (either the lower part or the upper part). The ants move with the numbers 1-5 of the dice. Number 6 belongs to the Queen. If a six is rolled, the ant stays put and during this round no construction is allowed and no ant can use the DIY rooms. If an ant moves at one of them it continues normally along the squares of the board. In order to reach the DR a complete number of the dice is needed.

PLAY & HAVE FUN



A large grid shaped like an ant hill, containing numbers from 1 to 111. The grid is set against a dark brown background. The numbers are arranged in a pattern that follows the shape of the ant hill. There are several icons scattered throughout the grid: a purple ant at 1, a yellow ant at 5, a yellow ladder at 11, a red heart at 15, a yellow ladder at 53, a red heart at 72, a purple ant at 96, and a group of ants with a flag at 100. The grid is divided into several sections by a winding path.

A row of icons and dashed boxes for cutting practice. The icons include a purple ant, a red ant, a blue ant, a green ant, a yellow ant, a yellow ladder, and a group of ants with a flag. To the right of these icons are three columns of dashed boxes, each containing a red heart shape.

