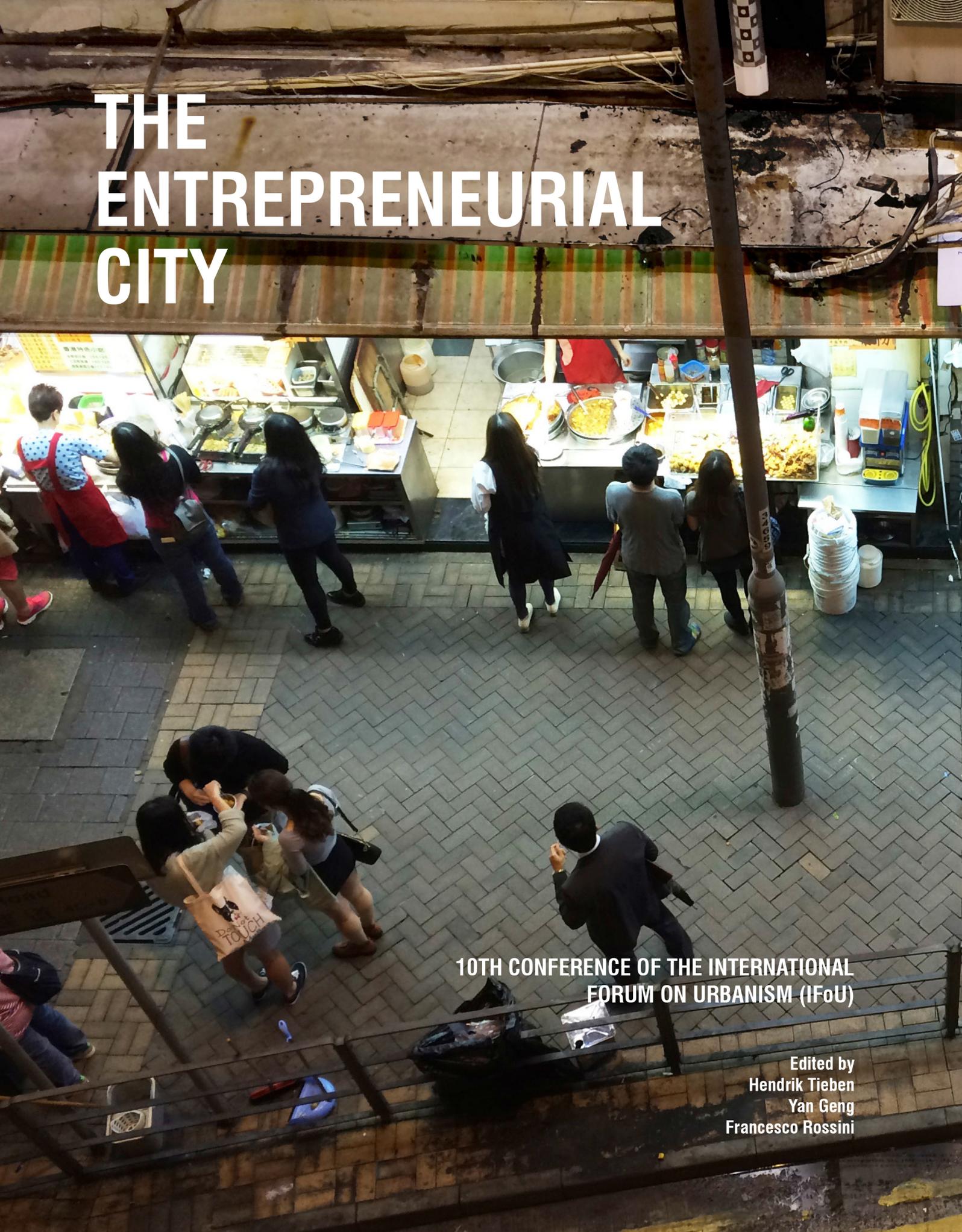


THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY



10TH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
FORUM ON URBANISM (IFoU)

Edited by
Hendrik Tieben
Yan Geng
Francesco Rossini

THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY

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The Entrepreneurial City

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CONTENTS

	11	Acknowledgement
INTRODUCTIONS	12	Introduction <i>Jürgen Rosemann</i>
	14	“The Entrepreneurial City” <i>Hendrik Tieben</i>
	16	‘Made in Hong Kong’- From Entrepreneurism to ‘(In)trepreneurialism’ <i>Gerhard Bruyns and Peter Hasdell</i>
ECONOMY	22	Beyond Shelter: The Urban House as an Entrepreneurial Resource <i>Shantanu B. Khandkar and Janhavi S. Khandkar</i>
	34	Adaptive Commercial Activities as Initiation of Entrepreneurial Social Space in Urban Residential Neighbourhoods: Developing Policies, Private Interests and Spatial Publicness <i>Tianyu Zhu and Qian Lu</i>
	49	The Importance of the Traditional Market for the Local Economy and the Local-specific Urban Way of Life - the Case of Jakarta <i>Jo Santoso, Miya Irawati and Rully Mardona</i>
	58	In between the Suburb Masterplans <i>Melody Hoi-Lam Yiu and Hiroyuki Shinohara</i>
	67	Street-as-a-Platform: A Case Study on a Collective Neighbourhood Revitalising Project in South Wan-Hua, Taipei <i>Hsin-Ko Cinco Yu</i>
	76	The Role of Urbanity in the Entrepreneurship of the University Neighborhood: A Case Study of Two NJU’s Campuses <i>Shan Yang</i>
	89	Landscapes of Resistance: Ecology and Economy in the VVSR <i>George Jacob and Aneerudha Paul</i>
	101	Local Economic Adaptation Triggered by Giant-Scale Development Invasion: A Case Study of Kampung Karet Kuningan, Jakarta <i>Irene Syona Darmady, Lucia Indah Pramanti and Eduard Tjahjadi</i>

INFORMALITY

- 112 **Reframing the Self-Made Urban System**
Kritika Sha
- 125 **Mapping Thamesmead's Economic Landscape: An ethnographic Approach to Self-Employment and Invisible Economies in southeast London**
Bridget Ackeifi, José Cesar Faria, Ghadeer Mansour, Oliver Tovatt and Ignacio Uliarte
- 136 **Negotiating Entrepreneurial Space: The Survival of Puri Night Market in the City**
Wahyu Kusuma Astuti and Suryono Herlambang
- 144 **NAYA DHARAVI – A Community Vision for Reinventing Dharavi**
Sujata S. Govada
- 169 **The Potential of Community Resilience in Unveiling Social-Economic Dynamics for Informal Settlement Up-Grading**
Carmen Mendoza-Arroyo and Lorenzo Chelleri
- 181 **Urban Village of Start-Ups: The Case of Sungei Road Market**
Keng Hua Cho and Tongchaoran Gao
- 195 **The Phenomenon of Urban Informality in a Developing Country Case Study: Street Vendors in the proximity of Padjajaran University, Bandung, Indonesia**
Asri Fatmasari Septarizky, Natasha Indah Rahmani and Seruni Fauzia Lestari
- 202 **The Shanghai Lilong in the 21st Century: Can Informal Commercial Activity Save This Threatened Urban Space?**
Gregory Bracken
- 213 **The Space, Power and Everyday Life on Local Business Street through the Lens of Informal Urbanism: Taking Fangjia Hutong in Beijing as an Example**
Xinyue Gan and Lanchun Bian

SPATIAL MODELS

- 226 **Mapping Wuhan: a Historical Morphological Research**
Henco Bekkering
- 237 **Synchromeshed Urbanism**
Manoj Parmar and Binti Singh
- 251 **Hong Kong' Entrepreneurialism; Radical Domesticity as a Condition of Interiorised Commons**
Gerhard Bruyns
- 261 **Data-Mining China: Excavating the Urban Village**
Travis J. M. Bunt and Danil Nagy and Timmie King Hong Tsang

- 273 Transformation of Seoul Central Station Area to a Sustainable Urban District with a Balanced Mix of Living, Recreation, Working, Local Production and Business**
Thorsten Schuetze
- 286 The Declining and the Thriving Neighborhoods: Urban Regeneration in the Chinese Context of Migration and Economic Transition**
Lei Qu, Xin Huang and Qiao Yang
- 297 Improving Spatial Conditions for Integrated living and Working in Korea by Development of a Renovation Strategy for Korean Officetels**
Seokjil Jang and Thorsten Schuetze
- 311 Kelurahan Jembatan Lima of Jakarta: The Transformation of kampong as an Integrated Model of Working and Living**
Erwin Fahmi and Regina Suryadjaja
- 321 Hybrid Live-Work Architecture in Brazil: A Research on the Peripheral Neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro**
Ana Slade and Guilherme Lassance
- 332 Urban and Rural Tourism Destinations: Opportunities for Tourism Development to Promote Sustainable Urban-Rural Linkages**
Wita Simatupang
- 341 Work in Progress: Mapping the Urban Economy Of Co-Working Spaces in London**
Ignacio Uliarte-Parada
- 351 Patchwork City**
Hiroyuki Shinohara and Melody Yiu
- 360 Exploring the Interrelation between Street Trading and Urban Form in Dhaka: A New Morphological Approach**
Nabanita Islam and Ye Zhang
- 370 Comparing Transformation of Deprived Mixed-Use Areas in Seoul: Community Building in Traditional Industrial Clusters?**
Blaž Križnik and Ha-young Cho
- 382 Fair Building. Perception of Challenges and Social Responsibility of German, Austrian, and Swiss Architects in Global Practice on the Individual and Organizational Levels.**
Clarissa Rhomberg
- PUBLIC SPACE**
- 395 The Quest for Public Space: Changing Values in Urban Design The City as Learning Lab and Living Lab**
Maurice G. A. D. Harteveld

- 412 **Public Space of the Self-Made City**
Louise Kragh Hjerrild
- 423 **The “Hypermediated Shed”
Public Space and “the Forgotten Symbolism” in the Augmented Meta-
Public Space of Post-Consumerist Urban Giants**
Manfredo Manfredini
- 438 **Relationship between the Changing Urban Open Spaces and
Increasing Density in Mong Kok since the 1970s**
Wei Shi, Beisi Jia and H. Koon Wee
- 447 **WHOSE CITY IS IT? Public Spaces as Agent of Change in Buenos Aires
Marginalized Settlements**
Flavio Janches
- 453 **Mega Sports Events and Public Spaces: the case of Doha and the
2022 World Cup**
Simona Azzali
- 464 **“Gwangju Folly” as Revitalizing Device in Urban Center from a
Perspective of Place Marketing Strategy**
Jungmin Kim, Hyunjo Lee, Jaeyoung Choi and Uosang Yoo
- 473 **Envisioning Spatial Practice of Co-Production and Collaborative
Consumption in the Urban Neighbourhoods of Singapore**
Han Teng Kenny Chen and Ye Zhang
- 486 **New types of Fresh Food Retail in Urban Public Spaces in the
condition of Beijing Phasing out non-capital Functions**
Junsheng Fu and Wenyi Zhu
- 495 **The Over-Friendly City: Tourism, Public Space and Mobility in Lisbon**
João Rafael Santos
- 509 **New Dynamics in Urban Spaces as Ignition for Competitiveness Based
on Local Governance Evidences from Almada, Portugal**
Jorge Gonçalves
- 519 **Cultural Governance Coalition And Regeneration of Historical Urban
Landscape: A Case Study of Quanzhou Old City**
Shuxiang Cai
- 529 **Mobilized Territories in More-Than-Relational Public Spaces
Sidewalk Territories of Resistance in Hanoi, Vietnam**
Anh-Dung Ta and Manfredo Manfredini
- 544 **Crowdfunding for Placemaking and Community Revitalization**
Annika Schuster

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At CUHK, I want to thank our Dean Chui Chi-yue from the Faculty of Social Science who provided with a substantial conference grant, which allowed its organization. I also thank our Director Nelson Chen of the School of Architecture who also kindly supported this event. Furthermore, I want to express my gratitude to Prof Leung Yee and Prof Tung Fung, the directors of the Institute of Future Cities at CUHK and Prof Peter Hasdell and Prof Gerhard Bruyns, our partners at the School of Design of The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. I also want to thank all my involved colleagues at the School of Architecture of CUHK: Professors Peter Ferretto, Sujata Govada, Daniel Pätzold, Francesco Rossini, Darren Snow, Nuno Soares, Tsou Jin Yeu and Casey Wang, the team of the general office: Annabel Leung, Phoenix Chung, Cindy Sit, and Irene Yuen; Rita Tse from the Communications and Public Relations Office, as well as Wing Fai Chan and PhD students Fei Chen, Kuang Da and Annika Schuster. Last but not least, I want to thank Yan Geng, who with her tireless work and competence made this conference and publication possible.

Hendrik Tieben, November, 2017

INTRODUCTION

Jürgen Rosemann

Chairman of the Scientific Board,
International Forum on Urbanism

With the conference ‘The Entrepreneurial City’, organised by the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the International Forum on Urbanism (IFoU) celebrates an anniversary. It is the 10th international conference of IFoU since its foundation in 2005. Previous conferences have been organised in Beijing, Delft, Taipei, Amsterdam/Delft, Singapore, Barcelona, Tainan, Seoul/Incheon and Buenos Aires. They all contributed to the general aim of IFoU: To strengthen the international exchange and cooperation in the field of urbanism, to support the development and dissemination of knowledge, to facilitate the dialogue between academic institutions, professional organisations, corporate entities and politicians in different countries and continents.

In a period of increasing political tensions and growing contradictions on global level this aim becomes more important than ever: To exchange ideas between countries, cultures and political systems and to generate understanding between people, even if the exchange is mainly limited to the field of urbanism and focused on the academia. Just the academia offers space for cross-border thinking, for unbiased views and open debate. Where else should the debate begin?

Unbiased views and open debate are strongly needed in the field of urbanism to face the current challenges on global level: urban development is confronted with the fastest urbanisation in history of mankind, resulting in uneven and unequal growth, environmental risks that no longer can be limited to one city, one country or one continent, increasing political conflicts, suppression, ousting and displacement. To face these challenges, the contradictory role of the city as centre of welfare and culture on the one hand, as concentration of

political, social and environmental problems on the other must be questioned again.

The 10th conference of IFoU focuses on one of the most important topics for urban development in this framework. How can the city generate work, income and welfare for its residents, how can the city attract investment and new sources of employment, how can the city offer space for new and innovative economic developments, in summary: how can the city become entrepreneurial? The conditions for the entrepreneurial city have been changed profoundly during the last decennia. Globalisation and a more and more footloose economy generated a climate of increasing competition between cities and regions, migration and the amount of (political and economic) fugitives reached a new scale, jobs and employment became unstable and insecure, climate change and other environmental issues require new approaches for working and living. Under these conditions '... planning must become reflexive: it must reflect all possible impacts in the most circumspect manner' (U. Beck).

How to face these challenges, how to reflect the possible impacts? The 10th conference of IFoU seeks to investigate the challenges of the entrepreneurial city in 4 thematic blocks:

1. Economy focuses on the relationship between urban form and economic productivity. How can the shape (and the design) of the city support economic development?
2. Informality investigates the role of informal economies in the city and their impact on urban space.
3. Spatial Models discusses spatial models and typologies to combine or connect working and living in the city.

4. Public Space concentrates on the role of public space in the entrepreneurial city: How can public space be used for social entrepreneurialism, how can public space support new ways of social interaction?

These proceedings already present the results of these investigations, at least as they are reflected in the papers of the conference. Of course the debate during the conference, the confrontation of ideas and perspectives will generate an additional dimension of understanding and insights. For that aim I wish all participants of the conference meaningful encounters, challenging discussions and last but not least a pleasant stay in Hong Kong.

“THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY”

Hendrik Tieben

Director MSc in Urban Design,
School of Architecture,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong,
Hong Kong

The conference theme “The Entrepreneurial City” evolved in discussions during the run-up to the UN Habitat III Conference in Quito. One year after nearly 170 countries adopted the UN Habitat *New Urban Agenda* the question remains how its ambitious goals can be implemented. One of the key goals is to achieve a fairer share of the prosperity brought by urbanization. For this to happen, urban design, planning and policies would need to find ways how in the current socio-political and economic environment opportunities for socially minded and innovative entrepreneurs can be created.

David Harvey highlighted the trend of “[...] local governmental powers to try and attract external sources of funding, new direct investments or new employment sources” (Harvey, 1989). Subsequently, the topic of “entrepreneurial cities” was discussed in the context of neoliberal approaches of governments to shift the responsibilities for the public realm to a small number of private actors (Hall and Hubbard, 1998), which often were limited to trans-national corporations or, in Hong Kong, a hand-full property tycoons.

The quest of the 2016 *New Urban Agenda* for a more inclusive economy, underlines that after almost three decades, the situation has not improved. Hong Kong, the location of this conference, is by no means an exception, as the city with the world’s most unaffordable places for living and working.

While Hong Kong continues to be ranked as the freest economy, these unaffordable prices limit innovation and inclusiveness. In addition, the current mono-functional housing typologies and strict management rules further reduce

opportunities. It has not always been this way. In its early days, Hong Kong functioned as an “Arrival City” absorbing migrants from many places, who could find spaces for entrepreneurial initiatives and thrive. In recent years, however, Hong Kong’s young neighbor Shenzhen has taken-up this role, leaving Hong Kong’s with an uncertain future.

If one follows the different authors in this book, similar challenges can also be found other places. The book compiles forty-six accepted papers of the conference by authors from twenty countries. The papers are organized according to the sub-themes: (1) *Economy*, (2) *Informality*, (3) *Spatial Models* and (4) *Public Space*.

To highlight just a few for the interested reader: For instance, Shantanu and Janhavi Khandkar highlight in their paper on Mumbai, the essential role of the “Urban House as an Entrepreneurial Resource”; Tianyu Zhu and Qian Lu observe how Urban Residential Neighborhoods in China were adapted to allow Commercial Activities and thus create Entrepreneurial Social Space; Bridget Ackeifi [et al.] discovered and analyzed “invisible spaces” of entrepreneurs used by African migrants in Southeast London; Manfredo Manfredini explores the role of handheld devices for the navigation, e-commerce and representation of contemporary urban space, while Annika Schuster presents new opportunities arising from crowd-funding for Placemaking and Community Revitalization.

We hope that the following papers and the discussions among participants during the conference can motivate new initiatives to make our cities more inclusive and prosperous.

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'Made in Hong Kong'- From Entrepreneurism to '(In)trepreneurialism'

Gerhard Bruyns
Peter Hasdell

PolyU Design,
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University,
Hong Kong

During her tenure as the United States Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton referred to 'The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region' (HKSAR) as an 'island of entrepreneurship' (Clinton, 2014).

When the British secured the island of Hong Kong from the Chinese under the treaty of Nanking in 1842, they found a sparsely populated landscape dotted with small settlements and a few natural fresh water resources. However, already prominent at this time, was the fragrance of incense, looming over the island's naturally formed coves and small harbours. Emanating from the various incense producing factories of Kowloon and further afield, Hong Kong's Cantonese name - hēunggóng (香港) or fragrant harbour – is a direct reflection on a territorial nomenclature exposing a regional economy part of pre-industrial entrepreneurialism at the core of Hong Kong's very conception.

In this light, Hong Kong saw its second wave of entrepreneurial focus in a colonial context. All colonies were speculative territories, undertaking entrepreneurship at a large scale, and harnessing the land as medium for trade and exchange. British policy viewed territories under the British flag as malleable resource, exclusively meant to supplement colonial coffers. The deliberate fragmentation of territories, the scheduling of plots and land allotments, primarily facilitated infrastructure development whilst emplacing administrative powers onto the land for capital gain.

Hong Kong's pre- and post-World War II enterprises, and third entrepreneurial wave, are credited for its transformation from a colonial territory to an industrial powerhouse. Carrying labels as a 'market city' (Ohno, 1992) the

territory's prominent industrial trajectory secured Hong Kong position amongst Asia's biggest markets, and subsequently staking its claim as one of the four 'Asian Tiger' economies. Hong Kong's pre-war entrepreneurial undertakings capitalised on shipping and trade. Post-war endeavours intensified the production of goods, manufacturing household commodities whilst taking full benefit from the low tax rates and Hong Kong's well-connected port for international distribution. During the early 1950's the Korean War and the trade embargo placed on China, further supported Hong Kong's rapid industrialization, boosting the territory as trade and industry entrepôt. As mediating point Hong Kong was unique, relaying skills and workforce from the Chinese mainland through locally manufactured goods. The well-known 'Made in Hong Kong' label, created an inerasable legacy through the industries of plastics, electronic goods and clothing, establishing 'Hong Kong' as both a brand as well as a household name in all corners of the world, big or small.

Presently Hong Kong relies on a knowledge economy as its main entrepreneurial focus. Its global trade and the opening of the Chinese Mainland has forced the SAR to reposition its forms of industrialisms to maintain its competitive edge amongst other and newly formed Asian hubs. Under the 'one-country-two-system' Hong Kong's entrepreneurial position has once again come under question. The 'emptying out' (Yeh: 2006, Lin: 2011) of manufacturing services to Shenzhen has, since 1997, impacted all facets and aspects urbanity for, both the city and the Guangdong Regional Economy. With the flight of industries, Hong Kong's 'territorial status' has irreversibly become Mainland dependent. Financial systems, production services,

consumption area, consumerist infrastructure, work and labour force have become part and parcel of a highly speculative processes of generation revenue through buying and selling of property.

In this shift, the embrace of consumerism and a neoliberal free market with little state control - has not only made Hong Kong unaffordable, it has effectively dematerialised the importance of products in favour of the production of fluid capital. In support, Hong Kong boasts the most expensive commercial properties globally. In 2017 a 5-story car park sold for 3 billion US dollars, totaling 1 042 028 US Dollars per square meter of space (Hughes, 2017). A territory once known for its goods has become a city-state at the global front of financial management, directing all entrepreneurial attention at luxury goods and wealth management. With 219 authorized banking institutions (Hong Kong Monetary Authority, 2017) represented through more than 1372 branches (2015), Hong Kong can boast with a financial presence of two branches per square kilometre. Convenience stores are following suit, with the city containing 1,1 7-11 stores per square kilometre.

Yet, in contrast, Roy (2005) classifies Hong Kong amongst other Asian cities as a Third World landscape that is experiencing increasing levels of urban and spatial informality. First, the lock down of available land for property development, coupled to Hong Kong's density standards, have pushed all forms of entrepreneurial incentives 'inwards'. Dwindling industrial expansions and the emphasis placed on either high-end commercial enterprise mechanises each square foot for capital gains (Bruyns, 2016). Of this, the mall and podium typologies are indicative of the expulsion

of lower-end retail from within the enclaves of luxury. The emergence of commercial informality has therefore proven to be a lifesaving mechanism for many affected by the emphasis on luxury.

Secondly, and coupled to the aforementioned, the instability of tenancy has disempowered entrepreneurship incentives. With landlords possessing the right to increase rental prices at will has left many enterprises no choice but to become 'informal'. As consequence, various commercial store fronts across territory are left vacant, in what Bruyns, Elkin and Hasdell (2017) referred to as the phenomena of urban 'erasure'. What was once static and visible has commercially transformed into the cyclical invisible, hidden form sight, operating behind a number of spatial layers. The extensive trade occurring around the second-hand mobile phone industry that supplies most parts of Africa - located in Kowloon - is only one example of hidden industries amongst many.

Thirdly, small to medium sized business are therefore increasing forced to become tactical in their commercial approach. Operating within the concepts of Sundaram's 'Pirate Modernity' (2011) entrepreneurs are activists performing experiments to impact commercial territories. Densification of business endeavours results in the sharing, crossover and co-production of enterprises at all levels, spatially, structurally as well and in terms of commercial resources. The sharing of alleyways, the overloading of shops with a multitude of goods or co-renting of floor spaces within one tenancy agreement find ground in enterprises at 3 – 5 m² in size, establishing new norms for clustering on many commercial fronts.

Fourthly, commercial informality has in this light

provided a fluid alternative reminiscent of the 'Made in Hong Kong – 1980's' era. What high-end commercialism rejects, urban informality absorbs. The skills and historical knowhow associated with specific industries of crafting, metal work or weaving industries take on new life in places where space, rent and control are less restrictive, germinating parallel life worlds. Here the metal working villages of Tai O becomes knowledgeable centres, clustering skills and knowhow that effectively reframes social life, outside of dense urban landscapes (cf. Elkin, 2017), whilst at the same time they manifest industrial skills as cultural heritage.

Overall, the premise of Hong Kong's entrepreneurial legacy is not lost. Not so much an 'island of entrepreneurship,' Hong Kong's position has transformed into a landscape of '(in)trepreneurism'. The shifting of industry, the emphasis of commercial enclaves and the compression of production centres collectively combine and inwardness at all levels of its urbanisms. With the rise of the creative class (Florida, 2002) the shift is made towards design as a domestic product and service industry. Design, not as a mass production of goods but as synthesis of skills, knowhow and knowledge driven by small-scale collectives. In the paradigm of the 'collective' (Sohn, et.al.) design takes on a new position, through the home, the three-person office, the two-man family-run shop or in the organization of individual street vendors. Whether echoed within the disciplinary approaches of architecture, urban, product or communication design, the future premise of the any entrepreneurial city need to question how and in what forms 'design social', 'design economies' and 'design making' grounds itself in both social urban capital, in or exterior, as future prospect of,

not only Hong Kong, but other urbanisms further afield.

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ECONOMY

Beyond Shelter: The Urban House as an Entrepreneurial Resource

Shantanu B. Khandkar
Janhavi S. Khandkar

University of Mumbai,
India

For the urban poor, a house represents more than shelter. It is also a resource which can be used for generating income and thus plays an important role in the economy. This paper is an investigation into this phenomenon and how understanding this could inform housing policies, for which the case of the city of Mumbai, Maharashtra, India is studied.

ABSTRACT

Since independence, policies adopted by successive governments in India to address the problem of housing for the urban poor have undergone considerable changes. The government's role has shifted from being a direct provider to an enabler. The design parameters taken into consideration in the various housing schemes have consisted of size of household, income, and the cost of housing, while the norms are defined in terms of size of housing unit and tenure. In all these schemes, the design processes and delivery mechanisms are concerned with addressing only the need or demand for shelter. On the other hand, in scenarios where the people have had a more active role in the production of housing, it has been observed that the house is not just seen as shelter but also as a place adaptable for income generation, thereby enabling it to play an important role in the informal well as, in some cases, formal economy.

The paper aims to find the characteristics that allow for this adaptability to play a dual role and the mechanisms through which housing with these characteristics can be produced. This will be achieved through the study of various housing typologies found in Mumbai, the stakeholders in their production process, the legislative, financial and operative models through which they were produced and the level of end-user intervention in their production and subsequent evolution.

KEYWORDS

Affordable Housing, Informality, Urban Economy, Multifunctionality, Urban Poor

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an investigation into the role played by housing in the livelihood strategies of the urban poor. It makes two main arguments, namely that the urban house is an entrepreneurial resource which the urban poor use as a mode of income generation and that such housing has certain specific attributes which are brought about by the action of certain mechanisms which need to be investigated.

Prasad Shetty's (2005) research paper "Stories of Entrepreneurship" speaks of a new structure for the city of Mumbai based on new patterns of development observed in the post-liberalization era of the 1990's. The Regional Plan drafted by the MMRDA (Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority) shows that the manufacturing sector which was the dominant employer in the 1960's and 70's has given way to the service sector. In light of the changing production and consumption patterns, the paper speaks of the emergence of a new structure of the city as a city of entrepreneur agents. The means of production are no longer centralized under a single ownership but have shifted to various production units scattered around the globe.

In light of this new decentralized structure of the urban economy, it becomes necessary to look at the ways in which the urban landscape is being shaped.

STRUCTURE AND METHODOLOGY

This paper is structured in four parts.

The first part gives a brief historical overview of the various attempts made by Indian governments since independence to provide affordable housing to the urban poor with some remarks on their successes and failures.

The second part frames the issue that the paper is dealing with. It attempts to show that a major reason for the less than satisfactory rate of success of the attempts towards housing provision is the dissatisfaction of the beneficiaries with the housing provided through formal mechanisms, vis-à-vis user-generated informal housing solutions.

The third part investigates the multifaceted

meaning of housing for the urban poor.

Morphological studies of certain housing types around Mumbai are undertaken, establishing the built form aspects such as spatial configurations, materials, location etc. Finally, the legislative, financial and operative mechanisms that led to their evolution are investigated.

The fourth part looks at the urban house as part of a network and the aspects which affect the role of the house as an entrepreneurial resource and summarizes the built form attributes and underlying mechanisms that are essential for housing to play this role.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN INDIA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

In the years immediately following independence, the state was the dominant player in housing provision, with the private sector playing only a limited role. Housing was seen as a welfare and hence the emphasis was on reducing the cost of housing through innovations in building technology and materials. Further, housing was provided at heavily subsidized prices to target demographics. However, this often led to the housing thus provided being sold off to higher income groups to gain the profit. The housing provided was often unaffordable or at unsuitable locations for the target demographic. The pure subsidy approach was also a drain on the exchequer and thus the supply for housing could not keep up with the demand. Where slum clearance schemes failed to rehabilitate all those who had been evicted, it led to a net destruction of housing stock (Hingorani, 2011).

By the 1970's the limits of the subsidy driven approach had become apparent, and hence the focus shifted to upgradation of existing slums and site and services schemes (ibid). These were also deemed as failures. Affordability concerns caused the site and services projects to be sited at peripheral locations. The cost to beneficiary became high due to transportation costs or development costs. At the same time, the sites were attractive to the MIG and HIG and were soon grabbed by them (Wadhwa, 1988).

A major change came in 1987 when the first National Housing Policy envisioned a more facilitative rather than direct role for the

government (Hingorani, 2011). This gave a greater role the private sector. While the private sector does provide some housing for all groups, the provision is far from adequate, especially for the poor. High land prices, cost of construction, transaction costs, legal charges and taxes, and the profit margin of private developers have made the housing costs unaffordable. There is a surplus in some segments and shortage in others, as evidenced by the high vacancy rate in urban housing (Wadhwa, 2009).

On one hand, formal attempts at housing provision for the urban poor have had a less than satisfactory rate of success. On the other hand, the urban poor and, in some cases, even higher income groups have been forced to provide housing for themselves through informal means due to lack of choice, leading to an increase in the slum-dwelling population. While slums tend to provide substandard quality of housing, a lack of secure tenure and limited access to infrastructure, they also provide certain benefits, such as affordability, adaptability and locational suitability (Gulyani & Bassett, 2010).

FRAMING THE ISSUE

On June 18, 2007, the residents of Dharavi, a large informal settlement located at the heart of Mumbai carried out a Black Flag protest rally. The agenda of the protest rally was to convey to the authorities the residents' opposition to the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan. (SPARC & KRVI, 2010)

Dharavi, home to about 600,000 residents, has often been called 'Asia's largest slum'. It sits on prime real estate near the commercial centre of Bandra-Kurla Complex.¹ Several policies were implemented over the years to ameliorate what were seen as the poor living conditions in Dharavi and other such settlements spread around the city.² In 1995, the Government of Maharashtra launched the Slum Rehabilitation Scheme. Under this scheme, private developers build free housing of a minimum specified size for eligible slum dwellers in return for additional development rights to be used for building market rate housing on slum lands. The Slum Rehabilitation Authority was constituted and empowered as an autonomous body in 1997 for the specific purpose of running this scheme. In 2004, the Government of Maharashtra accepted the Dharavi

Redevelopment Plan. The plan called for dividing Dharavi into five sectors and calling in bids from around the world for providing housing and infrastructure for the residents in return for extra development rights to earn profit through the exploitation of land values.

The slum dwellers, who were supposed to be the primary beneficiaries of the plan raised objections against it from the onset. According to Sunder Burra, advisor to SPARC, the main issue was that the entire plan was conceived without any community participation.³

The opposition of the residents of Dharavi to the plan foregrounds two important issues. The first is the necessity of community participation in the process of housing provision for the urban poor. Without this, the idea of development itself gets negated as the aspirations of the beneficiaries are not reflected in the process. The second issue is closely intertwined with the first. The situation in Dharavi is representative of a common characteristic of most housing policies developed by successive governments in India. When it comes to housing, these policies are focused primarily on provision of legal tenure and sufficient living space. On the other hand, for the urban poor, a house is expected to perform duties that go beyond this. The residents of Dharavi were up in arms against redevelopment because the urban form and built spaces as envisaged by the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan would have destroyed their livelihoods. This would have made it impossible for them to continue living in Dharavi and they would have been forced to relocate to places better suited to their livelihood strategies. This has been the case with this public-private partnership model being implemented in other cases in Mumbai as well. According to the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM), up to 35% of the beneficiaries have already sold or rented out their new houses and moved back into slums (Hingorani, 2011).

Any housing scheme which does not involve community participation and does not recognize the economic role of housing is bound to face the same issue. Even before the public-private partnership approach was envisaged, dissatisfaction with state provided housing was evident. The housing provided, being ill suited to the specific needs of the beneficiaries, were deemed "unaffordable and unacceptable" and

disposed of. As there was a high amount of subsidy involved to make the housing affordable, it became an attractive option for the beneficiaries to sell the units to higher income groups and capture the profits (Wadhwa, 1988). While this is often attributed to the greed of the beneficiaries, the primary reason for dissatisfaction was the disruption in the socio-cultural and economic patterns which had been formulated as part of the livelihood strategies.

Housing and what it means to the urban poor

As Peer Smets (2004) points out, owning a house in a city means many things beyond shelter for the urban poor. Firstly, ownership of a house affords the kind of status in society that the possession of things such as cattle, tools, ancestry symbols etc. would provide. In general, a person who owns a house and is able to invest in its upkeep and improvement is seen as more credit worthy and thus eligible to participate in community enterprises. Secondly, a house serves a specific socio-cultural function. For example, a newly married couple acquiring a dwelling of their own assert their position as a separate household or nuclear family unit. Thirdly, by renting out a part of the house for residential or commercial purposes, the house can help in generating income. Fourthly, part of the house can be used as a workspace, retail space or storage space. Fifthly, the owned house can be used as collateral in order to raise finance for an entrepreneurial enterprise through financial self-help groups, to raise a loan from banks, family, friends or neighbors.

Therefore, the design of the housing unit must be equipped with the flexibility to accommodate such varied functions. The ability to change and expand over time is a pertinent aspect of designing affordable housing. Also, the house must be seen as an asset, perhaps the most valuable asset that the family may possess. It is not unreasonable to expect the value of the asset to enhance over time. For this to happen, situations which favor investments into the house must be brought about.

The poor tend to build and improve their dwellings incrementally (Smets, 2004). Such incremental improvements depend upon several factors such as family size, stages in family cycle, household priorities and the means available. Thus, it becomes clear that building a house is

a process. Standard products provided by large enterprises can't address the constantly changing and varied needs of the households. Furthermore, developing housing incrementally as opposed to building it in one go also calls for availability of sources of housing finance as and when the need arises. This finance can be raised through various means. Self-help organizations, loans from banks or from friends, family, neighbours, money-lenders etc. are one of the sources of finance. The amount of loan required depends upon the construction costs minus any subsidies provided by government bodies and the owner's resources such as down payment, building materials and labor (ibid).

Housing and Affordability

Affordability is a subjective term, taking into consideration many criteria. These include the loan repayment capacity, the rent-paying capacity and the investment capacity as a proportion of the monthly or yearly income of the household. It is thought that investment in shelter requires long term planning. A large loan must be paid off over a long period of time. Thus, it is necessary to also take into consideration the anticipated income of the household. Since part of the shelter can be used to generate income, this can be incorporated into the calculation of its affordability (Rodell 1990, quoted by Smets, 2004).

Subsequently, must also look at the term 'affordability' in the context of other terms that make for a viable housing solution. One such term is 'adequacy'. Adequate housing depends upon factors such as family size, composition, age structure, profession etc. Making a house 'affordable' is seen as a reduction in the price of the product by reducing the standards or through direct subsidy. Reducing the standards and size of the housing unit affects adequacy and quality of the product. An affordable house of adequate size and quality means a compromise on the location. Feasibility demands that such housing schemes be located in far flung areas where land costs are lower. This, however, means a greater burden in terms of travelling cost and time for the beneficiary. As most of the urban poor are employed in the informal sector, an increase in travelling time means a reduction in working time and thus a reduction in income (Wadhwa, 2009).

CASE STUDIES

The following case studies have been identified to illustrate the various points discussed above. They represent different situations in terms of the type tenure, user profile, the mechanisms for housing provision, formality/ informality, level of end user intervention and the uses to which the house is employed. The first case is a settlement of potters which is now a part of Dharavi. This demonstrates the houses built by the inhabitants to suit the needs of their shared profession. The second case is a site-and-services schemes which shows the incremental changes made to the core houses provided to the beneficiaries with access to secure tenure and infrastructure. The third case is a community driven resettlement scheme which is significant because of the mechanism which involved the beneficiaries in the decision-making process and also for the strategies evolved by the beneficiaries themselves in making housing finance available. The fourth case shows the result of housing provided by formal state mechanism without any end user participation and with focus purely on tenure.

Case 1: Kumbharwada

Kumbharwada ('Potters' Colony'), as the name suggests, is a settlement of potters located at the southern end of Dharavi. It occupies about 5 hectares of land and is home to about 9500 people. Kumbharwada came into existence around the beginning of the 20th century when potters from Gujarat made migrated to Mumbai and made their homes along with other communities in the marshes surrounding Dharavi. In the 1930's, the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (then known as Bombay Municipal Corporation) gave a Vacant Land Tenancy (VLT)⁴ to the Prajapati Sahakari Utpadak Mandal, a co-operative society of potters, to carry out pottery related activities. Out of the approximately 350 original tenants, about 120 currently have small kilns and are still engaged in pottery. Most of the vacant land is now constructed upon with slum-like structures and are being used for residential or commercial activities. The VLTs have rented out some buildings to sub-tenants and are earning rental income or have sold the buildings to new owners. Due to this, the MCGM cancelled the VLT in 2010 (JJCOA & CRIT, 2010).

Considering the nature of the work which requires day-long involvement and with a

meagre income, the houses are built to double as workplaces which minimizes travelling time and cost (Figure 1). The houses in Kumbharwada are long and narrow structures. These structures are set in long rows. The area between two such rows form the streets and open spaces which house the kilns, workspaces and storage spaces for the pottery business (Figure 2). Houses which have frontage on the main roads have shops for selling the products (Figure 3). Most of the houses are single or double storeyed. The ground storeys are built in brick or sometimes with timber framing clad with tin sheets. Upper storeys are built with timber or steel framing and tin sheet cladding. Part of the house is used as a storage space for raw materials and finished products (Figure 4).

Case 2: Charkop Site and Services Scheme

The World Bank funded Bombay Urban Development Project (BUDP) was launched in 1985 with two programmes, namely the Slum Upgradation Programme (SUP) and the Land Infrastructure Servicing Programme (LISP). Under LISP, the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA) was made the implementing authority with a mandate to generate 40,000 serviced sites in Greater Mumbai for providing affordable housing. Out of the INR 282.33 crore (approximately US\$ 228 million) project cost for BUDP, 196.25 crores were allocated for LISP. 58% of the finance were loaned by IDA (International Development Association), 26% from beneficiary contribution and the rest as a government loan to the implementing authority (MHADA, 1987). Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA) would be the project coordinator and off-site infrastructure provided by MCGM. One of the sites chosen was near the village of Charkop in the suburb of Kandivali. The plot was land affected by tidal



Figure 1 House being used as workspace, Kumbharwada (Credit: JJCOA + CRIT)



Figure 2 (Left) Shared space used to accommodate common facilities like kilns (Credit: JJCOA + CRIT)
Figure 3 (Right) Street frontage of houses being used as a shop for selling goods (Credit: JJCOA + CRIT)

variations which had to be reclaimed.

The Charkop project is based on a cross-subsidy model. The site was divided into various sectors bounded by 12m wide roads. Plots fronting the 12m wide roads were sold at market rates to commercial and higher income group residential occupants. Plots for the urban poor were then provided at subsidized rates. The beneficiaries were divided into housing societies which would each occupy one plot. The plot consists of a central courtyard surrounded by smaller plots allotted to each family (Figure 5 & 8). The courtyard is

accessed by 9m wide roads which then lead to the main roads. The plots were offered to the beneficiaries with 10% down payment and the rest of the amount paid in 240 equated monthly payments at an interest of 12% p.a. The sites were provided with basic services such as water supply, electricity and sewage facilities, the cost of which was recovered from the beneficiaries, in addition to Municipal taxes and other consumption charges. The monthly outgoings were designed so that they would not exceed 20% of the monthly income of the beneficiaries (ibid). The plots were divided into 25 m², 30 m² and 40 m² categories and provided with a core house (Figure 9). The beneficiaries were expected to expand the core house as per their need and ability. MHADA provided typical designs for the houses which included stage-wise construction information while MHADA specialists were available to provide technical expertise. The typical plans featured a house with a living room and kitchen as well as front and/or back open spaces depending upon the location and size of the plot. HUDCO was approached to provide loans.

30 years on, the original core houses have been modified by individual owners and now exhibit a variety of typologies based upon the location, size and need of the owners. The front and back open spaces have mostly been incorporated into

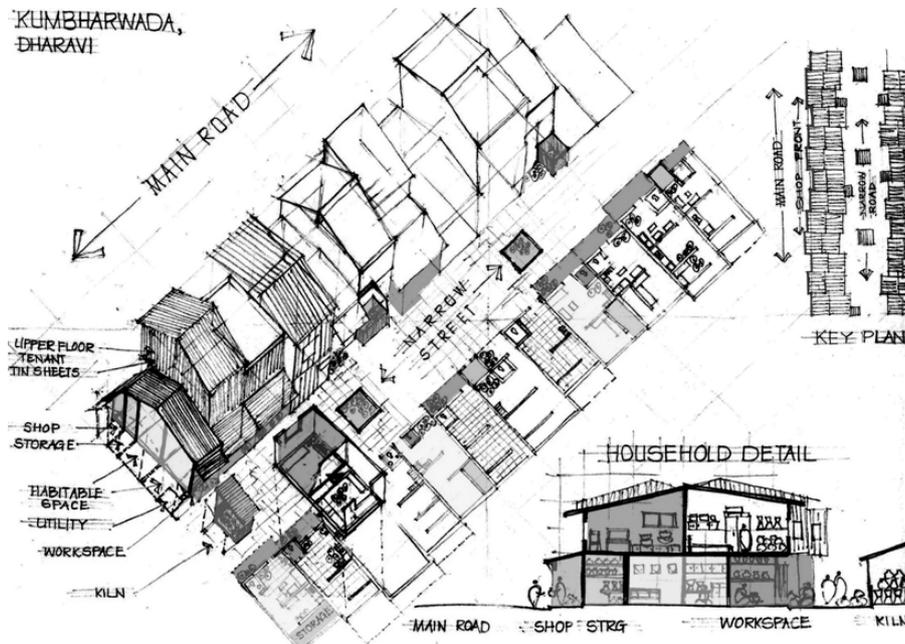


Figure 4 Built form studies, Kumbharwada



Figure 5 Internal courtyard in Charkop



Figure 6 (Left) House with added floor used for commercial purpose, Charkop

Figure 7 (Right) House with front open space converted to retail space, Charkop

the house. In many cases, a loft has been added, taking advantage of the 14' internal height of the unit. Some houses have added floors for either self-use or to create space for renting out to commercial or residential users (Figure 6 & 10). Many of the plots which have frontage onto the street have converted the front open space into retail outlets (Figure 7 & 10). Some units have completely changed from residential to retail spaces.

Case 3: Kamla Nehru Nagar Community Managed Eviction and Resettlement

In 1999, there were reportedly over 20,000 families living in slums built on railway lands abutting the local train tracks in Mumbai (Patel, D'Cruz & Burra, 2002). The World Bank funded Mumbai Urban Transport Project necessitated the eviction and resettlement of these families. The bank has clear guidelines involving civil society involvement in the rehabilitation of the people affected by the projects it funds (Hingorani, 2011).

For a decade prior to the resettlement, the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) had been carrying out data collection and mapping exercises in the settlement along with the Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC). The surveyed families set up their own collective, the Railway Slum Dwellers Federation (RSDF). About 80% of the families were part of this union

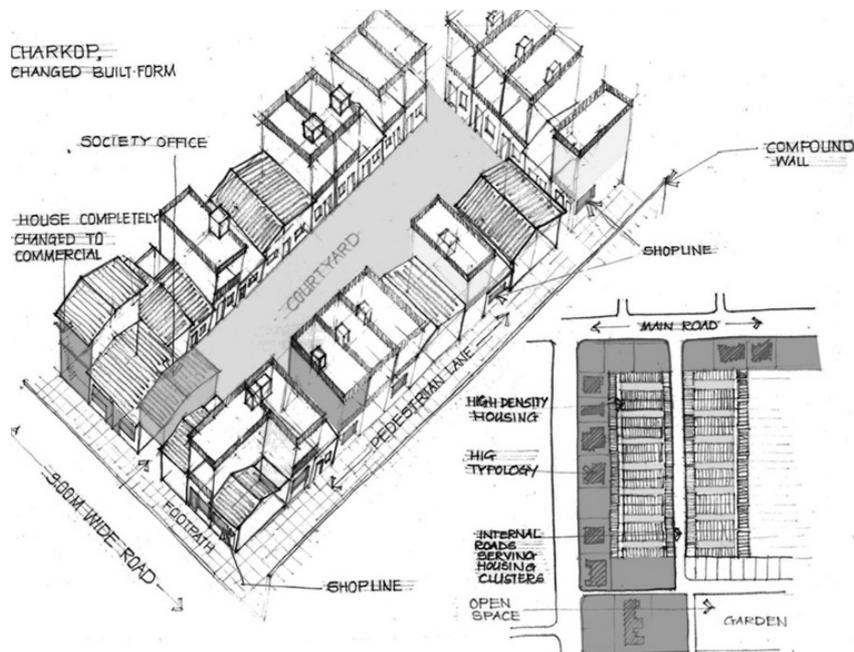


Figure 8 Part plan of sector and detail of L.I.G. cluster, Charkop

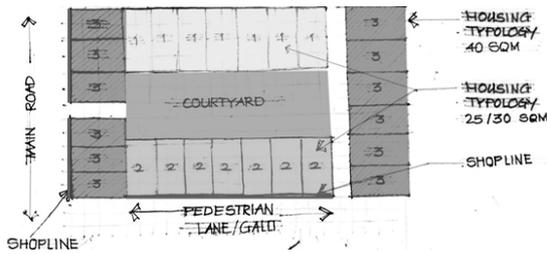


Figure 9 Plan of L.I.G. housing society cluster, Charkop

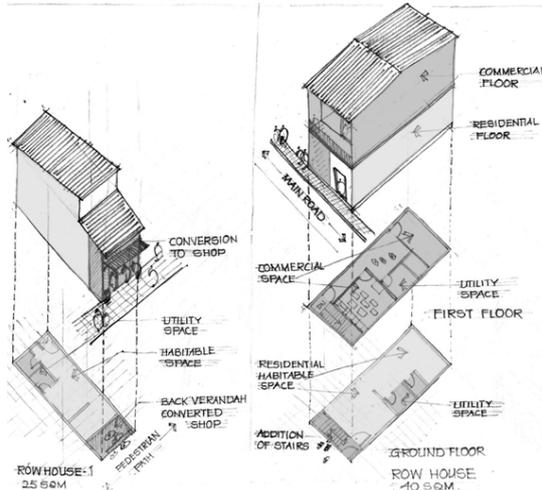


Figure 10 Built form studies of house typologies, Charkop

(Patel et. al, 2002).

SPARC and NSDF along with a women's group called Mahila Milan⁵ formed a collaboration known as the Alliance. The Alliance organized the slum dwellers into housing societies and encouraged them to think about the kind of housing they aspired to and what they could afford. They were asked to build life-sized models of these homes (ibid). The RSDF showed their willingness to move from in return for housing with secure tenure at appropriate location.

This eviction and resettlement approach was unique in that it caused little economic hardship to those resettled, it was voluntary without any external force and it involved the evicted households in the design, planning and implementation of the resettlement.

The process of rehabilitation as espoused by the World Bank consists of tendering and giving different contractors the responsibility for baseline socio-economic survey, drawing up the

resettlement plan and implementation. However, in this case, both World Bank and MMRDA were willing to show some flexibility regarding the procedures in the interest of expediting the process of rehabilitation by giving the responsibilities solely to the Alliance (Hingorani, 2011).

There were certain issues faced by the inhabitants after relocation. Firstly, since the relocation site was four railway stations away from their original location, the people who were employed around their original location, especially the women who worked as maids in the houses of higher income groups found it difficult to travel to their old workplaces or to find employment in their new location. People who owned small shops found fewer customers in the new location. Secondly, the influx of population soon inundated social infrastructure facilities like schools in the new location, causing the need to start a bus service to ferry students to their old school.

The project is notable due to the involvement of Mahila Milan, a group consisting of women from the settlement who have launched savings schemes⁶ to help the slum dwellers finance their future homes. The group also managed to provide a fund of INR 50 Lakhs to deal with the problems faced by the residents after rehabilitation.

Case 4: Wasi Naka Slum Rehabilitation Scheme

For rehousing slum dwellers facing eviction due to large infrastructure projects, the Government of Maharashtra employed a public-private partnership model (CRIT & JJ, 2010). Private developers are called upon to build tenements of 25 m² each free of cost. In return, the developer gets incentives in the form of Transferable Development Rights (TDR). This means that a developer can build these tenements where property prices are lower and use the TDR to build market rate housing where property prices are higher. Wasi Naka is one such resettlement colony.

The scheme consists of 6-8 storey RCC framed buildings built next to each other at a distance of 3 meters (Figure 11, 14 & 15). Each floor has 8-12 tenements of 25 m² each. A tenement consists of a multi-purpose room, a kitchen and a toilet (Figure 14). Due to relaxation of norms, light, ventilation and fire safety regulations are overlooked, leading



Figure 11 Rehabilitation Buildings at Wasi Naka (Credit: JJCOA + CRIT)

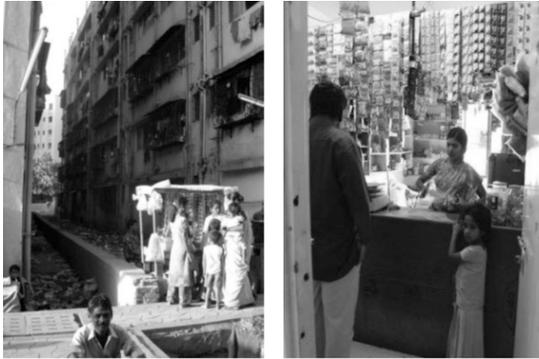


Figure 12 (Left) Space between two rehabilitation buildings showing some hawking activity (Credit: JJCOA + CRIT)

Figure 13 (Right) Part of the apartment being used as a grocery shop, Warje (Credit: Shibani Jadhav & Alexander Valencia)

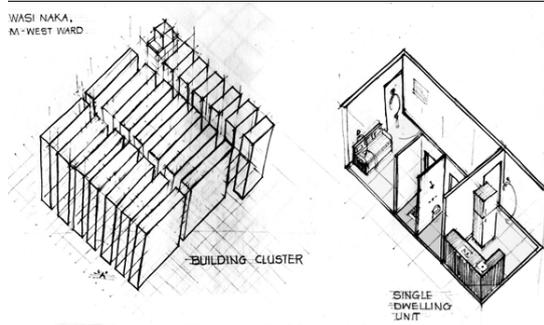


Figure 14 Building cluster and dwelling unit

to unlivable conditions (Figure 12). Common facilities like lifts are often in a state of disrepair due to overuse and lack of maintenance.

Further, as the site is located on the outskirts of the city with few connections to the city, the residents find it extremely difficult to go to their places of work. Due to the isolated nature of the site, finding employment near the house also

becomes difficult, leading to higher travelling costs and time (ibid).

FINDINGS

The case studies show three main ways in which the house is used as a source of income. In Kumbharwada, the house works as a space for production, storage as well as sale of a particular commodity. The built form of the house ensures that the users have access to a common shared space which acts as additional space to accommodate shared resources such as kilns.

The second use to which the house is put is using part of the house as a retail space. In Kumbharwada and Charkop, it is seen that retail spaces and businesses which need to visibility to attract clientele have come up where street frontage is available. This means that properties with such street frontage are at a premium. In Charkop, one finds that in houses facing public streets, the open spaces in the front have been converted into such retail spaces.

The third way in which the house generates income is by adding or converting part of existing space in the house for renting out to residential or commercial spaces. In Kumbharwada, one sees that many of the house owners have added floors to their existing houses and rented them out to people from outside the potter community. These tenants do not make use of the community facilities which are for the use of the potters, but carry out other businesses such as tailoring or use the space for residence. In Charkop, houses with street frontage have added upper floors for either renting out as commercial spaces or to establish business offices or activities such as computer classes, tuitions etc. In the houses facing internal courtyards, the upper floors are mostly residential. In most cases, these upper floors are accessed separately from the front open space by mean of ladder like single flight staircases.

Incrementality is a key factor in these cases. In both Kumbharwada and Charkop, the houses have evolved over time depending upon the need and convenience of the owners. This incrementality is facilitated by the nature of the built form, which is of the rowhouse type, where the width of the house is equal to the width of the plot. This does put restrictions on the length of the plot, as the houses can only get light and ventilation from the

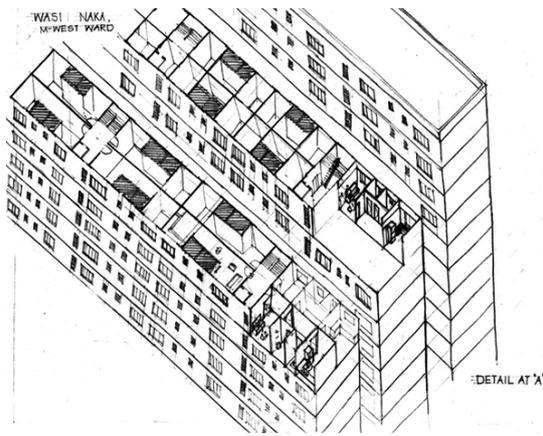


Figure 15 Built form studies of cluster, Wasi Naka Rehabilitation Scheme

two narrow sides of the plot.

On the other hand, as seen in the case of Wasi Naka Rehabilitation, the apartment typology gives no scope for incremental growth or flexible use of space, except perhaps on the ground floor. Also, it necessitates such facilities as lifts and common corridors, which increases the maintenance costs upon the residents. The houses, far from being sources of income, are drains on the household's resources.

The residents of Charkop and Wasi Naka have security of tenure which is absent in Kumbharwada. The Kamla Nehru Nagar residents also have secure tenure in the resettlement colonies. As the Vacant Land Tenancy has been cancelled, Kumbharwada residents face the threat of eviction by the authorities. This means that Kumbharwada residents have no incentive to invest in and improve their properties, which has led to slum like conditions, with little access to basic infrastructure.

CONCLUSION

The ways in which urban poor households earn, save, spend, and invest their income can be termed as the livelihood strategies. The poor tend to "... reduce risk, increase adaptability, and seek a degree of autonomy by developing and maintaining wider options, through the ability and willingness of different household members to do different things at different times." (Chambers, 1989, as quoted by Smets, 2004). The decentralization of means of production has given rise to a city of entrepreneur agents, who operate

out of workspaces distributed around the globe. Observations show that the urban house is used as a multifunctional space which helps accommodate the entrepreneurial endeavors of these agents and also as a source of income generation through rents. The attributes of housing that allow this to happen and the ways in which they affect the value of the house as an entrepreneurial resource are discussed below.

While most housing schemes for the urban poor treat tenure as the primary focus, observations show that the importance of clear tenure for the poor lies in the security it provides. Provision of basic services to slums implicitly legitimizes the efforts of the slum dwellers in providing housing for themselves. This security is essential to encourage the inhabitants to invest in the improvement of their houses. Improvements in the house increase its value.

These investments are done incrementally, depending upon the priorities and the needs of the household and availability of finance. Thus, the ability to adapt to the changing needs of the household and grow over time is necessary. The apartment typology, which is generally adopted to fulfill the densities required in slum rehabilitation schemes, does not allow for this incrementality. On the other hand, informal housing and site and services schemes both thrive on the ability of the end user to invest incrementally.

Incremental growth in housing also means that housing finance needs to be made available incrementally as well. In order to modify or expand a house for income generation, the household needs to source its finance from loans, subsidies or own contributions. The housing finance market in India is underdeveloped at this point in time. Thus, the government relies on providing soft loans which can be paid back over a long period of time. If the house is enabled to fulfil its income generating capacity, the affordability of such loans increases. Self-help groups such as Mahila Milan help increase the access to housing finance.

In addition to the changes made internally, it is observed that the income generating capacity of the house is also helped by the access to shared spaces. This is especially true of communities who share a common economic activity. The shared spaces are used to accommodate commonly used

facilities. Where retail spaces are concerned, road frontage is at a premium. Apartment typologies severely curtail the access of the houses to either facility.

Speaking of the location, one of the reasons for the dissatisfaction of the beneficiaries of slum rehabilitation programmes was the far-flung locations of the rehabilitation sites. This led to an increase in the travelling time and costs for getting to the place of work. Using the house as a workplace saves these costs. In addition, most rehabilitation sites do not feature a mix of income groups. Thus, the lower income groups find it difficult to find clientele near their new sites, leading to a loss of opportunities and income.

NOTES

1. Dharavi began as a small fishing settlement located at the northern tip of Parel Island, one of the seven islands of the archipelago that became the city of Mumbai. The city started developing around the Port of Bombay in the southern part of the archipelago after the English built the Fort and Town of Bombay in the 17th century. Bombay soon developed into a major trading centre, attracting a large number of migrants from the rest of India. The white and blue collared workers soon found accommodation in the burgeoning native town around the English fort. The poorer laborers who couldn't afford to live near the town centre were left to reclaim the marshes around Dharavi to provide housing for themselves. Over the next centuries, as more and more migrants poured into the city, this informal settlement at the northern fringes also grew into a large slum, ultimately being engulfed by the ever northwards growing city.
2. In 1985, the then Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi allocated Rs. 100 crores (about US\$ 80.7 million) for the improvement of infrastructure in Bombay. About a third of that amount was reserved for Dharavi.
3. In February 2009, a Committee of Experts was constituted to advise the government on the redevelopment process. In a letter to Mr. Sitaram Kunte, Secretary, Housing Department, dated June 3, 2009, the CoE observes that for a project of this magnitude, there should have been "... a detailed socio-economic survey of Dharavi, besides a plane-table and topographical survey, transportation studies, infrastructure and environmental assessment studies etc." The letter goes on to say that the CoE was "... appalled to find that no such surveys and studies had been done and the bids were invited probably on the false assurance of the consultants that these studies were either already conducted or were not necessary." (SPARC et. al, 2010)
4. Vacant Land Tenancies were created by BMC to protect vacant land under its ownership from encroachments. As per the MCGM Estates Department, rents from these lands amount to the extent of INR 52.95 lakhs per annum. VLTs are being reduced by means of creating long term leases on lands not reserved for any other purpose and by redevelopment of other properties.
5. Mahila Milan (Women Together) was created in 1987 as a collective of women among pavement dweller families. Its main aim is to create a space for women's contributions in low income communities, in providing housing for the family and in managing community services. (Entzer, Lorenz, & Neudert, 2000)
6. Mahila Milan has started a savings and credit programme which aims at creating capital for investments in shelter and to reduce vulnerability through providing an emergency fund. For this, two savings schemes have been created. A 'daily savings scheme' for getting credit in case of crisis and a 'housing savings scheme'. In the daily savings scheme, women are encouraged to save money on a daily basis up to a limit that they can afford and deposit it with their respective Mahila Milan society. Each Mahila Milan society has a committee which is in charge of the cash, maintaining records and other administrative responsibilities. A loan committee decides on the loans which can be given. Each society is independent regarding the way they handle their savings. These small savings scheme create a fund through which immediate needs for money

can be satisfied. They also empower the women by imparting skill and confidence in handling monetary transactions. The housing savings scheme involves collaborations with banks, where each member is supposed to open a bank account and save money for their future homes. Members can go to the bank themselves and deposit their savings in their account, or let the Mahila Milan leaders deposit the money on their behalf. Withdrawal of money has to be cleared by SPARC and Mahila Milan in order to make sure that it is only used for housing purposes. The existence of the crisis credit scheme ensures that even in case of emergencies, the housing savings are not depleted. The savings in the bank qualify the account holders for housing loans. Kamla Nehru Nagar residents have their accounts with Bank of Baroda. As per an agreement negotiated with the bank by the Alliance, a saved amount of INR 5,000/- qualifies the account holder for a loan of INR 20,000/-. In exceptional cases, the savings from the crisis credit schemes can be used to fulfil this amount, though this practice is not encouraged. (Entzer et.al, 2000)

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Adaptive Commercial Activities as Initiation of Entrepreneurial Social Space in Urban Residential Neighbourhoods: Developing Policies, Private Interests and Spatial Publicness

Tianyu Zhu

Faculty of Architecture,
Technical University Munich,
Germany

Qian Lu'

School of Architecture,
Tsinghua University,
China

ABSTRACT

Since the economic reform of China in 1978, especially after the “mass entrepreneurship and innovation” in 2014, there have been increased entrepreneurial activities not only in speculated “innovation parks” but also in urban residential neighbourhoods. The activities in the latter situation bring changes to physical and social environments to the neighbourhood mostly in informal ways, in which entrepreneurs, customers, residents, estate owners, and municipalities are involved in producing community spaces while balancing private and collective interests. Entrepreneurial social spaces indicate the spaces where social relations are formed and transformed in commercial activities. **This article studies the entrepreneurial social spaces initiated by adaptive commercial activities to discuss the impact of the latter on spatial publicness of urban residential neighbourhoods.** Through creating social networks, transforming local norms, presenting identities and modifying material spaces, entrepreneurial social spaces are produced in adaptive commercial activities. Contradictions between developing policies of residential neighbourhoods and private interests of entrepreneur are examined to explain the impetus of this production, which leads to a categorization of adaptive commercial activities. Different entrepreneurial social spaces initiated by these activities are analyzed through a case study of three typical residential neighbourhoods in Beijing. The interrelationship between development policies, private benefits and spatial publicness are summarized, and suggestions are given to policy makers, entrepreneurs and social entrepreneur initiators. This article argues that adaptive commercial activities can promote spatial publicness in urban residential neighbourhoods through shaping entrepreneurial social spaces. Adaptive commercial activities in designated residential neighbourhoods are more effective in producing entrepreneurial social spaces than in designated mixed-use areas. Development policies in China should provide more spatial flexibility in residential neighbourhoods for adaptive commercial activities.

KEYWORDS

*Adaptive Commercial Activities,
Entrepreneurial Social Space,
Residential Neighbourhoods, Public
Space*

INTRODUCTION

Adaptive commercial activities (ACAs) in Chinese urban residential neighbourhoods are not a recent phenomenon, but have emerged since 1978, when the economic reform created an impetus in China for a rapid development of private village enterprises supplying local products (Huang, 2008; Ahlstrom & Ding, 2014). Small and medium enterprises consequently appeared in urban residential neighbourhoods. Mobile street vendors appeared for convenient shopping along streets outside residential neighborhoods and even inner streets next to the entrances, but were understood as an obstruction for traffic by planners in the 1980s (Lv, Rowe, & Zhang, 2003). In the meantime, some residents started private business at home by selling goods through ground-floor windows. Later such business grew into ground floor shops with entrances on the exterior wall. In the 1990s, as a result of policy-supported self-employment of laid-off workers², retails appeared in big quantity on the ground floor. Although there has been planned commercial use at the bottom of residential buildings since the late 1950s, informal and adaptive retails are still common in all kinds of residential neighbourhoods today. In the new millennium, more and more start-up enterprises are accommodated in residential apartments. Mixed-use areas are planned with office towers next to SOHO neighbourhoods. Since the “mass entrepreneurship” in 2014, the number of small and medium enterprises in China has dramatically increased. About 4,439,000 new enterprises registered in the year 2015, which means on each day 12,000 start-ups came into being³. However, only a small portion of these start-ups can settle in industrial parks, incubators or hackerspaces. The rest have to face the challenge of the lack of formal financial support (Ahlstrom & Ding, 2014), and trade off office environment with the lower rental rate in residential neighbourhoods. As a result, ACAs from low-skill and high-skill sectors, both in sun-rise and sun-set industries, and both licenced and informal can be found in most residential neighbourhoods, including gated neighbourhoods in Chinese cities.

As early as the 1960s, Jane Jacobs (1961) has identified the effect of dense, diverse, walkable, mixed-use urban areas on promoting local business and positive social impacts. Many

researches have investigated the impact of neighbourhoods on enterprises. For example, the formation of one’s entrepreneurial spirit is significantly relevant to his social network (Ahlstrom & Ding, 2014). The tacit knowledge of an entrepreneur takes “local knowledge” as recourse (Hayek, 1945, p. 40). Venture capital for enterprises involves a spatial dimension too. Due to decrease of the smallest effective scale of enterprises and vertical integration, a concentration of ventures for start-up enterprises in urban residential takes place and results in agglomerations of different types of enterprises (Florida, 2016). What’s more, self-declaration of creative cities or areas is strategically effective to improve local business environment through encouraging inward investors by means of fiscal incentives (Scott, 2014).

The interaction between enterprises and a neighbourhood, especially a residential neighbourhood, is not merely that between entrepreneurs and *their* neighbourhood, but also between entrepreneurs and other actors. George Galster (2001) points out flows of households, financial resources, social-psychological resources and time are all attributes comprising a neighbourhood, which is produced as well as consumed by households, businesses, prosperity owners and local-governments as actors. ACAs should have social impacts on residential neighbourhoods through social networks, local norms and identity presentation beside changes in physical environment, as it is the other way around. This article examines these impacts of ACAs on urban residential neighbourhoods through the production of “entrepreneurial social spaces”, and further discuss the publicness of urban residential neighbourhoods influenced by these impacts.

ENTREPRENEURIAL SOCIAL SPACE

Social relations are interwoven in spaces. As it is mentioned above, entrepreneurs have their own social space, but commercial activities can also have social impact on residential neighbourhoods they reside in. This article uses “Entrepreneurial social spaces” to indicate the spaces where social relations are formed and transformed in commercial activities. With theories on social spaces in sociology, the production of entrepreneurial social spaces can be demonstrated with the four aspect of ACAs - creating social

networks, transforming local norms, presenting identities and modifying material spaces.

Firstly, social networks created by commercial activities configures entrepreneurial social spaces. Spaces materialize social interactions. Georg Simmel (1903/1997) points out that spaces exist in relations between elements. Movement and changes between one element and another take place in virtue of spatial locations. Their interactions fulfil the space in-between. Interactions between human beings can be experience as filling of spaces as well. Their co-existence in relationships implies their co-configuration of spaces. Through investigating into spatial forms generated by social relations, the spatial reality of social interactions can be delineated (Castells, 2010). Commercial activities are also a kind of social interaction. Sometimes in a neighbourhood with an acquaintance society, commercial activities go hand in hand with neighbourhood communications, based on which a network for business is built, and correspondent entrepreneurial social spaces are configured.

Secondly, commercial activities can transform local norms through entrepreneurial social spaces. Spaces as presentations of power relations of the society are tools of forging social norms (Foucault, 1986: 1975/1991). Based on this theory, unbalanced development of spaces, spatial segregations, uneven distribution of resources and privatization of public spaces in the post-Fordism urban development were seen as social injustice in the 1980s. Edward Soja (2000) also noticed the instrumentalization of urban spaces by social powers nowadays, which spread injustice through territories, borders, surveillance, separations, and disciplines. Commercial activities in designated residential spaces disturbs the living pace in the neighbourhood. Changes in power relations with struggles and compromises can be expressed as a part of entrepreneurial social spaces and result in new norms.

Thirdly, identities of entrepreneurs, enterprises, as well as collectives of residents can be presented through entrepreneurial social spaces. Spaces as a symbol system not only convey norms, but also presenting identities. Urban spaces are analogized as stages, where urban dwellers present themselves to strangers (Sennett, 1992). With the appearance and bodily movements being seen, one can transform social norms as well as identities

(Fischer-Lichte, 2004). Soja (2000) emphasizes the importance of the effectiveness of presence in spaces against injustice. Through presenting in spaces, those who do not have power over spaces are able to establish a certain situation, where they form their identities and meanings (Harvey, 1989). While carrying out commercial activities, identities are presented in spaces. Entrepreneurs pay attention to their identity presentation to improve the business performance.

Lastly, physical spaces as a component of entrepreneurial social spaces are bonded with emotional experiences based on social life, such as place memory. Memory is understood by Jacques Le Goff (1977/1992) as an essential element for individual or collective identity and one of the fundamental activities of individuals and societies. "But, collective memory is not only a conquest, it is also an instrument and an objective of power" (ibid. p.98), since the process of establishing a visible carrier of memory can be at the same time a manipulation of it. Physical changes due to commercial activities, such as new-built gentrification might entail obliteration of all former place memories (Hayden, 1995) - another impact on the residential neighbourhoods through entrepreneurial social spaces.

CONTRADICTIONS AS IMPETUSES FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL SOCIAL SPACE

To understand the process of ACAs' production of entrepreneurial social space, we trace the driving forces of ACAs in Chinese residential neighbourhoods, i.e. the contradictions between developing policies concerning residential neighbourhoods and private interests of entrepreneurs. Different types of ACAs are carried out in response to these contradictions, and lead to various aspects of producing entrepreneurial social spaces.

The contradictions due to resource shortage

There are two kinds of resource shortage after the economic reform in 1978: the resource shortage in sectors shocked by the market economy, and the resource shortage due to the uneven distribution of resources in the rapid development of urban spaces in China.

Since the economic reform, especially after the 1991 "Notice of actively and steadily pushing

forward the reform of the urban housing system” from the State Council, work-units have gradually been exempted from the responsibility for welfare housing distribution. The 1990 law transferred the responsibility of organizing public affairs, keeping social order, maintaining public health, etc. to the Resident Committee, which is an autonomous organization of residents. A financial shortage appeared when work-units withdrew their support to the Resident Committee. Spaces are used as resources to generate financial benefits. The first procedural was to rent out communal facilities to the emerging small entrepreneurs (Lu, 2006; Zhu, 2014). Then new buildings and extensions were built for sell or rent in open spaces between residential buildings. The open market destroyed the closed producing and work force management in work-units, thanks to which rural immigrants are able to find jobs in cities or be self-employed. Urban population was enlarged (Lu, 2006) and new demands for housing emerged, which rose the exchange value of spaces in neighbourhoods (Figure 1).

Thanks to the commercialization of neighbourhood management initiated by Resident Committees, the amount of shared spaces in neighbourhoods were reduced. This caused conflicts between residents and committees. Committees do not represent anymore residents in the issue of communal spaces, but positioned themselves as opponents. Relations between the two have changed. In some neighbourhood, other social organizations beside the committee were founded to manage spaces informally. Confrontations of powers of people and their representatives are expressed in neighbourhoods.

Another shortage of resource appeared to stated-owned enterprises, which were shut down, reformed or forced to rise efficiency of work forces. The result was a large population of laid-off workers. Since 1990, preferential policies for re-employment were introduced, lowering institutional entry barriers for start-ups. The policies gave rise to a large amount of low-skilled enterprises that settled in private homes or informal commercial spaces on the ground floor of residential buildings.

As a sign of the collapse of a society based on low income and high welfare. This population faced a dramatic decline of social status. Former workers who had a high social status became the poor,

and former admired work-unit neighbourhoods became poor areas. While receiving institutional support as well as sympathy in public opinion, laid-off workers gained a special social identity privileged in entrepreneurship.

After the economic reform, a shortage of residential spaces occurred. On the one hand, the living space per capita of the country was 7 square meters in 1991, and that of Shanghai was 9.23 square meters in 1985, and 12.45 square meters in 1995. On the other hand, a series of policies after the 1983 “Circular on strictly controlling of urban housing standards” suggested not to construct apartments with more than 50-squaremeter floor area. There is an uneven distribution of resources in the city.

In the middle of the 1990s, commercial development of large-scale residential neighbourhoods became popular. With gates and guards, crowdedness, potential security risk, cleaning work, noise issues, etc. in rapid developing cities were blocked out. In the



FIGURE 1 Commercial buildings constructed by the municipality

neighbourhoods, sufficient recreation facilities and quality public services offered all convenience of modern urban lives. In contrast, old neighbourhoods were crowded with construction workers, low-skilled labours, self-employed immigrants, as well as laid-off workers. More ground floor apartments were changed into retails for a higher rent; former gate keeper's house and basements became dormitories; informal extensions were built to be rented; and one apartment can be shared by several households.

The situation is changing. Early 2017, an emendation of “opening and holes on walls” movement to an “recovery of residential facade” was promoted by the Municipal People's Government of Beijing. In the first half of 2017 in Beijing, 21 493 informal ground floor retails were removed by force⁴. Self-employed entrepreneurs became laid-off again. The unbalanced gap between demand and supply reappears at newly recovered walls, some retails barely run business through windows, and some put out signage to lead customers in through apartment doors in the

neighbourhood (Figure 2).

The development of large-scale residential neighbourhoods and gated neighbourhood caused social segregation in cities (Deng, Zhang, & Zhuang, 2012). Residents who could afford a commercial apartment moved away from old neighbourhoods, and low-income workers moved in. The demographic structure of the neighbourhood was transformed. Former occupationally connected social network were destroyed, and former collective identities became an object to mourn among the senior citizens. Conflicts between original residents from the work-unit and new-comers can be observed in some of old neighbourhoods. With the implementation of the 2017 policy, new demographic changes will take place while immigrant retailers are driven away.

The contradictions due to agglomeration of enterprises

In the new millennium, uneven distribution of (space) resources appeared to high-skilled enterprises. Science and technology parks have become the growth pole of urban innovative development and gathering places of high-tech industries, and China still speeds up the construction of such gathering places. Incubators for technology enterprise are also flourishing, with fixed asset investments rising 16.6% year after year (Qidi Innovation Research Institute, 2015). Nevertheless, high skilled enterprises tend to agglomerate at the major commercial areas in major cities than industry parks in suburbs or second level cities. With insufficient work spaces and high rental rate in designated commercial spaces, start-up enterprises that cannot reach this entry threshold enter SOHO buildings, apartment hotels, residential part of complexes and residential neighbourhoods near commercial areas. These enterprises' spreading in the upper floors of a residential building results in three-dimensional mixed-uses, which change the openness of interior spaces. Corridors, elevator halls, stair cases have become extensions of enterprises for office use or advertising. These spaces become individualized and present identities of enterprises.

Gated neighbourhoods are opened up by ACAs due to frequent business visits, which have eased the social segregation caused by physical



FIGURE 2 First, Ground floor retails along an external street, 2014; Second, 2017

TABLE 1 Categories of ACAs

Contradictions		Developing policies	Private interests	ACAs	Social aspects*
Resource shortage - Market economy	Resource shortage - Uneven distribution	Abolishment of the welfare-oriented distribution (allocation) of public housing 1991 "Notice of actively and steadily pushing forward the reform of the urban housing system", the State Council of the People's Republic of China (in the following, the State Council) 1998 "Notice of further deepening the reform of the urban housing system", the State Council	Maintenance of communal spaces Financial benefits	1.Commercializing communal spaces 2.New constructions in open spaces	a, b, d a, b, d
	Resource shortage - Uneven distribution	Allowing commercial activities in residential apartments of laid-off workers. 1990 "Notice of properly handling the problems of lockout of enterprises owned by the whole people", the State Council 1993 "Regulations on the placement of surplus workers of State-owned enterprises", the State Council 1995 "Notice of implementing re-employment project", the Ministry of Labour	Demand of re-employment Financial benefits	3.Ground floor commercial space	a, c, d
Resource shortage - Market economy	Resource shortage - Uneven distribution	indemnificatory apartments including low-rent housing, affordable housing, price-fixed housing, public rental housing, and reconstruction of shanty areas Since the 1998 "Notice of further deepening the reform of the urban housing system", the State Council 1983, "Circular on strictly controlling of urban housing standards", the State Council 1995, "Circular on strictly controlling of high grade real estate development project", the State Council	Private financial interest Demand of affordable urban housing	4.Residential reconstruction	a, c, d

Resource shortage - Uneven distribution	Agglomeration - Entry barrier	Proportion of commercial spaces in new-built neighbourhoods 1985, "On norms and criteria for public facilities in new residential area and small residential district construction" the Municipal People's Government of Beijing	Demand of commercial services in old neighbourhoods	5.Mobile street vendors	c
			Demand of affordable urban housing Demand of commercial services in old neighbourhoods	6.Commercialized gate houses	a, c, d
	Agglomeration - community	Recovery of residential façade 2017 Opinions on the organization of special operation "dispersal, emendation and improvement" (2017-2020) the Municipal People's Government of Beijing	Advertising Way-finding	7.Signage	c, d
		Promotion of mass entrepreneurship 2015 "Guideline on Measures to Boost Mass Entrepreneurship and Innovation", the State Council	Reducing costs Closer to local customers	8.Offices in apartments	b
			Individualization	9.Commercial use of corridors	b, c, d
	Promotion of hackerspaces, entrepreneur cafes and innovative workshops 2015 "Guideline on Measures to Boost Mass Entrepreneurship and Innovation", the State Council	financial interest Social goals	10.Mass entrepreneurship spaces	a, c	

*Social aspects: a. creating new networks; b. transforming local norms; c. Presenting identity; d. modifying material spaces.

closeness. In the meantime, the urban problems excluded by former segregation entered as well. Residents have to share with office employees, business visitors, couriers, salesmen, etc. streets, park spaces, open spaces, service facilities and staff, vertical transportations, and so on.

The 2015 "Guideline on Measures to Boost Mass Entrepreneurship and Innovation"⁵ promoted hackerspaces, entrepreneur cafes and innovative workshops for entrepreneurial network and education. Following start-up entrepreneurs as their service objects, such spaces also appear in residential neighbourhoods. However, due to the effective scale of such spaces, the adaptive settlement in residential apartments limits the

influence of them. Nevertheless, with work spaces and work posts they offer, the problem of unbalanced housing and work units in large-scale residential neighbourhoods is slightly eased. Those "mass entrepreneurship" spaces work directly on the social spaces of entrepreneurs and bring back the ideology of community in residential neighbourhoods.

According to the analysis on contradictions above, ACAs in residential neighbourhoods can be categorized as follows (Table 1, Figure 3).

There are common characters among the ACAs:

- promoting the openness of neighbourhoods.

The opening up of work-unit neighbourhoods dissolved the residents' dependence on free neighbourhood services from the collective, and the opening up of gated neighbourhoods dissolved their residents' head start in enjoying above-average living environment.

- strongly in flux and frequently changes. Start-up enterprises are unstable, and they move frequently in and out of a residential neighbourhood.
- conflicts in private interests always following ACAs. In residential neighbourhoods, entrepreneurs have to settle the conflicts with neighbours or other residents by themselves.

ENTREPRENEURIAL SOCIAL SPACES IN THE THREE BEIJING NEIGHBOURHOODS

The following three case studies representing of each kind of gathering are made to show different impacts of ACAs on entrepreneurial social spaces (Figure 4). In the first neighbourhood, the contradiction of resource shortage dominates, and enterprises based on face-to-face interaction gather. In the second neighbourhood, the contradiction of agglomeration dominates, and technological enterprises that base commercial interactions concentrate⁶. The third neighbourhood is a mixture of the two kinds.

The opened-up old work-unit neighbourhood-Xinyuanli

Xinyuanli is a typical “neighbourhood unit” in urban Beijing. The typology was introduced to Northeast China from the West by Japanese colonists in the early 1930s. The construction of *Xinyuanli* started in about 1965 and was completed in the late 1970s. The neighbourhood consists of linear multi-floor buildings, and the units were distributed to different work-units. A service building accommodating daily supplies as well as municipality offices and collective activity rooms is in the center. There was no ground-floor-commercial space planned in the neighbourhood.

Between 1980s and 1990s, the local autonomous municipality, the Resident Committee initiated series of constructions. Some buildings were extended with more residential units, and single floor lineal buildings were built for commercial uses. Former gate houses at the entrance of each unit were rented to retailers. After 2000, to offer more parking spaces thanks to the rising number of private cars, the Resident Committee turned some green areas to parking spaces, and charges renting fee for guarding and maintenance. The municipality soon lost credibility and regulating power because of these beneficial procedures. Informal private constructions emerged. As a result, open and shared spaces in the neighbourhood are reduced. Behind the

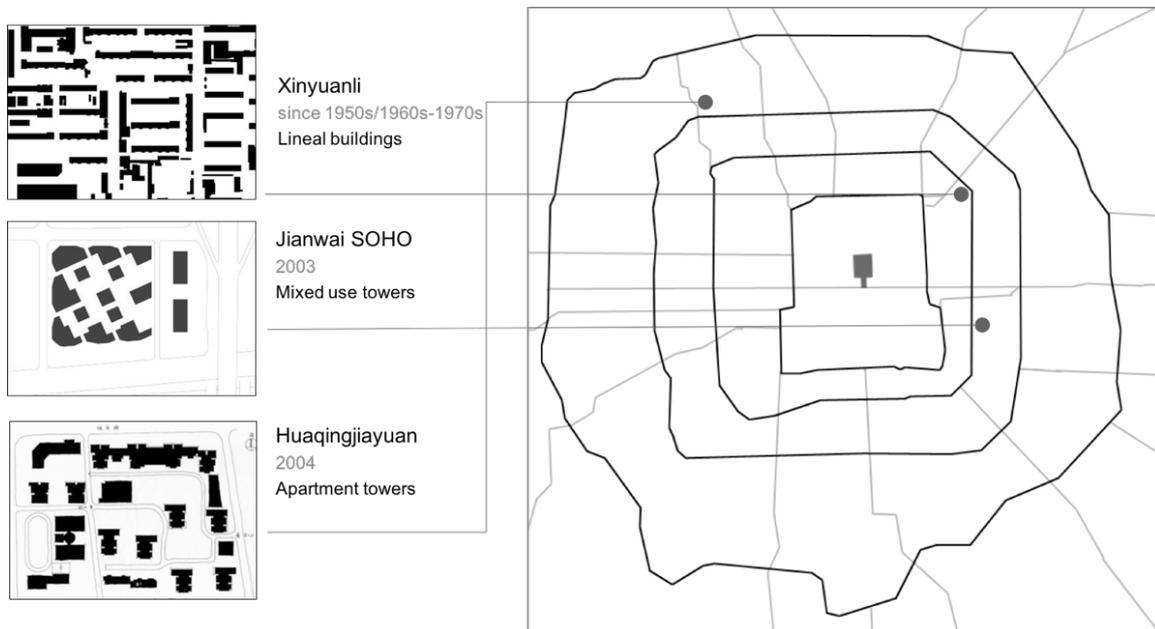


FIGURE 4 Location and morphology of the three neighbourhoods.



FIGURE 3 Different types of ACAs (Source: 8, <http://jianwaisoho.sohochina.com/residential>; 10, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_5f0b100102wj36.html; others, Tianyu Zhu.)



FIGURE 5 Different ways of using the spaces in front of a building

constructions are the disagreement on the spatial ownership of communal spaces. Extensions, temporary installations or occupied parking spaces become their protesting banners in the space, and these banners can bring financial benefits.

Social organizations rise unofficially among residents on the issue of communal spaces. Each plot of open space between buildings bares its special order of usage agreed by residents nearby. Some are kept open and shared, some are turned into private gardens, parking places, extensions, play grounds, etc. Spaces are distributed in tricky orders that satisfy all related residents, and are maintained voluntarily by them. Strong social bonds are founded through knowing and sticking to the rules strictly (Figure 5).

Commercial spaces on the ground floor boom during the fight on spatial ownership. Immigrants and original residents started small enterprises there. Two kinds of social relations are founded due to their commercial activities. Firstly, social networks are deliberately built between entrepreneurs and local customers. Starting from this, new social relations among residents emerge pivoting entrepreneurs and commercial spaces. For example, along a busy street in Xinyuanli there is a fruit shop changed from a gate house, running by a couple from the countryside. The owners offer seats in open spaces next to the gate. Residents in the unit gather at this place inviting other acquaintances to join when they pass-by. The new social relations due to commercial activities replaced the dissolving bonds of former work-units. Secondly, communities among local entrepreneurs appeared. In streets with commercial spaces on the ground floor, shop owners spread their living into the streets and form close relationship with each other as neighbours. In old neighbourhood like Xinyuanli,

where social bonds from work-unit pre-exists, it is hard for new comers to merge into a community. With business-related living activities in open spaces, immigrant entrepreneurs have made their identities visible.

Deliberately planned mixed-use neighbourhood- Jianwai SOHO

Jianwai SOHO is a commercial housing project constructed in 2003, locating to the south of the CBD of Beijing. Nine residential towers with three-floor commercial spaces at the bottom and four commercial villas comprise the “east zone” of the area, which is open to the city. The apartment towers are also access-free. “Centreless, multi-level, liveliness of mixed-use”, small-scale urban spaces and “getting lost for unexpected” are advertised as the design ideal⁷.

The neighbourhood is managed by a professional management company, which regulates activities with strict rules. Retails are not allowed to use the open spaces in front of their shops, and advertising activities in open spaces have to be previously approved. No event in open spaces can leave a track in spaces. An invisible boundary maintained by security guards blocks out beggars, the under dressed, salesmen, leaflet, photographers, social investors, deliverers, etc. There are clear behavioural rules in the neighbourhood. Against the primary ideals, no unexpected is allowed under the strict management (Figure 6).

Despite strict rules, a certain extent of individualization is allowed. Elevator halls and corridors are occupied by enterprises for private use or advertising. Front desks, reception rooms, fitness rooms, can bill boards can be found in these spaces, as well as shoe shelves and door decorative. Attitudes towards the privatization



FIGURE 6 The invisible boundary-salesmen who are not allowed to work in the neighbourhood are working on its boundary



FIGURE 7 An enterprise decorates their entrance in the shared corridor.

of communal spaces are neutral, and no disagreement appears between residents and entrepreneurs (Figure 7).

Interviews with entrepreneurs and residents show that neighbours rarely know each other, and there is little feeling of belonging or collective identity. Little attention is paid on shared spaces - "outside the apartment door is already city spaces" (a resident, interview 2014). The anonymity of metropolis dominates the open spaces of the neighbourhood, and the homogeneous material space does not present any individual will. "The management company does a good job" - believed by residents (interview 2014).

There is a much higher than average proportion of commercial spaces in the Jianwai SOHO, but no expended social connection was found between entrepreneurs or between entrepreneurs and residents other than simple trading contacts.

High-end commercial services gather in the neighbourhood and serve the upper class in the CBD area at a standard that not all people attracted by the low rent in the neighbourhood can afford. A few low-cost food stands attract long queues in the morning and lunch break. The not matching supplies and demands can be one reason for the lack of entrepreneurial social space in the area.

Effective mixed-use in a gated neighbourhood- Huaqingjiayuan

Built in 2004, Huaqingjiayuan is a middle class gated community consisting of eight residential towers and two-floor commercial spaces, a primary school, a kindergarten, supermarkets and a club facilitated with fitness equipment, table tennis facilities and an indoor swimming pool. With two top-universities, a technology park and the Zhongguancun Commercial District nearby, residents and entrepreneurs are with high-education and relatively high-income, while ACAs for local services concentrate around the open space in the middle and at the entrance area.

As a commercially developed residential neighbourhood, Huaqingjiayuan is similar to Jianwai SOHO with no pre-existing social bond among residents. Yet due to the similarity in education and income of residents and technology dependent entrepreneurs, social groups are gradually established though local services. Residents, entrepreneurs, university students and staff, and office employees nearby are bonded with similar hobbies and purchase habits. Owners of these service enterprises establish and maintain social network not only through face-to face interaction, but also online, and meso-level social spaces are founded with the location of the enterprises at centre, which is the Huaqingjiayuan neighbourhood (Figure 8).

As a gated community opened-up by commercial flow, the residents' right over open spaces are recognized but not strongly claimed. With social connections with entrepreneurs who conduct the ACAs, different individualization and presentation are tolerated. Heterogeneous communal spaces are hence produced.

RESULTS

Commercial activities can change social spaces



FIGURE 8 Upper row: shops in the ground floor and basement; lower row: signage to lead customers into enterprises in upper floors.

of urban residential neighbourhoods through creating new networks, transforming local norms, presenting identities and modifying material spaces. Comparing the development policies and private interests in China, we have summarized the contradictions resulting in adaptive commercial activates (ACAs) that produces entrepreneurial social spaces:

- the contradiction due to resource shortage caused by economic reform or uneven distribution of resources.
- the contradiction due to agglomeration of enterprises blocked by entry barriers or the community of entrepreneurs.

As impetus of the production of entrepreneurial social spaces, both kinds of contradictions result in ACAs that changes one or more aspects of the social spaces. Based on that we have categorized ten types of ACAs and their corresponding effects on the entrepreneurial social spaces. Common characters of these ACAs are: promoting the openness of neighbourhoods; in flux with frequent changes; conflicts and negotiations in private interests.

We have looked into specific cases of ACAs in

three typical neighbourhoods in Beijing. In the old neighbourhood where the contradiction due to resource shortage dominate, and enterprises of local services based on face-to-face interactions concentrate, the physical spaces are always in flux in the power struggle between collectives. In SOHO neighbourhood where the contradiction due to agglomeration of enterprises dominates and technology dependant enterprises gather, enterprises limit activities within buildings and rarely have impact on and the local social space. In the gated neighbourhood, the two types of enterprises form a positive mutual promotion. With flexibility in local rules and tolerance of informal constructions, effective hobby-based entrepreneurial social spaces are formed.

With these findings, we argue that ACAs in residential neighbourhoods can initiate entrepreneurial social space. Social actions driven by private benefit are not public actions in a strict sense, but they stimulate expressing of different opinions and forming consensus on local norms. Following are detailed mechanisms:

1. ACAs in residential neighbourhood are driven mainly by local service enterprises.
2. Technological entrepreneurs might interact

with each other in their own network, but they contribute little to the local social spaces in terms of interacting with residents.

3. Technological enterprises have overflow effects on the local service enterprises and can indirectly contribute to the local social space.
4. Under strict constraints on informal activities, entrepreneurial social spaces are suppressed.
5. With certain extent of tolerance on the building restrictions, technological enterprises and local service ones can support each other and better entrepreneurial social spaces can be created in terms of publicness.

CONCLUSION: A FEW UNDERSTANDINGS ON THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEVELOPING POLICIES, PRIVATE INTERESTS AND SPATIAL PUBLICNESS.

To understand spatial publicness in residential neighbourhoods. We focus on the presentation of differences, which gives rise to a reforming power. Activities influencing social spaces through reforming social norms or present identities are actions that promote spatial publicness. An individual enters public realm through actions and speeches in openness (Arendt, 1998), where differences can be seen and heard, and forms critical public discourses on collective affairs (Harbemas, 1989; Hsia, 1994; Madanipour, 1996). Urban spaces that support the presentation of individuality, which consists and consolidate social norms are the spaces of publicness (Sennett, 1992).

From the perspective of spatial publicness, deliberately constructed commercial or mixed-use areas such as industrial parks, incubators, innovation workshops, and SOHO neighbourhoods are not positively promoting entrepreneurial social spaces which offer opportunities of opinion expressing and identity presentation. Homogeneous working and living environment and over-qualified management can suppress different discourses.

Though many of the activities are informal, enterprises in residential neighbourhoods changes their social spaces. Residents, entrepreneurs, visitor, and management entities are all influenced by the changes and gain chances to participate in reforming local spaces and local norms. Enterprises in residential neighbourhoods are

more unstable and in flux, and new enterprises bring new modifications, which make publicness occur at a higher frequency. The contradictions between policies and individual interests stimulate adaptive commercial activities to occur. While the latter represent the contradictions in material spaces, they promote to reach a consensus at a point. Hence, they keep the formation and transformation of local rule in an equilibrium.

Based on this research, we suggest policy makers, entrepreneurs and social enterprise organizers the following:

1. At the turning point of development mode and scale of China's economy, policies promote innovative and technology based enterprises. Adaptive entrepreneurial activities in residential neighbourhoods are tolerated. In all histories, policies are never perfectly in correspondence with every specific situations and each individual's best interest. Such un-matching is not a fault, but an opportunity for spatial publicness to appear in urban spaces - in the case of the topic it is spaces of residential neighbourhoods.
2. The planning and management of new residential neighbourhoods should show a more flexibility towards contradictions between policies and private interests. The process of amending rules should be treated as a chance for negotiation and consensus, instead of rigid regulations. Individual modifications to certain extent should be allowed.
3. Entrepreneurs should pay attention to their social situations in residential neighbourhoods. Establishing enterprises in residential neighbourhoods in the long term has benefit for both.
4. Residents should change the prejudice of "informal equals unprofessional" and be open to share spaces with enterprises and cooperate with entrepreneurs to achieve positive physical and social environment for both parties.

NOTES

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3. SAIC, 2016, http://www.gov.cn/zhuanti/2016-09/20/content_5110018.htm
4. Beijing Daily, http://www.bjd.com.cn/jx/toutiao/201707/13/t20170713_11064372.html
5. The General Office of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China, http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2015-03/11/content_9519.htm
6. It is to be noted that, with advanced e-commerce and delivery services, the services these two kinds of enterprises can be similar.
7. <http://jianwaisoho.sohochina.com>.

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The Importance of the Traditional Market for the Local Economy and the Local-Specific Urban Way of Life The Case of Jakarta

Jo Santoso

Head of Graduate Program of
Urban and Real Estate Development,
Tarumanagara University,
Indonesia

Miya Irawati

Future Cities Laboratory,
Singapore ETH Centre,
Singapore

Rully Mardona

Urban Laboratory,
Tarumanagara University,
Indonesia

ABSTRACT

In the conception of Javanese city, the market is not only a place of central trading for varied products which come from hinterlands and other countries. Markets spread all over the city with their own special characteristics which called Pasar. Pasar is a group of handicraftsmen who are producing and selling their commodities, especially for products such as tempe, tofu, shrimp paste, gemstone ring, rattan/ bamboo basket and others. In the city of Jakarta, these kinds of markets still exist and keep continuing to be part of city life. This market study is using the selected case studies, such as the gemstones market, the decorative fish market, and the bird market, where currently have the role and function for the way of life, culture, and beliefs of the inhabitants of a city even though they are living in a modern way.

In the gemstones, the direct good relationships between producer and their clients have been maintained continuously because gemstones have a stronger personal-fashionable character, therefore being customised products. In the bird-market and the decorative fish market, those places have sustained its social-cultural characters, especially among the bird or fish lovers. For example, the bird market has developed its own communities of bird-lovers and group of professionals dealing with different aspects of traded birds as domestic animals. The results of this study are showing different trends of Pasar development in social interaction and cultural aspect. By this study, each specific market with its own characteristics and functions has contributed as a social place for interaction practices between different group of society in the city or outside the city.

This paper observes to show traditional markets in Jakarta that represent the local-specific urban way of life. This research was carried out through field survey and in-depth interview as main methods for 1) mapping of the spatial aspect and social structure of the markets and 2) study on its historical dynamic through in-depth interviews of selected groups of communities randomly to understand their struggle through a long adaptation process in the new globalized city.

KEYWORDS

*Traditional Market, the Bird Market, the
Gemstone Market, Jakarta, Local-
Specific Urban Way of Life*

INTRODUCTION: TRADITIONAL MARKET IN JAKARTA IN GLOBALIZATIONS ERA

In today's global economy, pressure on imported products and provided facilities in traditional markets is a challenge to compete, especially in Metropolitan Jakarta as one of the most populous cities in Southeast Asia. The questions regarding this issue are as follow: Are the local-specific urban traditions able to anticipate the pressures produced by "trans-urban circuits" (Sassen). Will the specific local traditions totally integrated with the new city and exist further as passive parts of urban sub-systems, or are the local-specific urban elements able to actualize the local cultural traditions and enable the new globalized city to have its own local-specific characters? This paper will observe several traditional markets in Jakarta that represent the local-specific urban way of life which still survive in modern urban life. This research was carried out through field survey and in-depth interview with main involved actors such as the seller, buyer, and market management.

The core city of Jakarta has a total area of 657 km² and with the surrounding Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi) metropolitan area creates an urban area of 3000 km². With

over 600 years of history, the Jakarta structure is in fact superimposed urban elements of different historical periods. The history of modernization of Jakarta has been started when the basic structure of modern Jakarta, as the capital of the newborn Indonesia, was built during Soekarno's rule between 1959 to 1965. Over again this modernization process was accelerated during Soeharto's regime in 1968 to 1998, particularly when the military gained political control in Indonesia, by providing the basic infrastructure, the reformation of legal systems, the tax regulation, and other reforms. Today the center of Jakarta is occupied mostly by 'exclusionary enclaves' of the rich and extremely upper class. Hundreds of towers dotting the skyline have shaped this image of a Citadel, which stands out from the rest of the city. Some of the older parts of the city areas are now occupied by new elites and professionals. The rest of the city areas consist of old vernacular settlements called "urban Kampongs", where the urban majority are inhabited. This kind of mixed characteristic is typically CBD area in many Asian big cities as Bangkok, Manila, Ho Chi Minh. The rapid expansion of urban development, which is taking place in the inner city by demolitions of low-density housing areas, displace it with

FIGURE 1 Location of traditional markets according to typology (Source: Urban Laboratory, 2015)



higher-valued property products and result in an uncontrolled growth pattern with unpredictable social and environmental impacts.

The traditional markets in Indonesian cities today has its origin in the more than thousand years-old histories of Javanese city and was following up the development of the first urban communities in Java started around the 4th. century (Lombard, 1996; Santoso, 2008). In the later period (11th-18th Century), the market became an integrated part of the King-city and had an important role as a center of inter-regional trading activities of the kingdom. In 15th to 17th Century, the central markets in particular which are located in the flourishing cities along the north coast of Java were functioning as a center of international trading places (Santoso, 1983). The position of Javanese cities as international trading places was destroyed in the Dutch colonial regime through the establishment of the monopoly in international trading by Dutch. From time to time, the Javanese city was to be restructured to adapt the historical changes and it will be followed by the changing the role and function of the market. The traditional markets have to adapt and innovate to survive in the globalization era, especially the market has been related to culture and value of the local-specific way of life. Following the categorized traditional market that has been mapped by Urban Laboratory-Tarumanagara University, there are at least 6 different typologies of the traditional market in Jakarta. The first is the neighborhood wet-market, the second is the wholesale vegetable market, the third is the different variant of street-markets (included the food bazaars and the night market), the fourth is the recycling and upcycling markets, the fifth is the handicraft markets and the last markets is dedicated to local-specific way of life (Bird markets, Aquarium Fish markets, Gemstone market).

The next cases will elaborate another important role of the traditional markets which related to the urban cultural ways of life. There are at least four (4) important traditional markets to be discussed; the gemstone market, the flower market, the aquarium fish market and the bird market. But this time, we will discuss only the gemstone market and the bird market.

TRADITIONAL MARKET REPRESENT LOCAL-SPECIFIC WAY OF LIFE

The role of culture as a binding value system in the urban way of life still exists and could be presented by the existing traditional market in Jakarta. The existence of this kind of markets are strongly related to the traditional way of life, partly originated in the pre-colonial culture like the gemstone Market, the Bird Market, partly established during the colonial period like the decorative fish market or the flower market. This thousand years of old tradition still survive through adaptation and innovative approach in urban life. The belief of wearing a beautiful gemstone ring, teaching birds to sing as domestic animals are practices rooted in thousand years of traditional ways of life and not limited for only particular social classes living in the urban area. In the local tradition, having certain sort of birds means the strong connection with certain ancient belief. In many cases, this kind of ancient belief has been losing their original meaning by the particular group of people because the collection of gemstones or birds remain only as a fanatic hobby. The other interesting question is about the capability of the place making of this kind of markets, which un-exclusively related to the social relation between the sellers because, besides the surrounding neighborhoods of traditional markets, government institutions are also involved in those process. In some cases, the establishment of this kind of market started by small groups of the seller, who have the same regional and ethnical backgrounds because the bird market and the gemstones market come from different hinterland regions, where are located very far from the urban area.

CASE STUDY 1. THE GEMSTONES MARKET IN RAWA BENING

The gemstone market in Rawa Bening is the central market of gemstone, especially for the west part of Indonesia. The previous president of Indonesia, Yudhoyono, in 2009 strongly influenced a fashion by wearing gemstone rings. The gemstone lovers are from all social class because the variety of type and price of gemstone that sold in the market is very broad. The gemstones are from Indonesia and also imported. In terms of customers, there are various levels, from just a hobbyist to the collector. Many people try earning money from buy and sale of



FIGURE 2 Gemstone Market in Rawabening
(Source: Urban Laboratory, 2015)



FIGURE 3 Stalls area - Gemstone Market in Rawabening Andrian,
2015 (Source: Andian, 2015)

gemstones, but more are disappointed because since 2 years ago its demand has been decreasing dramatically.

The physical aspects of the Gemstones Market

The Gemstone market in Rawa Bening has been located in the Central Jakarta. In 1970 a building market was built in 1974 by PD. Pasar Jaya, the state-owned enterprise who manage traditional markets in Indonesia, as a traditional market that sells various kinds of businesses such as daily main needs, textile, medicine, and gemstone. Generally, street vendors who sell gemstone around the market because they do not want to be charged and keep selling outside the market building. In the 1980s, street vendors began to enter the market building and sell the variety of gemstones until today. Started by 100 sellers in the 1980s then become 800 sellers in November 2015. The Gemstone market in Rawa Bening has become a gemstone sales center with a specific

target market that is gemstone lovers. In the end of 2014, when the gemstone was booming became a trend and renovation of this market building, there were 1280 gemstone merchants in this market.

In this 3-floor building market, there are 2 floors that are reserved exclusively to sell gemstones and other needs related to gemstone lovers. The 3rd floor is dedicated as a center for purchasing medicine and medical devices. The market layout has been arranged and managed by a building management since the renovation in 2014 to facilitate the buyers who come.

The sellers and buyers of Gemstone

About 65% gemstone comes from Indonesia, such as Sukabumi, Garut, Indramayu, Bandung, Kalimantan, Aceh, Padang, Ambon and Surabaya, and 35% is imported products, for example from Africa, Myanmar, India, China, Thailand, Brazil,



FIGURE 4 Plan of 1st floor of Gemstone Market in Rawabening
(Source: Adrian, 2015)

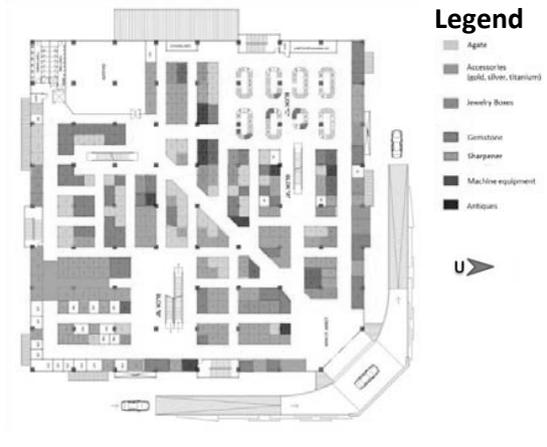


FIGURE 5 Plan of 2nd floor of Gemstone Market in Rawabening
(Source: Adrian, 2015)

Australia, Iran, and Korea. Mostly the accessories suppliers are handicraftsmen from Bali, Tegal, and Sukabumi. There are two (2) types of buyers in this market, namely reseller and end-user. Beside domestic market who come from across Indonesia, also both resellers (Middle East, U.S, Africa, Iran, India, China, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei) and end-users (U.S, Europe, Africa, Middle East, India, China, Taiwan, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei) come from abroad.

The transaction system in the gemstone market is in the form of wholesalers and retailers. In this case, the reseller in this market also buys from wholesalers. The interesting thing is when the economic crisis and supply are few, sellers can actually get a much higher turnover because they can only sell their stock that they have then they could earn their profit is between 20-30% of their capital. There are some things that need to be underlined as market operation, namely the seller will be grouped in one location and also receive orders from sellers who are from other gemstone markets in Jakarta and surrounding areas of Jakarta. Sellers complement each other type of merchandise so the gemstone market in Rawa Bening become into one-stop shopping of gemstones. The ordering system consists of several ways such as by phone (58%), email (3%), social media by short message (39%). With this ordering

system, the goods will be sent to buyers who are inside or outside the city.

In the analysis of relationships within the value system, the strongest relationship affecting market excitement is the relationship between sellers in this market and reseller. The characteristic of the Gemstone Market in Rawa Bening is wholesale then makes the relationship between seller in this market and reseller become greater than between sellers with the end-user. The created value in the system is generally illustrated in the value chain model as below.

CASE STUDY 2. BIRDS MARKET

The growth of bird markets is slower than the gemstone market, but it is more sustainable. The supply of bird species is increasing in variety, including import and mostly are from Africa. By the existence of this bird market, one of its impacts is creating more profession, such as bird specialist suppliers, bird trainers, bird doctors, specialist cage-made craftsman, juries of singing bird contest, and event organizer of bird contest. More bird lovers and bird lover organization exist in many cities in Indonesia. Currently, most districts in Jakarta have a bird market where provide birds, bird feeding and vitamin, cage and other supporting facilities for bird lovers. Obviously, this phenomenon happens in the urban area in Indonesia, included Jakarta as the

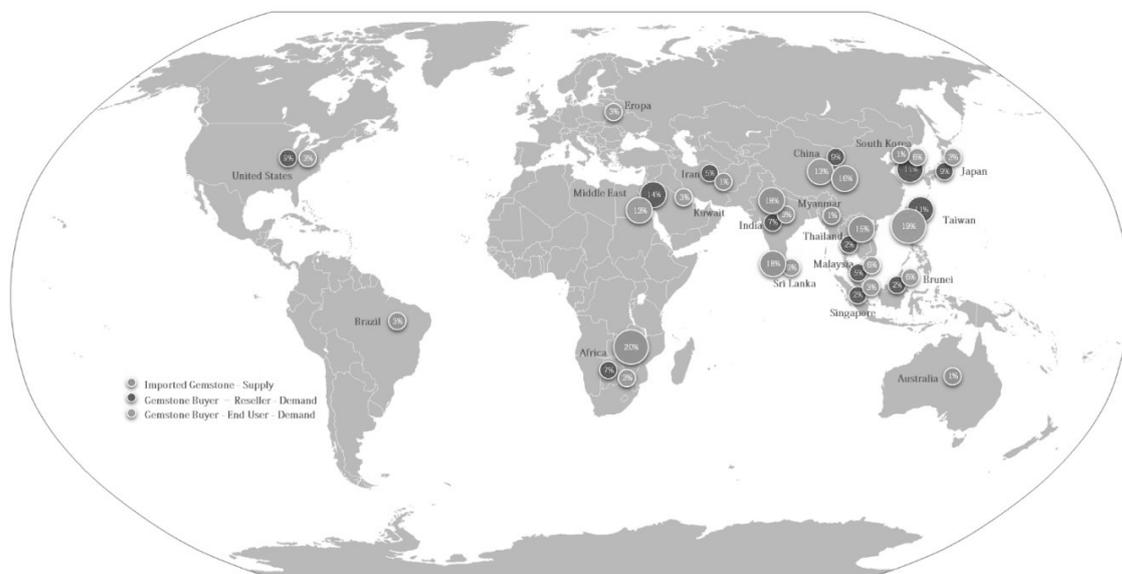


FIGURE 6 Imported Gemstone supply and Gemstone demand (Source: Adrian, 2015)

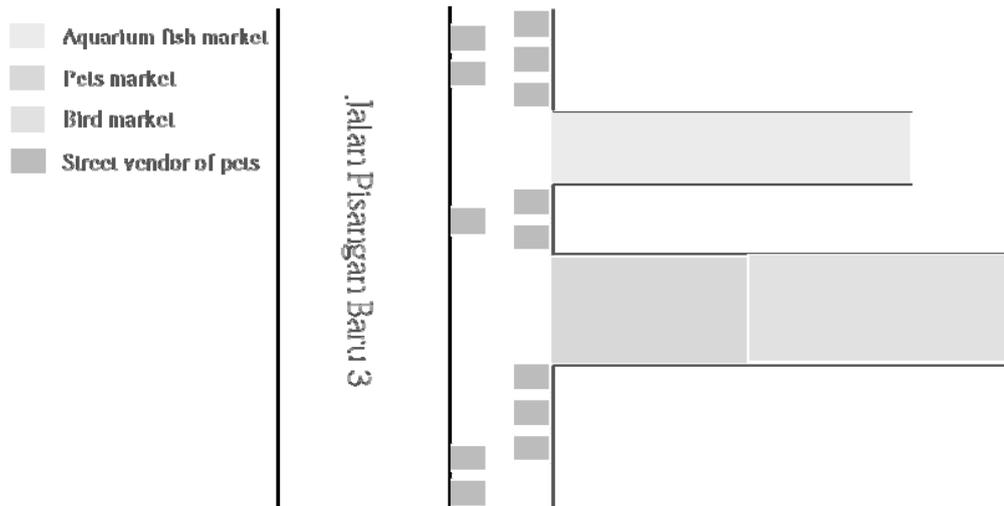


FIGURE 10 Plan of the Bird Market in Pramuka (Source: Urban Laboratory – Tarumanagara University, 2015)

Semi Contest is open and general for the category of birds who have performed at the previous two levels at the regional level. The last one is an annual contest at the national level involving participants from all over Indonesia and abroad which is for only the best birds.

The birds singing contest participants come from several homogeneous and heterogeneous bird-loving communities, a single fighter who consist individuals with more than one species of bird to contest, and individuals who are individual participants with only one bird. Prizes are awarded in the form of money, award certificates and trophies to each champion in each category. The direct impact of this bird singing contest is first, the price of the winning-bird in each category becomes higher than before. It is an appreciation of bird lovers. The price of winning birds can reach Rp. 48,000,000 (USD 4,000). Second, the bird coach, who train the bird become a champion, becomes a respected profession. Bird coaches who generally come from Single Fighter have a duty to train, care, feed and maintain the stamina of birds. The fee provided to the bird coaches depend on an agreement between the bird owner and the coach, in addition, the commission from the bird owner if the bird becomes a champion. A bird coach can train some birds owned by more than one owner.

In this bird singing contest, the jury is from professionals who have expertise in assessing the

ability of every bird that is contested. There are 2 categories of jurors, namely juries from certain institutions or groups and independent juries. The jury from a particular institution or group is employed by the institution to assess every bird singing contest held regularly according to the fixed schedule organized by the institution. The rating system in this bird singing contest is a closed nomination, in which the participants are nominated based on the value obtained on certain parameters determined by the jury. The fee of the judges is agreed upon the level of the contest which is held.

The birds singing contest is conducted regularly in the central bird market in Jakarta, the area around Jakarta and other big cities in Indonesia. Between bird lover communities, organizers and the bird markets will inform each other of the birds singing contest in their area, so it is common to find contestants coming from other



FIGURE 11 The seeds for bird (Source: John Klau, 2015)



FIGURE 12 The medicines and vitamins for birds
(Source: John Klau, 2015)



FIGURE 13 The bird singing contest in the Bird Market
(Source: John Klau, 2015)

cities in Indonesia who specifically come to follow this contest.

The sellers and buyers of birds and its supporting needs

The bird suppliers are also obtained from outside Indonesia. The imported bird supply generally comes from the Netherlands (15%); Belgium (5%); Africa (15%); China (20%); Vietnam (12%), Thailand (11%); Malaysia (6%); Pakistan, the Philippines and Hongkong (each is 3%). The supply of other bird markets in Jakarta, e.g in Barito and Patra in the South Jakarta, mostly are taken from the bird market at Pramuka street.

In addition, there are bird supply regions from various regions in Indonesia, such as from Java, Sumatera or Kalimantan.

The supplier of seeds and vitamins for birds also vary, from abroad and within Indonesia. While bird lovers who come to this market mostly come from areas around Jakarta, such as Bogor, Depok, Bekasi, Tangerang (61.4%) and from Jakarta (38.6%). In general, a bird lover already has a subscription store to buy seeds, vitamins, cage and specific birds that be bought. The relationship between sellers and bird lovers is a long-term relationship built on years of trust, especially regarding the quality of the product and the

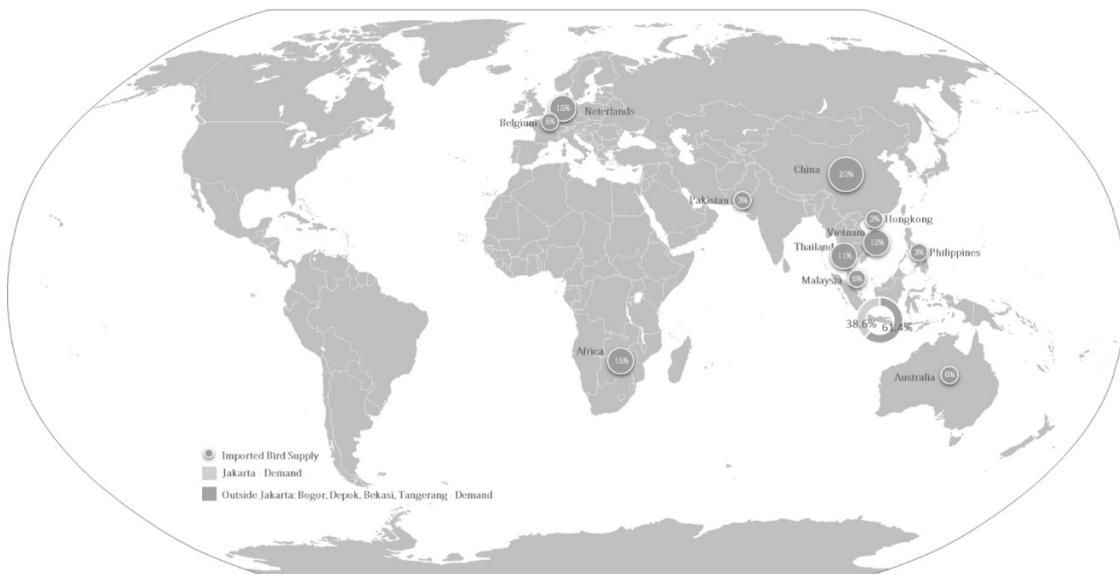


FIGURE 14 The bird supply and demand of the Bird Market at Pramuka Street (Source: John Klau, 2015)

knowledge of seller.

RESULTS

The understanding between the sellers with their customers, who are the gemstone and the bird lovers, is not only something rooted in the historical past as well as the culture but also as the results of the actualization of the same historical socio-cultural values in the context of urban life way. Within this kind of traditional market, sellers and buyers from different ethnical groups are learning to know and understand each other.

CONCLUSIONS

The role of the traditional markets has not been only limited to provide their products for their everyday needs with more affordable prices, but

also products which are important for their cultural identity and cannot be provided by the modern market. In general, we can summarize that the presence of the traditional markets is creating the actual possibility of their specific living way socially and culturally in the urban area. Obviously, it is to consider that the traditional urban way of life itself is changing all the time, therefore we understand this kind of market with its sensitive and dynamic characters as the important tool for the peoples living in their local specific way of life to anticipate their new specific socio-economic needs. local specific way of life to anticipate their new specific socio-economic needs.

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In between the Suburb Masterplans

Melody Hoi-Lam Yiu
Hiroyuki Shinohara

Department of Architecture and Built Environment,
Faculty of Science and Engineering,
University of Nottingham Ningbo China,
China

ABSTRACT

The urban planning rationale of Chinese cities are usually pragmatic, with the objective to provide space for growth, and the task of planning authorities to efficiently prepare land for new development. According to this logic, numerous suburban new towns have emerged rapidly in the last decades. Most new town developments were built with a clean and safe suburbia image, and in reality became bedroom communities for city-center workers. While there are attempts to create the illusion of a community with comprehensive amenities, these developments are often gated, internalized and autonomous, with no connection to surrounding landscape.

Building upon current studies about suburban development in China, this paper looks into conditions and opportunities that emerge in between these master-planned communities. The study takes the Liangzhu area in Hangzhou, China as an example, through analysis of current development and upper-level master plans, to identify patterns and possibilities beyond the isolated communities. The result of this paper speculates the future of current development model and proposes an alternative framework towards a “productive suburb” – one that would create positive local impact in the process of suburbanization.

KEYWORDS

*Urban Expansion, China, Suburban
Typology, Productive Suburb*

INTRODUCTION

Since the economic reform from the 1980s, urbanization in China occurs in parallel with the process of suburbanization, and accelerating during the last decade particularly in the fast growing second-tier cities. The suburb is where urban expansion intersects with rural transformation, with a population more diverse than the typical view of urban middle class out-migration. The case of China's suburbanization also shows characters varying from the west in early/mid- 20th century, due to different cultural and socio-political background and reflecting different urban form and social relationships. This paper studies the conditions at the periphery of urban expansion to analyze suburban patterns and typologies. It begins with a brief review of Chinese rural - suburban development and planning policy for contextual understanding, then focus on the case of the Liangzhu area in northwest Hangzhou, where these suburban formations co-exist and juxtapose.

The investigation approaches from mainly an "aerial perspective", through mapping and data analysis. Readings of maps and aerial photographs has been a useful tool for urban geographers and planners to examine and detect urban development pattern, even more so nowadays with the advance in technology and availability of information such as GIS and Google Earth. The aerial readings will then be compared with master planning documents from city to district level to understand the "push-and-pull" forces during the process of suburb developments. These studies are complimented with a critical analysis of one of the largest master planned communities in the Liangzhu area of Hangzhou, to gain an micro-level ("everyday") perspective of the life and activities in this new urban form and their socio-economic outcomes. The central question we ask is that what consist this suburban formation and their relationship to the growth of new urbanity (community), whether the current model is the future for urban / suburb development or is there a better alternative?

PLANNING CONTEXT OF SUBURBAN CHINA

China has been an agricultural-based country and the dichotomy of urban and rural was quite distinct since ancient imperial time to the early socialist era. The suburbs in China are essentially

product of post-1980s economic reform (Lin, 2007), where land ownership model and infrastructure improvements play a crucial role in the rural-urban development. The formation of "suburbs" is directly related to urbanization and the expansion of urban boundary. It is not a static state or a defined zone, but a part of the dynamic process where its affected area will also shift as urbanization progress. In this study we tried to look at this condition in action, analyzing the current state but more interested in the changes happening and their implication to future possibilities.

A brief review of China's suburban formation

Described by the renowned sociologist Fei Xiaotong through his ethnographic studies, traditional Chinese rural societies are "earth-bounded", with a strong attachment to the land and dependent to the extended family network (Fei, 1992). This social relationship is reflected in the physical form of village clusters as an organic network - without definite boundaries and expands into open field as the family grows.

The Communist Party ruling since 1949 has brought a whole new set of value to the family and community structure, which also affects the physical landscape drastically. New social value breaks away from the feudal relationship as well as extended family ties, rural land became collectively owned and regarded as "free" resources for agricultural production under the planned-economy policies. Rural communities are organized in "village collectives" (农村集体) under the top-down allocation of social role and position with production responsibilities, where voluntary migration and location of residency are controlled (Zhou & Ma, 2000). During this period, centralized state priority and emphasis were placed in these rural collective zones over the development of the city, which has resulted in a rural landscape that did not follow regular patterns of industrialization and urbanization.

Since the economic reform with open policy to private and foreign investment in the early 1980s, the Chinese government began to operate with a certain degree of market economy principles. A key policy to encourage productivity was to allow rural collectives of autonomy in economic activities, where some began to convert farmland into small-scale industries at their villages. At

a later stage in the 1990s, land reform began to allow land-lease to end-user for revenue by collectives and rural municipalities. Since then, pieces of rural land are turned into commodity for real-estate development and the rural landscape is being systematically urbanized to prepare land for sale. Particularly at the periphery of larger cities, this is done through annexation of adjacent townships into city districts, and the suburbs (or new town) became a prominent urban typology.

The different types of suburbanites (and its spatial typology)

As the urban peripheries experience transformation from rural to suburban condition, it has created a suburban landscape that possesses multiple dimensions with forces of influence from both the rural and urban end. In reference to extensive studies on Chinese suburbs by Wu Fulong and his colleagues, there are three major types of suburbanites based on their origin (Jie & Fulong, *Moving to the suburbs: demand-side driving forces of suburban growth in China*, 2013) - which will be described below, along with associating spatial typology that is being formed.

The first type is who we commonly understand as the suburban residents, they are the urban middle-class moving out from the city center to seek better quality of life in more affordable cost. Most developer-initiated master plan projects cater to their need, for a more spacious and "green" living environment. These developments are usually in areas well connected to the city center by highway and dependent on private car as mode of transportation. It should also be noted that in this type of master-planned communities, there is a high percentage of "absent residents", who purchase the flats as second home or purely for capital investment purpose.

During the process to make way for infrastructure and new development, rural land were being "consolidated", where local villagers are relocated in new flats nearby and usually receive compensation in exchange of their village houses and farmland. While some will move further out into the countryside, many of them remain in the now urbanized local area and adapt to the more compact and urbanized living environment. The relocation housing is predominately standardized flats with minimal amenities, yet it is seen as an improvement to the degenerating rural village

houses. As the rural field is transformed into part of the suburban township, these original residents have lost their land to work on. Some would go into the city for industrial or service job, while others would utilize their new modern flat renting out to migrant workers as a source of income.

The third type of suburban residents were generally paid less attention and their conditions are the less discussed, yet no less apparent in any suburb near the big cities. They are the migrant workers from inland to seek opportunities in the large cities. With development of city subway extending into the outskirts, usually served by informal transit of minivan or motorcycle taxi, these areas close to the last stops of the subway lines are popular housing options for migrant workers comparing to city center slums, where they rent rooms or flats with minimal amenities (and cost) from local farmers in their village house or suburban flats. (Zhou & Ma, 2000)

At the frontier of urban expansion, these different types of suburban typologies co-exist and overlap. In the next section we would look into the suburban Liangzhu area in Hangzhou as a typical case of this mixture of suburban formation, in a holistic view to study the difference forces enacting on the current development.

THE AERIAL VIEW PERSPECTIVE -- IN-BETWEEN MASTER PLANS

As master planners and designers, we tend to look at a development only to the extent of its project boundary. However, communities do not exist in the void without context, and there exist villages, farmland, natural elements, and other built-up elements in between the "designed master plans" (Fig.1). This study follows a Landscape Urbanism perspective (Waldheim, 2006) to read the suburban condition as a continuous field to investigate the largely neglected space in between master planned developments. As a background we should distinguish the two types of "master plans", one is the development master plans (or "secondary development" 二级开发) by property developers, and the other city or district-level master plans (or "land development/primary development" 土地开发/一级开发) administrated by the government's land and

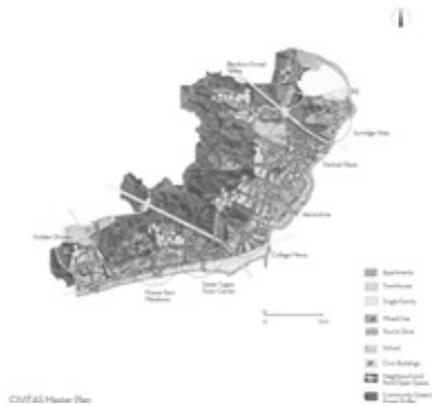


Figure 1 The Vanke Liangzhu Project Master Plan (left) and aerial image of the development in context (right)

planning bureau that accounts for infrastructure and land parcel definition.

The SPACE in-between master plans: suburban typologies and expulsion

In the last couple decades, there are accelerating land acquisition activities at the inner suburbs of major cities in China, as a result of favorable government policy together with increasing market demand (Zhou & Ma, 2000). It follows the central government’s urbanization targets enabled by upper-level master plans, where developers rapidly gain development right of suburban land, resulting in many “New Towns” or suburb communities built in haste to capture quick return

rather than carefully planned for sustainable growth.

The suburbs are developed in a pattern growing along major infrastructure (roads) as spot developments, with spaces left in their natural state in between these master plans and marked by the hard line of infrastructures. Reading from the aerial map of Liangzhu, the suburban area north west of Hangzhou (Fig.2), we can see three main suburban typologies co-exist with the natural landscape.

(1) *Urban fabric extension*: The typical pattern of urban growth is that by extension of major road



Figure 2 Mapping of urban patterns in the study area of Liangzhu, Hangzhou

grid, usually up to the city's ring road that signifies the inside/outside of urbanized or rural/suburban zones. Observing the urban expansion pattern in China, usually built according to traffic engineer's logic, at the periphery of the cities there are large blocks divided by wide boulevards, which works for both for the image of a "modernized city" as well as the operational efficiency in land sales. Currently, this type of urban fabric is in a process of expansion beyond the boundaries of the ring road and being copied in new suburban centers. Despite the different context of existing town fabric, they are built with similar logic and resulting in similar (usually negative) effect of homogenous landscape.

(2) *Suburban masterplans*: The second typology is the "master planned communities", usually located at the inner suburbs bounded by natural or artificial green belt, some distance away from city center for lower price in land acquisition. Connected with basic infrastructure of roadways and highways, they are usually within one-hour drive from the city center, planned as residential communities for urban white-collar workers with emphasis on a more relaxed environment differentiated from the city center condition. While western suburbs are usually understood as a typology of single-family houses organized in cue-de-sac, the Chinese suburbs are built in higher density with majority of building types as town houses or mid-rise flats. As they are not planned as organic growth from existing town or villages, these suburban master plans are usually disconnected and internalized, relying on services to be provided by the developer and exclusively for its residents.

(3) *Existing farming villages and collective industries*: In the suburban zone there exist a third typology, although they are not intentionally planned and designed, yes it is no less prominent from the aerial view. These areas are drawn into the urbanized zone that is in reality still in rural condition, consisting mostly of villages plus some small-scale industries from the time of early reform, building according to natural topography with farm fields surrounding. This existing typology is peculiar also with their ephemeral nature, as the only "unplanned" area within the catchment of urban expansion, they are seen as the void space and often neglected for public service needs, as understood that it will be "master planned" (sold off) soon enough. This

third typology is the in-between space that this study seeks to understand. As if not existing in the mind of local plans, the residents and activities in this zone are largely ignored and systematically expelled from the fruit of urban development. It is the objective of this study to explore the potentials for their role, even temporarily, in the process of urbanization/ sub-urbanization.

The TIME in-between master plans: vision and reality

Besides the in-between space in the suburban condition, there could also be another reading regarding the temporal nature of suburban development. A typical city master plan usually accounts for 20 years forward, providing an ultimate vision of what the city, including its suburban zones, would become. Yet most of what we experience is in fact the time in between the ultimate plan and its current situation, which is particularly apparent in the suburbs, as they are the area that goes through most drastic transformation. What interests us is not the speculative future or a retrospective judgment of the past, but this dynamic process of changing urban landscape. Looking at the Hangzhou Liangzhu suburb as an example, we could see the various forces in play and the potential at this time in between vision and reality.

The current version of Hangzhou's overall master plan was announced in 2001, with an urban structure of "1 center – 3 sub-centers – 6 clusters" planned for the whole city. Included in this plan is the newly annexed Yuhang district that consists of a sub-center and three clusters, including our study area, Liangzhu, as one of the official suburban clusters to the city of Hangzhou. Under the city-level master plan there is the Yuhang district master plan to guide future development, with a projection that the district of 1226km² will have a population up to 1.25 million in 2020 (Zhejiang Urban & Rural Planning Design Insitute, 2007). The current in-between spaces will be crossed by multiple hardline infrastructures including a subway line from the city center, with the urban grid extending from the center and ultimately being stitched together into a continuous urban fabric. Also, as an instrument to implement the master plan, village land are being confined at its current boundary to prohibit further growth and is isolated from the field, being treated as two different land use type in planning

operations.

However, as we see in the current aerial map, those areas that were drawn up as development zone a decade ago is still largely untouched. Comparing to the master plan with a vision to be fulfilled by 2020, the existing village-and-field fabric is supposed to be replaced by the urbanized large block in the near future.

Saskia Sassen has described in her book, *Expulsion*, of how the non-specific grid in urban development overrides natural pattern (Sassen, 2013). While the book focus on the effect of urbanization in a global scale, its effect is also being reflected locally as the character of rural landscape gradually being taken over by the neutralized grid. Moreover, the suburban community typology is generally generic and non-descriptive, where their design is being reduced to operational efficiency and floor area maximization within given regulation. The productive activities of farming or village-industries are being replaced by one-off real-estate transactions, without much consideration of consequences to the original productive landscape that is being erased and transformed.

THE NON-PRODUCTIVE SUBURB

As industries move further away and high-value service industries (such as finance) remains in the city center, suburban zones are left with very little productive functions and we would consider these areas as **non-productive suburbs**, which cannot be self-sustained and is dependent to the city for resources and services. Suburb (rural) land is being exhausted through rapid development and generates only land revenue but very little sustaining income for local governments. The lack of contribution to local economy and municipal budget results in poor local public services, which is reinforcing the cause of bedroom towns in the area. In the same time, there is a surplus of local workforce removed from agricultural or collective-industries, who have to commute daily to city center for alternative jobs. These are the common and increasingly critical issues happening at the moment around the urban peripheries.

As the country's economy is entering a phase of slower growth, municipal governments have decreasing leverage to resolve the negative

effects of non-productive suburbs and failing to provide sufficient public services standard for the growing suburb population. In some cases, large developers, such as Vanke, attempts to assume the role as community service provider to fill this gap at their Liangzhu Cultural Village development, with a vision to build community as well as grow local economic opportunities (Fu, 2016). Some see it as a new ideal model for future suburban development, yet we would take a critical view to analysis the case, not as an isolated project but in the diverse suburban context.

The “comprehensive” developer-town

The Liangzhu Cultural Village (良渚文化村) development began in early 2000s by Vanke, one of the largest real-estate developer in China. The 3.3km² master plan is designed as a “garden town” to accommodate 30-50,000 residents. The developer positioned this project as a test field to transition their role from property developer into “urban amenity service provider” (Fu, 2016). The scale of development makes it sufficient to be regarded as a town on its own, consisting mainly of residential mid-rise, townhouses and villas, as well as senior apartments. This “town” is equipped with amenities of several retail blocks, a grocery market and canteen, a kindergarten, a primary school and a health clinic. The developer has also invested in cultural facilities such as museums and landscape parks, even a western-style church and a Chinese temple. Following the planning principles in cluster urban form by walking radius and green open space, this development appears to fulfill most criteria of “good town planning”. It is also a successful business case with over 10,000 units sold at above-average price. However, the occupancy rate is only around 60%, which makes it a typical case of bedroom town or speculative property.

A town is not created just by its built element but it is made up of people and activities, where diversity is a key to this urbanity as advocated by Jane Jacobs and many urban scholars. The unspoken fact is that for the Vanke Liangzhu Cultural Village, the diversity in product offerings and comprehensive amenities are after all market-driven business strategies to promote sales. While there is a variety of housing option for all age-range, their price-point has determined that only a sector of the population would be its potential buyers and residents. It was described earlier that

the population mix at the urban periphery is in reality diverse and stratified, where a particular development only caters to the small spectrum of middle class from the city and does not makes it a genuine (sub)urban development.

Privatization of public service through “property management”

In the case of Liangzhu Cultural Village, the developer has played the role of what should be the responsibility of government. For small municipalities with a weak budget, it would seem to be welcoming as it relieves local financial pressure. However, the result is a lost of control in public service when it become privatized, the “population” that they serve are the specific “clients” of the private development. The disparity between different communities became greater and makes these development even more closed and internalized.

Reviewing the issue of this apparently well-developed town, it strikes resemblance to the New Urbanism classic case of Celebration, Florida, but in Chinese density. It is a town so well planned and crafted with livability principles yet inevitably isolated and homogenous. It exemplifies the non-productive nature of suburbs, which had successfully delivered a comprehensive master plan but not resolving the core urbanity issue of social and economic sustainability. In the conclusion from a case study report on Global Human Settlement by UN Habitat, “*a project that is driven by profit motives cannot constitute a viable alternative to conventional urbanism*” (Njoh, 2009). This is evidently the case of the Vanke Liangzhu development, and its failing attempt to support the growth of a self-sufficient suburb with sustainable local economy. In recent years, the developer attempted to build the town’s economy base through creative industry with its “Creative Park” development. While it might still too early to judge its success or failure, the initial response of companies interested in setting up businesses in this suburban town is very low, described as a tough challenge even by the writer/Vanke executive, Shen Yi-han, who has praised every other aspect of the development in his recent publication. (Shen, 2016)

The development of a town would require many factors more than the building of hardware in infrastructure or even simple software in public

services, which is usually beyond the capacity of a single development or developer. While the Vanke Liangzhu development has created the illusion of a well-served comprehensive town, yet it has also created barriers that prevent integration and interaction to the greater suburban context.

A FRAMEWORK FOR PRODUCTIVE SUBURBS

Through the study of the urban patterns and planning process of the Liangzhu area, we recognize the condition in-between suburban master plans and the main factors contributing to a non-productive suburb. Two key factors are the (1) local government dependence on land revenue and (2) the neutralizing grid and/or isolated enclaves as dominating urban forms of suburbanization. Alternatives to the conventional suburb formation would be needed to prevent a total erasure of productive landscape.

In contrast to the negative aspects of non-productive suburbs, the concept of “productive suburbs” could be an approach for sensitive utilization of land to build up a sustainable local socio-economical circuit. It is not a backward looking proposal to indistinctively preserve old village town but to explore potentials for future suburban productivity. Understanding from current conditions we see multiple factors and actors in play, it would be important to focus on not only the target-driven plans (both in commercial value and governmental growth objective), but to encourage a bottom-up development process with the municipality to act as facilitator. This should be done in a planning process responding to existing urban fabric and the dynamics of different activities, instead of simply as an agent to award land to the highest bidder. With the quantity of local population base, there appears to be opportunities of local small-scale operations working together into a multiplier effect, as oppose to only the few large players in the local market.

The framework for Productive Suburbs would need to be based on a new perspective to view the new developments in conjunction with villages, farmland and local industries together as parts of the suburban composition. It could adopt the point of view in “landscape urbanism”, which advocates a changing paradigm from planning and design by infrastructure and urban grid into design by principles in respond to landscape

formation (Waldheim, 2006). The village form represents a model of growth from within, where locals can gain capital in the process of development instead of being expelled or neutralized by imposed elements.

It appears that the core issue is not directly, although related, in the urban form or provision of public services for suburbs to be productive, but it would be about how it could develop a local circuit of supplies and demands that support sustainable growth. This alternative perspective is necessary, should we want to break from the dependent relationship with city center or real estate development. In this scenario the public authorities could play a crucial role to encourage local production and consumption. There should be policies and incentives to support strategies to explore this local circuit, such as requirements for local hire and affordable-housing mix in private developments, as well as the opportunity to retain local food production or small industries specialized in the region.

In the end, while there are various strategies to mitigate the situation, the framework for productive suburb calls for a structural transformation in development model that can leverage various investments and their effect. Local government needs to look beyond immediate land revenue and emphasis on long-term and systematic tax revenue as source of income. By involving greater number of small players instead of one or few big players, it could still build up the economy in scale but positioning the developments into a more inter-dependent relationship that create a circular mode of local consumption and production. With planning and urban design guideline to achieve an urban form with porosity and permeability, the smaller scale developments would be less inclined to be isolated enclaves and participate in the making of an inclusive suburb. By restricting the monopolizing big players, the entrance barrier is lowered and therefore could stimulate local businesses and industry. It could result in retention of population and activities to build up the local circuit, which is essential for a suburb with new productivity.

CONCLUSION

With an understanding of the current suburban landscape that has a diverse form and social composition, it became obvious that the large-

scale community master plans might have given the illusion of building a successful comprehensive town, yet in context they are still isolated without much interaction or contribution to the overall development of local economy and urbanity. The spaces in between these master plans need to be given attention and be considered holistically with existing and future developments in order to allow genuine suburban growth.

Meanwhile, under the current speed and scale of development, and the transient nature of the suburbs including the villages and fields as well as the natural and man-made infrastructure, it renders themselves not as a static existence but a part of the dynamic suburbanization process. This post an urgency to think of the space in between master plans, otherwise they would easily be rolled-over by the uniform urban grid and become sprawling extension of the city.

Looking at this condition in a landscape urbanism point of view, one could discover the social and economic relationships within the suburban zone in new light. While the isolated master plans themselves are considered as “non-productive” landscape, viewed together with the surrounding there is an opportunity for a more balanced and mutually beneficial model of productive suburbs. Under the framework for productive suburbs, original and migrant residents could find opportunities in social and economic gain as the region grow, and new residents could also find their place to participate in local life and activities instead of relying solely on developer amenities or commute into the city center.

With this study we are capturing a slice of this particular moment when the narrow-focused expansion is happening but not “done” yet. Once the urban grid has rolled-over the suburban landscape it is non-reversible, and there is a sense of urgency, as we understand the pace of Chinese urban development, to call for attention to this situation. While it is a beginning of a larger proposal still in development, this study attempts to suggest that there could be alternatives of how a different perspective for the case of suburban development might be available.

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Street-as-a-Platform: A Case Study on a Collective Neighbourhood Revitalising Project in South Wan-Hua, Taipei

Hsin-Ko Cinco Yu

Department of Urbanism,
Delft University of Technology,
Netherlands

ABSTRACT

At the end of the millennium, some Asian cities were facing severe inner-city shrinking, which coincides with urban vitality downgrading. It has an overall impact on urban vitality. This research argues that urban vitality could be triggered by implementing citizen participatory approach on the community scale. The proposal includes 1) Platforming: engagements of diverse populations with multiple economic and social background; and 2) developments in an innovative societal way which might enrich stronger entrepreneurship. This study focuses on a community revitalising project in South Wan-Hua, which is considered as the oldest part of the city of Taipei. A collaborative team including local small enterprises and start-up entrepreneurs was assembled to develop an action scheme. Later vitality was acknowledged as the primary criterion of community-scale planning. It relies on spatial configuration, social networks and local economic growth. Then a series of workshops were organised with a local citizen to develop a proposal for spatial transformation and new opportunities of local business. A specific focus was made on the 1) street-making; 2) business-making, and 3) place-making. In brief, the examination of the case contributes to an empirical example of local entrepreneurship, which could also give a broader analytical framework of urban vitality.

KEYWORDS

*Local Entrepreneurship, Revitalisation,
Urban Regeneration, Social Innovation,
Platform*

INTRODUCTION

Following the end of WWII in the 40s, the island of Taiwan was reunited to the regime of the Republic of China. Later, during the end of the Chinese civil war, the former Chinese supreme leader Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang (KMT) government moved to the island and started to rebuild the regime. During the cold war, the KMT government launched a U.S. guided-system of the developmental-oriented economic model and an authoritarian, hier-archical political system (Huang, 2006). This so-called “take off” economic growth (Biggart & Guillén, 2008; Chen, 2015; ROSTOW & Bartel, 1986; Tse, Belk, & Zhou, 1989; Weller, 2006) apparatus set the planning system to serve one primary goal, which is to rapidly assist urbanization and the modernization of economy (Huang, 2006; Raco, Imrie, & Lin, 2011). Additionally, during the rapid economic transformation, community build-up was treated as an essential component of this process, which was strived to become one of the fundamental piles of the hierarchical and one-party-led government. In this respect, socio-political em-powerment did not exist. Instead, the community development was improving the KMT re-gime, and the community structures were planned to smooth the modernisation policies (Raco, Imrie, & Lin, 2011). Therefore, the governing regime had defined, employed the concept of community for fostering of wider political scheme (ibid, 2011). That is to say, in the period since the modernization process began, communities in Taiwan were designed as a strong column of national collectivism. Moreover, the planning system was limited to regulate and govern the rapid growth during the period, which is depicted as a period of ‘huge gap between planning ideas and practices’ (Huang, 2006). The heritage of this pro-gress has been recognised as urban sprawl, environmental appropriation and rapid commu-nity change. Further, since economic growth had become the primary ambition of planning system, real estate development or, in some extends, real estate speculation, eventually became an essential commission of urban planning and latter, urban renewal. Open spaces, parks, and metro system development were used for stimulating the real estate market¹.

In the period since the democratising and economic restructuring period in the late 1980s

(Chiang, Jou, & Wu, 2010), the spatial post-authoritarian movement has been the essential political scheme in Taipei. The planning policy has been at the heart of a post-authoritarian democratic politics in Taipei. Although the emergence of participatory planning is expected, the Achilles heel of reforming planning culture could not be seen since the bureaucratic planning system has been turned into a neoliberal governance during economic and urban development crises (ibid, 2010).

However, with the emergence of the civil society, the community and neighbourhood scale planning have given an alternative practice. In one hand, by responding the stress from the civil society, the government institutionalised community design through collaborative planning (Huang, 2006). In another, the civil society, or on a smaller scale, some pioneer com-munities, have formed sustained collective action to face the new urban challenges, they innovatively strived to solidarize different stakeholders within the society, and transformed the hierarchical structure of the conventional top-down planning bureaucracy.

In the case of the research site: South Wan-Hua (Figure 1). Participants have established a platform, to resolve common issues, they attempted to transform the urban renewal project, which generated from the municipality, into a project with the broader scope of urban regeneration, which focuses on social integration and economic revitalisation. Also, the area is facing a severe challenge of globalisation which plays a prominent role of filtering cities and places. It selects not only cities but also areas within a city by the request of economic competitiveness. Some chosen cities also have their abandon areas, which were losing connectivity gradually. Business opportunities are degrading; the infrastructures are waiting for re-facilitating, and some of the areas are facing continuous population decline. South Wan-Hua was such an ‘unchosen’ neighbourhood within Taipei city, with such arduous shrinking issues. The government were meant to initiate a massive urban renewal project in the area, Later, a group involving of planners, experts from knowledge institution, local business owners and residents was founded. They strived to highlight the street could be implemented as a platform, to re-vitalize a local economy. Then, to shape a new collective



Figure 1 The map of Taipei city (The study area is dash-dotted)

sense of place-making, and to face the next challenges.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Platform

The idea of platform focused on how the government and citizens could facilitate the digital network to enhance the communication, workflow, as well as citizen's urban life. It emphasises trending technologies such as the internet, online systems and open data, can improve spatial planning, city governance and citizen participation, and to the business point of view, by facilitating these new technologies, cities could have a better opportunity for the economy (Bollier, 2016). Also, other concepts also promote the importance of ICTs, could be beneficial to urban governance, planning and economic development, such as the idea of "Smart Cities", etc. However, in one hand, some of these pro-tool notions are criticised as technological determinism, on the contrary, as policymakers, citizens' real needs should also be taken into account. Admittedly, the benefit of Internet, mobile connections and another sort of digitalised communication is significantly bright and has changed everyday life. Nevertheless, the core of economic development and urban planning should be re-focus on networks; these networks connect diverse sectors, governments, stakeholders, NGOs, and citizens. Without social networking, the ICT networks would be possibly futile. Consequently, by implementing the idea

of platform, which could be seen as a metaphor for cities, where citizens and their social connections are embedding in. The concept is also referred to as "City-as-a-Platform" (Anttiroiko, 2016), which provokes economic developmental policy makers and planners to facilitate citizen participatory innovative platforms, to create smart environments for creative needs in cities (ibid,2016).

The research implements the idea of "City-as-a-Platform", focus on how activists and plan-ners innovated a platform for street-making, business-making and later place-making. The story was initiated by the municipal planning department, in the beginning, the authority was meant to facilitate a participatory platform for urban renewal, predominantly focusing on "demolish-then- rebuild". The administration outsourced a group of planners to be as community planners. Later, by inviting local artists, business owners and other citizens to the scheme, the community planners realised that the area needs a revitalisation plan, not only an urban renewal project. Henceforward, they started to work on building a platform and inviting stakeholders to participate in an innovative scheme of revitalisation.

The concept of "City-as-a-Platform" is also adopted, and been revised as "Street-as-a-Platform", which may have a better understanding of the case. The idea of Street not only indicates the scale is not comparable to the concept of City,

but it shows a different attitude toward planning and an alternative approach to revitalisation. To begin with, Jane Jacobs' ethos on urban street life has become increasingly central to urban re-search. The concept impacted on urban design during the American urban crisis in the late 1960s (Laurence, 2006), then later had been widely implemented into urban planning, urban politics (Jacobs, 2012), local business (Froy, Davis, & Dhanani, 2017) and global urban economy (Sassen, 2012). The inter-disciplinary manifesto has been widely implemented (Hirt & Zahm, 2012; Hospers & Van Dalm, 2005; Klemek, 2016; Powe, Mabry, Talen, & Mahmoudi, 2016), it is seen as a radical departure from the conventional top-down, centralized, "zoning-functioning" and "city-as-a-whole" approach, or even as playing an essential role in the regeneration of urbanists, from Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier, to Kevin Lynch, Christopher Alexander and Jane Jacobs, the urbanists' paradigms were shifting.

Not coincidentally, some evidence has shown that the platform of street-level will be more suitable. Some empirical studies, which focus on how street could be implemented as the fundamental scale of participatory planning or community planning in different contexts, have been investigated, such as in Japan, the terminology of Machi-zukuri² has been seen as a synonymy of community planning and building, mainly been used to illustrate a bottom-up and participatory process in street and neighbourhood scale. Machi-zukuri represented citizen-participatory place revitalization projects in Japan since the 80s, It is seen as a radical evolution from the conventional centralised, expert-led, and bureaucratic approach of Japanese urban planning (Toshi-keikaku³) (Funck, 2007; Hein, 2002).

Social innovation

Although the origin of social innovation could be traced back to economists and sociologists such as Durkheim, Weber, Spencer and Marx (Fontan, Klein, & Tremblay, 2008). However, the concept of social innovation has been re-focused by enormous scholars and policy makers during last decade (Adams & Hess, 2010), motivated by trends of "innovation for citizen." The concept is implemented to critic the dominant business models, narrowed economic development social inclusion and emerging neoliberalism (Gerometta, Häussermann, & Longo, 2005).

The early idea of social innovation could be traced back to Schumpeter's theory of innovation, which goes beyond the discipline of the economy, and helps to anchor a macro-scope perspective (van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016). The pioneer's novel ideas on innovation focus on the re-structured organisation in society. In the later decades, the concept of social innovation in social science scattered throughout various disciplines as public administration and policy, Sociology, management, social psychology, economics, and social entrepreneurship, which are all focus on the alternative way of solving social problems by implementing institutional renovation". For instance, social innovation is a hot topic in business schools which refers to social entrepreneur and "Corporate Social Responsibility" (Fontan et al., 2008; MacCallum, Moulaert et al., 2009; van derHave & Rubalcaba, 2016). Nevertheless, the society is constructed by institutional habits and practices such as legal systems, monetary systems and regime systems. These invented systems are all social innovations at different given time (Cajaiba-Santana, 2014).

In the perspective of social dynamics, Martinelli connects the cultural matrix of social movements in the 19th to 20th centuries and their heritages in the 21st social movements. It is the historical roots of contemporary socially innovative initiatives in Europe (Martinelli, 2010). The chronological development of social change and movements are defined as:

"Forms of sustained collective action or challenges. Based on common purposes and social solidarities, against or interacting with, authorities, opponents or elites. (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998)"

These social movements occurred in Europe after 60's have been defined as "new cycle of contention"; "New left' movements" or new "Urban movements (Castells, 1983)". These social movements concerned beyond basic material needs, but enlarged rights and democratised institutions, such as gender and minority rights, greater decision-making process, public empowerment. Moreover, many of these movements became deeply rooted in, and expressed, decidedly urban concerns (Castells, 1983), which lead to social innovations later.

To be more specific, social innovation plays a role in bridging the gap between initiatives and

the transformation of social relations in human communities. In the early 1980s, there was a synthetic overview on social innovation. It was initially raised by French researchers, such as Jean-Luis Chambon, Alix David and Jean –Marie Devevey, they introduced the concept of Les Innovations Sociales (Social Innovations). They mainly focused on French context initially but later on broadened their horizons to the Great Britain and other EU countries. Their theme on Social Innovation focuses on the important role the community play; and the diversity of everyday experiences. They also notice that social innovation as a means to fight social exclusion and to improve the quality of life (Moulaert, 2010).

In some socially innovative cases in the European cities has shown that the practical experiments are strongly path- and place-dependent and be plugged into the diversity of needs and challenges of particular communities, within their specific institutional dynamics. Moreover, the “local” is illustrated as the “entry” scale. That is, specifically, the methodology of empirical analysis of socially innovative actors and institutions is based on the place (González, Moulaert, & Martinelli, 2010). The bridge between social movements and community-rooted social innovation is built up by three factors: a) the satisfaction of human needs; b) the empowerment of marginalized social groups, through the enhancement of capabilities and the creation of identity, thereby increasing their visibility, recognition, access; c) changes in social, power and governance relations within the community between the community and society as a whole.

Hence, while the concept of social innovation started to path away toward spatial planning-regarding the overlapping conceptual framework of social innovation and spatial development- it focuses on not only spatial context but also the role the social innovation plays in transforming spatial relations. As Moulaert (2009) addresses:

“It defines social innovation as the satisfaction of alienated human needs through the transformation of social relations: transformations which ‘improve’ the governance systems that guide and regulate the allocation of goods and services meant to satisfy those needs, and which establish new governance structures and organisations.”

In the greater background of Globalisation, alongside with Neo-liberalism, the urban public space had intended to become a predominant market-oriented place. In the much-emerging analysis, the rising tide of the market-led ideology of state has been illustrated to reduce the governance of public space, and to embrace the market logic. The great portion of public space has not only been privatised but also deregulated (MacCallum et al., 2009; Swyngedouw, 2005). Governance has been hollowed; much public life has been commodified. Within this trajectory, however, as a conceptual framework, the community has an imaginative, area-based, and political-altered meaning (Moulaert, 2010). In other words, the analytical framework of the socio-spatially embedded community may, therefore, build up a path toward not only the disciplinary of planning research but also “space of capabilities” (Sen, 2005).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

As one of the ‘unchosen’ neighbourhood in the city of Taipei, in spite of South Wan-Hua holds a proximity of the city centre, the severe decrease of the economy was occurring since 1990. Further, the area is facing the serious ageing issue. Also, like other shrinking areas in the city, the municipal government tended to either ignore these areas or strive to encourage private developers to participate in urban renewal projects by given the development project higher floor-area ratio and additional floors. Thus, for most of the old neighbourhoods in Taipei, a gradual number of renewed plots became gated residential communities, which have made the community more fragmented, and segregated. As a result, the issues mentioned above within this neighbourhood shifted further deteriorate.

In the case of South Wan-Hua, the government were meant to initiate a massive urban renewal project within the area. In the very beginning, the government outsourced a planner assembly to have a plan for urban renewal. Later, the group has been established, which involving planners, students and experts from the university, local business owners and residents. After they were co-operating several workshops and community survey, they realised that the community remains socio-connections, although the vitality is decaying, the whole neighborhood has many capacities

to transformation, regarding socio-spatial renovation and economic-cultural revitalisation. They resettled the strategic planning positively rather than accepted the top-down policy from the municipality.

Hence, while a strategic plan is developed, the key highlight is the street. The primary strategy is to make the street as a platform. The team strived to assemble people from the community and also invite people from outside the community. The rhythms are related to street renaissance. First, They tried to rebuild the street life for a better platform for collaborative planning. Then, they sought to hold a series of street event for stimulating and reforming local business; and later, they endeavoured to extend the street into other public spaces, to shape a new collective sense of place-making. Therefore, the strategy is societal innovative, it transformed the social relations, and also improve the relationship between the community and the municipal government. Accordingly, it allocation the goal meant to satisfy the gov-ernment, and establish a new urban governance.

72

To have a better understanding of the strategic planning of 'street-as-a-platform', the story could be illustrated with three phases:

Phase I: Gathering

At the start, the commissioned planner assembly established a community planning centre within the area. However, they found that people were willing neither stay at an indoor room nor share their ideas. Hence later a method to initiate the process was started. They hold some pilot workshops on the main streets and parks, to invited neighbourhood residents to attend; therefore, the first network was established. They practised 'snowballing' method, by asking residents to introduce another neighbour, to extend the network within the community. Also, they strived to discover and invite different stakeholders. Accordingly, a large group of planners, university participants⁴, local business owners and artists, and residents was formulated.

Phase II: Platforming

Since the municipal government's ultimate goal was to plan a massive urban renewal project in the neighbourhood, which may cause severe damage on the community's socio-spatial context

and conventional social networks, or even worse, gentrification and segregation. The team has to have an alternative strategic plan. They launched a series of the forum, which is capable of fostering ideas collectively, and later they tried to invite government offices to attend the event. While participants from the government associated, the team convinced the government, not to insist on building renewal as a transformation strategy. Henceforth, they persuaded the government to take part in fostering an innovative platform collectively, to facilitate an economic developmental approach.

The primary strategy centres the main street since the street is the central public space within the neighbourhood, since most of the local business located in the street. The platform is formed by anchoring three sub-approaches of street-making, business-making and later place-making. It plays a role in fostering collecting actions. Although the government was not meant to aim the street revitalisation project, after participating the platform, however, they adjusted their aim toward urban regeneration, instead of 'demolish-then-rebuild.'

Phase III: Operating

A. Street-making:

The main street of the neighbourhood plays an essential role of connecting different sections. Hence, in the first step of operation, the team focused on the street activities, the crucial part is to make the street vital again. They held several events of 'street market' in the beginning, alter, several workshops around topics like:

- Facing the ageing city challenge
- Street mapping
- Renovation of street infrastructures

B. Business-making:

While local entrepreneurs participated in the urban street market, they found a potential of co-brand of South Wan-Hua. Most of them are food-related industries. Hence, the image of co-brand of South Wan-Hua is designed to good quality of food, and the locavore circle. For entrepreneurs who have already done their business in the neighbourhood, the platform helps to form the co-brand; and for those who want to settle their business in the community, the platform is a resource and information provider, which increase the speed up of new enterprises' start-up period.

C. Place-making:

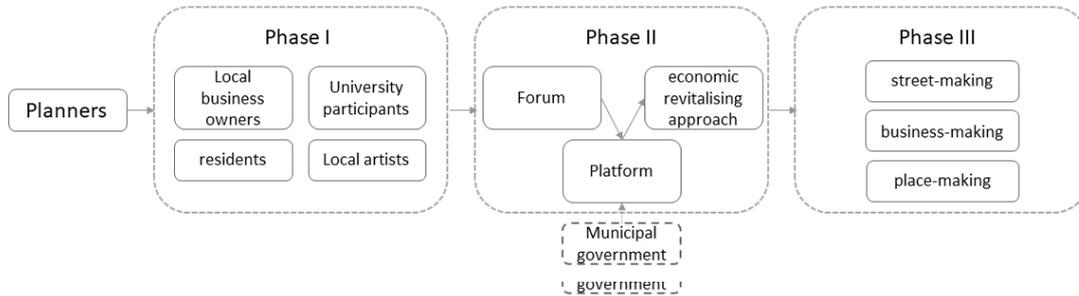


Figure 2 Conceptual framework of progressing phases

After the platform formed, the municipal government's strategy was transferred into a more comprehensive perspective of urban regeneration, Later, their work focuses on the social and cultural support of lively neighbourhoods and inviting public spaces, they strived to implemented the platform to create a vibrant social life in public spaces. Recently, by acknowledging that the platform is capable of public participation, the municipal government tried to implement it to more comprehensive participatory planning projects of the metro system in the neighbourhood and surrounding areas.

CONCLUSIONS

The shrinking communities have been seen as 'unlinked' areas within the city; as well as 'unchosen' places of urban development. Moreover, some of the old communities in major cities in the world were demolished and wiped out, by replacing new socio-spatial structures. However, by forming the platform, the old community's momentum has been motivated. In one hand, practically speaking, the case in the South Wan-Hua may deliver an alternative way to cope with urban revitalisation and local entrepreneurship. In another, theoretically speaking, the fact may provide evidence into the theory of social innovation, as well as participatory planning.

The innovative potentials could be divided into three divisions:

- Innovation of urban transformation
The practice of the platform transformed the government's conventional idea of urban transformation, which is highly focused on 'demolish-then-rebuild' approach. It provides an alternative thinking, to have a socio-spatially embedded strategy. Additionally, not only the government but also other stakeholders also learn that the progress of urban transformation could take an extended period. Hence, a long-term strategy is required.
- Innovation of place-making
While the community was facing the new

challenge and opportunity of the emerging metro system, the ideal place-making pattern of the neighbourhood is formed by the platform. They strived to have a strategy on identity building and to strengthen the sense of place. By facilitating the platform, the community has a better preparation in advance.

- Innovation of vital local entrepreneurships
By facilitating the platform, small business owners found a beneficial potential of working together. They acknowledged that to have healthy competitiveness; a coalition is compulsory. Hence, the coalition based on proximity is formed. Other participants like planners, residents and municipal officers also acknowledged that the local business could be a catalyst for further urban regeneration.

NOTES

1. After more than twenty years of modernization and urbanization, Taipei has become one of the world's most expensive cities. The housing price-to-income ratio in Taipei stood at 15.18 in 2016, just after Hong Kong, which stood at the first in the world, according to the research group Demographia.
2. Machi-zukuri (Japanese: まちづくり). The meaning of it could be translated to street-building or community building.
3. Toshi-keikaku (Japanese: ゾーニング 漢字: 都市計画)
4. A university course aiming community design and planning was settled their site in the community, the coordinator and students were helping to and participating in hold several workshops.

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The Role of Urbanity in the Entrepreneurship of the University Neighborhood: a Case Study of Two NJU's Campuses

Yang Shan

School of Architecture and
Urban Planning,
Nanjing University,
China

ABSTRACT

Driven by technical and cultural space-time dynamics of innovation, industries tend to return to cities, and economic activities often take place on a neighborhood level. Business is not started in a socio-spatial vacuum but in concrete, time- and-place specific contexts. As social agents, entrepreneurs are entangled into the production system that can be represented as an actual and latent grid of interactions and opportunities in organizational and geographical space. Urbanity is a rough measurement of the spatial-organizational grid's intensity. A theoretical framework of "opportunity structure" can be used to explain the entrepreneurial possibility of urban environments. According to the different situations categorized by the framework, the role of urbanity is detectable in terms of its impacts on the social relationship. At the first level, urbanity is related to general entrepreneurial activities hinging on the intensity and diversity of urban activities, while innovative activities occur largely on the second level where urban heterogeneity constitutes the primary incentive to trigger advanced businesses. To test this hypothesis, two of NJU's campuses are examined on how different the urban quality is between them and how the difference of urbanity plays its role in the urban entrepreneurship. The empirical evidence shows the salient associations between urbanity and normal entrepreneurship. In terms of innovative activities, however, the two campuses have not performed so well. The paper suggests both campuses are deficient in the heterogeneity-oriented urbanity that the innovative milieu relies on.

KEYWORDS

*Urbanity, Entrepreneurship, Opportunity
Structure, University Neighborhoods*

INTRODUCTION

Allen S. Scott divides the association between the transformation of capitalist development and urbanization into three phases. The first episode is identified as the 19th-century factory and workshop system, another coincides with the Fordist mass production system, and the third episode is often characterized by the term “post-Fordism” beginning from the 1970s (Scott 2011, 290-291). Scott identified the recent tendency of urbanization as “the third wave of urbanization” which “begins to move beyond its incipient stages of formation” (Scott 2011, 292). In this phase, “the new economy” shows an intensive proclivity for spatiality. Industries have returned to high-quality urban areas clustered with high-skilled labor forces, key institutions and equipment, complex networks of social relationships. As such, entrepreneurial and innovative activities have intrinsic and inseparable connections with urban quality.

Entrepreneurship is always imaged as individual heroism with personal ambition of self-realization and great courage to take adventure. Although this is true, it has meant that a significant fact about entrepreneurship has been overlooked: entrepreneurs are not a group of people living in a vacuum, but rather are embedded into multiple social connections. Moreover, apart from so-called “entrepreneurial spirit”, the impulses to start a new business consists more in opportunities and resources generated by industrial dynamics of economic development. In other words, structural opportunities and barriers may play a major role in urban entrepreneurship, which is, indeed, a complex interplay of matching resources with opportunities. In this respect, the socio-spatial environments in cities are not only mediums to breed economic opportunities and resources, but also the lubrication to help their matching in a synergistic way.

OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

An urban economic system is composed of complex networks combing and connecting producers, suppliers, and consumers together. The structural opportunities and barriers implied in its socio-economic structure may attract and impede an aspiring entrepreneur to set up a corporation or to access a nascent economic realm. The opportunity structure as an analytical framework

better explains the dynamics for the entrepreneurs by associating the resources on the supply side with the opportunities on the demand side. Its constituent components include such structural factors as market scale, group size, educational level, etc.

Opportunities occur in markets. Linked to the demand, market factors form one of the crucial fulcrums of opportunity structure. Different market types may bring about different opportunities. First, there are differences in market sizes, e.g., an intra-urban market is obviously smaller than a national one; second, there is a distinction between sunrise and sunset industries, giving rise to different growth potential of markets. To win opportunities, entrepreneurs or would-be entrepreneurs need to mobilize all necessary means and resources, which mainly include 1) financial capital, 2) human capital, 3) social capital (Mayer 2008, 284-285). They represent the capability of an entrepreneur to access a market.

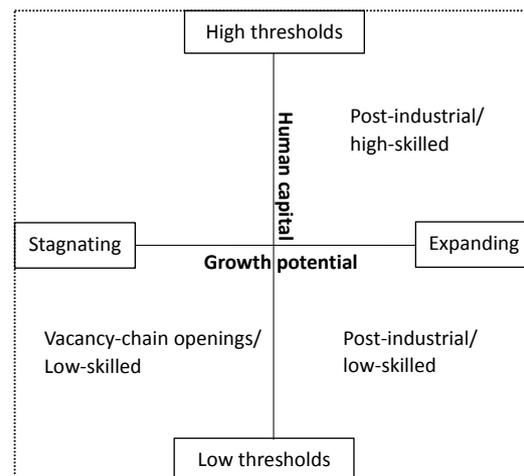


FIGURE 1 Typology of Opportunity Structure (Source: Kloostermann)

To clarify entrepreneurial possibilities of general start-ups, we may use Robert C. Kloosterman’s analytical framework of migrant entrepreneurship (Figure 1). It is divided along two coordinates. The horizontal dimension is “growth potential” which is subdivided into “stagnating” and “expanding” by “the structural trends in the employment and/or turnover in a specific market”, while the vertical dimension is “human capital” in line with which there is a difference of markets between “high

thresholds” and “low thresholds” (Kloosterman 2010, 28-30).

Due to vertical and horizontal disintegration, a decrease in minimum efficient size, and externalization of production, the small-medium sized businesses gain more chance to survive on both the high-end and the low-end market. Small-medium sized enterprises predominate the economic characteristics in the current phrase. Because most start-ups have low capital requirements, it is reasonable to omit the financial capital as a factor while discussing the available resources. Most new businesses rely largely on human and social capital. As for the social (and ethnic) capital, things may be a bit complex. As stated above, entrepreneurs are entangled in intricate social relations which are not only their resources for starting a business but also catalysts for updating or innovating it, and also mediums out of which various markets grow. Both relevant with the supply side and the demand side, the factor of social capital hence has its particularity in discussing entrepreneurship, with economic sociologists formulating it as “social embeddedness” (Granovetter 1985). Meanwhile, the logic of social embeddedness correlates intrinsically with another aspect of urban environment, namely urbanity, which will be discussed later.

Based on the analytical framework, the different entrepreneurial modes can be presented — 1) “stagnating” combined with “high-quality labor forces” (top, left-hand), 2) “stagnating” with “low-quality” (bottom, left-hand one), or “vacancy-chain domain”,¹ 3) “post-industrial” with “high-quality” (bottom, right-hand), and 4) “post-industrial” with “high-quality” (top, right-hand) (Kloosterman 2010, 31-33). The first pattern on the top, left hand is unsustainable.² Thus, it is unnecessary to discuss the modal further. The other three combinations have been influenced profoundly by social relations, in which urbanity, to a large extent, play an indispensable role.

URBANITY

Urbanity is a multi-dimensional, elusive concept, literally equated with the characteristics of urban quality. Generally, there are two discourses on urbanity with different approaches to detect its denotations. Such approaches are deeply

interrelated with each other. One suggests that diversity plays a central role in forming urbanity, hence seeking to promote urbanity mainly through the strategy of “mixed-use” development (Montgomery 1995a, 1995b, 1998, Chapman & Larkham 1999, Bertolini & Salet 2003, Trip 2007). The other stresses on difference or heterogeneity inherent in urbanity and advocates to apply some “soft” methods, such as urban cultural strategies, to improve urban quality.

The first has been prevalent in English-speaking academia of urban design and planning for quite some time. Drawing on the seminal work of Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch, this tradition takes diversity as the defining characteristic of cities and vitality as the manifestation of diversity. As Bertolini and Salet point out: “the concept of ‘urbanity’ is often associated with diversity, a multiplicity of extremes in lifestyles, with cultural innovations, conflict and dynamism, and much less with uniformity, averages, harmony or stability” (Bertolini & Salet, 2003, 134). Aside from diversity, a series of related aspects, such as density, mixed-use, and permeability, are among the elements considered as most important for the attractiveness of urban spaces.

Focusing on the interrelationship between physical environment and social-economic processes, the studies seek a physicality-oriented method to foster urbanity. The crucial element is activity that can glue physical, social, psychological dimensions together, and that produce and mirror quality in the built environment. As Montgomery points out, “successful places are a combination of three elements: spaces, activities and people” (Montgomery 1995a, 145). In this sense, the intensity and diversity of activities can be seen as a determinant indicator to measure urban quality. Activities, if in the monetary form, find expression in transactions.

Somewhat contrasting is the research on urbanity in the field of urban sociology prevalent in Continental Europe, especially in Germany, where the theoretical resources stem from the sociological tradition initiated by Max Weber and Georg Simmel. Based on abundant prototypes of the historical city, theorists who inherit the theoretical resources seek to account for the principle of urbanity as weighted in favor of social relationships. For instance, one of Simmel’s

disciples, sociologist Louis Worth, had interpreted urbanity³ as a way of life, interwoven with human relations and characterized by three essential features of scale, density, and heterogeneity. Actually, the way of life with its cardinal value of “freedom” delineates a type of civilization, whose history records a process of emancipation from constraints, from that out of nature in the early period, to that of feudal attachment in the medieval time, to the internalization of physiologic and behavioral control over one’s own body with the rise of industrial capitalism. Various cultural, social conditions in different epochs gave rise to different social-spatial constraints, which thus brought about different forms and content of urbanity. This ceaselessly evolving process renders the concept elusive. However, as German sociologist Häußermann and Siebel point out, there are still some common aspects of urban quality (Häußermann & Siebel 1987, 1992), which are:

1. The normative essence of urbanity is the “confrontation with the diversity, the unexpected, the non-planned, and the resistant moment, the space for the articulation and integration of the ‘other’;” (Häußermann & Siebel 1992, cited from Groth & Corijin 2005, 505)
2. Urbanity is, in essence, a juxtaposition, more exactly, a jumble of paradoxical factors, elements, and components, which are in conflict with and even antagonistic toward each other, such as oppositional interest parties;
3. There are some emancipatory ingredients inherent in urbanity, which is exactly the reason why there is always some utopian images projected onto cities, or why cities may carry some utopian factors.

As to strategies to foster urbanity, compared with urban designers and planners underscoring the legitimate role of physical design, urban sociologists place more stress on cultural, social, economic programs. In this regard, the English-speaking research advocates the strategy of mixed-use development, while the continental tradition treats tolerance and open-mindedness as the most necessary prerequisite for urbanity, and hence urban cultural policies as an appropriate tool to realize urbanity.

THE ROLE OF URBANITY IN ENTREPRENEURSHIPS

Urbanity exerts its impacts on entrepreneurship at two levels. The first is related to general entrepreneurial activities hinging on intensity and diversity of urban activities, while innovative activities occur largely at the second level where urban heterogeneity constitutes the primary incentive to trigger advanced businesses.

Undoubtedly, deep interplay exists between exuberant economic activities and fine urban quality. The fundamental principle of this correspondence resides in that through such related qualities as density, scale, fine-grain, and mixture and permeability among components, urbanity contributes profoundly to multi-dimensional proximity necessitated by a prosperous economy, and to positive circulation between the two ends of opportunity structure, namely supply and demand. For instance, when density and scale reach a certain level, there is increased chance for the specialization of enterprises and labor forces. This induces more heterogeneous elements in turn. Subsequently, market expansion happens or new openings emerge due to the increased heterogeneity, and at the same time a flourishing market or new openings attract new elements and labor force and stimulate new labor division further. This repetitive circulation is exactly the process of clustered development, with transaction-intensive production systems featured by agglomeration (Scott 2006, 6).

Enhanced by density, scale, and heterogeneity, proximity is not only the prerequisite for survival and success of normal businesses associated closely with everyday life and generally in the form of vendor, stall, ground floor frontage, street restaurant, etc., but also plays a significant role in interactive learning and innovation for small-medium sized enterprises in the “new economy” (Hutton 2004). What Alfred Marshall observed and named as “industrial atmosphere” has undergone its rejuvenation in the current “new economy”.

Nonetheless, the economic principles to stimulate innovation have gone beyond the scope of cluster theories. In his 1972 article “The Strength of Weak Ties”, Mark S. Granovetter has proved that heterogeneous connections (weak ties) have positive impacts on innovative activities, because

the fainter and less consistent signals issued from weak ties can help an entrepreneur to break out his narrow field and move into a more promising market. Conversely, when an entrepreneur is entrapped deeply in highly-supportive social connections (strong ties), the content of his interaction might be apt to cover only a narrow range of information. This would lead to a lock-in effect (Granovetter 1973). If, as stated above, urbanity means a “confrontation with the diversity, the un-expected, the non-planned, and the resistant moment”, it has coincided, to some degree, with Granovetter’s “weak ties” that can cure the adverse lock-in effect owing to excessive social proximity. Therefore, for some sociologists, a balanced mix of strong and weak ties, namely “mixed embeddedness”, is the ideal economic environment (Scott 2006, 5).

For example, as for an entrepreneur surviving in the “vacancy-chain openings”, strong ties that he relies heavily on when starting a new business are also the barrier to gain entrance to a more innovative but unfamiliar field. Not only do the strong ties filter out the useful information for the entrepreneur to upgrade his businesses and to broaden his horizon, but also his businesses is taken captive by the niche market sustained by the same community-type relations, which largely occur at the neighborhood level and in the form of acquaintances, friends, relatives, etc. Because of the market’s dimming prospects, “chances for becoming successful in vacancy-chain business are rather slim” (Kloosterman 2010, 34).

On the contrary, the third and fourth modes in Table 1 rely heavily on the “heterogeneous social networks”, which become even a determinant condition to start a new business. An interesting contrast is that someone able to set up a firm in a personal-service-oriented sphere tends to be an indigenous urbanite whose business benefits from his extensive and diverse connections, compared with entrepreneurs in vacancy-chain openings most of whom are migrants coming from the countryside or the third world. For instance, there is a tailor operating his tailorshop in Gulou NJU’s neighborhood (Figure 2, 3). His customers are the overseas students or scholars who are fond of the customized suit. As an investigation reveals,⁴ the tailor who is a native Nanjingnese barely confronts other competitors and has an intense ambition to expand his business. Although the two types of entrepreneurs are all categorized as



FIGURE 2, 3 Hongbang tailor shop in Gulou campus

low-skilled labor, it is the local urbanite embedded in the heterogeneous network that has more capacity to capture the opportunities.

Meanwhile, heterogeneity-oriented urbanity helps open up a new economic frontier in the post-Fordist era. As cities trying to compete in the new world economy need to keep “some commodities or places unique and particular enough” to “maintain a monopolistic edge in an otherwise commodified and often fiercely competitive economy” (Harvey 2001, 396-397, Colomb 2012, 142), the previously “off-beat”, “alternative”, “underground” subcultural and artistic sectors have been integrated into urban policy as a tool for so-call “city marketing”, “image campaigns”. Cities full of ambivalence and contradiction keep the possibility to alter the urban agenda and set the theme for further development, by spatializing and visualizing resistance and alternatives to the institutionalized and dominant domain of urban development (Häußermann & Siebel 1987, 249, Groth & Corjin 2005, 503). Such resistance and alternative are assimilated into the symbolic capital of the (sub)cultural economies.

To explain the role of urbanity in



FIGURE 4 The location of two NJU's campuses

entrepreneurship at the neighborhood level, we might use the two campuses of Nanjing University as a case study.

BACKGROUND AND FEATURES OF TWO CAPUSES

Nanjing University is one of China's elite universities. Its precursors are University of Nanking founded by American Methodist Church in 1910 and National Central University established by Nationalist Government in 1928. In 1952, the two universities were merged into a new Nanjing University and the church university's campus in Gulou was chosen as the main site. Since then, its small area has been a major obstacle to its development until its main body was relocated to Xianlin new town by the 2000s, with a small part left in Gulou campus (Figure 4).

The two campuses represent two urban development patterns. While the one means a slowly progressive process during which various agencies may have their scopes to contribute to the richness and variety of a place, a top-down order is imposed by a blueprint masterplan with a prescribed outcome in the other one.

GULOU CAMPUS

The campus of the University of Nanking (Jinling daxue) has undergone an over-hundred-year development, which can be roughly divided into three phases: the first dates back to 1910 when

the church university was relocated there, near the drum tower (Gulou). A few buildings with imitated Chinese style were constructed, forming the first axis in the east. The buildings were registered in 2006 as a major heritage protected at the national level. After the 1952 merging, the campus extended a similar axis parallel with the previous one, as the main buildings were completed in succession between 1952 and 1984. After that, little room has been left for further construction, so that the latest development since 1984 had to make use of every corner, mostly in the north-west area. Apart from the campus construction, the slowly-constructing and -filling process in the residential surroundings has contributed to various modalities of "life and cycle of property". As Rowley summarized, "processes of sub-letting, assignment and sub-division occur, and a richer mix of activities, population and local lifestyles may develop. Changes of use may occur within a building or block, and space may be adapted and refurbished to suit the new circumstances and opportunities which include occupation by less profitable activities" (Rowley 1996, 88). The mixing and permeable degree of various components finds its expression in the following aspects:

First, the successful mixed primary uses. "By primary uses she means residential and major employment or service function — any land use that generates a large number of people moving through an area" (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005, 970). In terms of the area, there are two main primary uses: university and residential neighborhoods, from which demands for secondary uses, such as little restaurants, stores, and other little amenities emanate (Figure 5). Second, the institutional cracks caused by multiple ownerships and its slow and long development. Although the university occupies 43- hectare area that amounts to 60% of the whole plot, it cannot bring the plot under its own control. The ownership of the other 40% has been scattered on seven small residential neighborhoods and more than 15 institutions. It is owing to this systematical slackness that some households in the neighborhoods of Nanxiucun, Taoguxincun were able to reconstruct their ground-floor apartments into the frontage shops or restaurants (un)officially, as the local municipality launched an urban renewal in 2006. Besides, the governance lapsing into slackness generates some institutional cracks for the survival of unusual groups and



FIGURE 5 The retail frontage along Hankou Road in Gulou campus

activities. Third, the permeable and fine-grain fabric. In the west part, none of the institutions or neighborhood is bigger than 3 hectares. With roads, lanes, and paths cutting across and connecting the campus and neighborhoods, there emerge some democratic choices for changing direction, chance to encounter. Fourth, the agglomeration and density. Although the major part has been moved to Xianlin campus, the campus in Gulou still accommodates ca. 10 000 students and employees, and there are ca. 14 000 inhabitants living in the western neighborhoods. Attaining nearly 327 persons/ha, the population density surpasses the threshold density of 250 persons/ha defined as “in-between” density by Jacobs and achieving the level of Neighborhood Greenwich village (Figure 6).

Of course, what has accumulated in the quarter is not only population, but also amenities, which also contribute greatly to the urban quality. The amount of hospitals, primary schools, kindergartens, or that of subway stations, banks,

the level of public service here has been the highest one in the municipal scope.

XIANLIN CAMPUS

In contrast to Gulou campus, Xianlin campus was completed in a quite short time. According to the master plan of Nanjing (2007-2020), the spatial structure of the municipality has been transformed from the traditional compact city to a polycentric metropolis consisting of the central city and three new towns. Xianlin university town is one of the three new towns and NJU’s campus is part of Xianlin new town (Figure 7).

In terms of its construction, two institutional factors need to be taken into consideration. First, since the late 1990s, the Ministry of Education has allowed universities to enlarge their enrollment in order to fulfill the increasing demand for a high-quality labor force. Second, the land-driven growth system has become the main policy and planning instrument of local governments because of its competence to capitalize vacant land into capital circulation.

The demand for vast constructional land and funds has thus bound the university’s enrollment enlargement to the burst of the growth momentum. Owing to the undersupply of land in the central built-up area, it is an effective way to expropriate the land in the urban fringe and countryside, where the farmland could be converted to non-agricultural and built-up land just through altering the “land quotas” (Wu 2015, 99-102). The unique institutional set-up is what



FIGURE 6 Commercial lanes or streets in Gulou campus and its surrounding

the scholar calls “urban entrepreneurialism”, with its essence that land-driven system is a platform for investing and financing (Wu 2015, 79-118). This development model has dominated government-led urbanization in the past two decades in urban China. As for NJU’s campus in Xianlin, it has been endowed with some specificities by urban entrepreneurialism:

1. To initiate and maintain growth momentum is what urban entrepreneurialism mainly targets. Therefore, the urban agendas are dominated by such forms as industrial parks or economic zones which are characteristic of mono-functional, large-scale, and isolated, which were deployed as common policy instruments in the 1990s. The university, as a semi-independent public institution, seems to be a perfect tool to attract investment and population. However, as proved above, the old-fashioned developmental mode is barely adaptable to new economic change, which has manifested a propensity for returning to the urban area.
2. Once the land-driven system is started, the “mega urban project” becomes a necessary means, requiring a sufficient supply of land to sustain the capital flow (Wu 2015, 95). Meanwhile, local leaders favor mega-urban projects as they can be shown as Iconic achievements in the short term (Wu 2015, 95). Hence, a fabric constituted by large-scale plots has taken shape and dominated its spatial configuration. Xianlin campus with its 3.25 square-kilometer area is just a case in point.
3. By the same token, the rapid pace of construction results from the entrepreneurial land development. NJU campus’ construction began in November, 2006. In June, 2009, the first batch of 7000 students moved into the campus after the completion of the first phase. Since then, the departments, institution, faculties of NJU had been moved from Gulou to Xianlin in succession, until Xianlin campus was announced as the principal one in 2012. The huge campus had been constructed in just six years.
4. Generally, the new town is tasked with evacuating the over-congested inner city. To afford low-density, greenery, neat, and orderly environment is its main target. With the strategy to promote suburbanization, a spread of suburban non-places has emerged,



FIGURE 7 The image map of NJU’s Campus in Xian (2.65 km²), Bio-tech innovative park, Jiangsu (0.51 km²), He Garden (0.6 km²)



FIGURE 8 A sight from the front plaza to the library at the endpoint of the central axis of Xianlin campus across the subway overpass

appearing as Chinese-style “prairie planning” (Montgomery 1995, 101). For example, counting on the setbacks, the width of the artery separating the campus and its ancillary residential micro-district (He Yuan) amounts to more than 200 meters (Figure 8). The students need to walk for at least 10 minutes in order to cross the only underground passage and do some shopping or eating.

5. In the land-driven developmental system, local government is responsible for the infrastructure, such as parks, the metro line, alleys, etc. The other amenities and facilities are provided by developers who are fond of deploying inwardly-oriented shopping malls or arcades. These facilities hardly produce spill-overs with only negative backsides on the outsides, and restrain the growth of businesses in the neighborhoods.

THE ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE TWO CAMPUSES

Based on the above discussion, the urban quality of the two campuses can be evaluated. Whether in terms of “diversity-based” or “difference-oriented”, the urbanity of Gulou campus and its surrounding quarters obviously outstrips that of Xianlin campus. As far as the diversity-based urbanity is concerned, there blend in Gulou various types of people (elder, student, tourist, foreigner, etc.), of building forms (high-rise, low-rise, building heritage, open space, etc.), of uses (sport, teaching, residence, hospital, restaurant), with intensive interactions and transactions everywhere — students hanging out along the ground-floor frontage after classes, neighborhoods appropriating the open space for their morning and evening exercise, and tourists’ sightseeing of the architectural relics. With respect to heterogeneity, as deviant as opposed to the mainstream, the campus with its Christian past fuels heterogeneous idiosyncrasy of the campus. Even after the eviction of all missionaries and foreign experts and the merging of the church university in the 1950s, its heterotopic flavor never disappears. As soon as the Center for Chinese and American Cultural Studies of NJU was established in 1986, restaurants, cafes, bars catering to overseas students and scholars (mostly from the USA) have mushroomed. By 2010, the north-west corner won its reputation as a place of discovery, vitality, and a wide range of social and economic exchange. Hence the municipality had to reward it with an appellation “exotic youth cultural quarter” to officially admit its status.

A survey undertaken by Sun between June and September in 2016 shows the salient positive influence by urban quality on economic activities. In the almost 1-square-kilometer settlement, there are total 445 small-medium sized enterprises that

can be divided into 10 types (Table 1).

In comparison to Gulou, there are only 93 enterprises in the almost 3-square-kilometer Xianlin campus (Figure 9, 10) (Table 2):

In addition, distinct from Gulou campus where enterprises are well distributed, all the commercial amenities in Xianlin are concentrated only in a 500-meter-long retail street which is close to Heyuan neighborhood but whose link with the campus is partitioned by one 50-meter arterial, one 100-meter and another 70-meter setback.

Meanwhile, the survey reveals the close interrelationship between the urban quality of Gulou campus and its social diversity with various social statuses of entrepreneurs and investors (Table 3). Although there are some gentrifying signs in the neighborhoods, they have still proved beneficial sites for starting a low-end business because of great openings and low-cost resources. In Gulou, most of the startups are operated by rural immigrants or social underclasses whose businesses are fruit stalls, photoshops, snack bistros, etc. To save cost, most of them are self-employed or hire family members or relatives. Furthermore, some entrepreneurs with abundant funds orient themselves to the market of international students and scholars. The businesses spread mostly around the north-west corner.

TABLE 1 The number and types of the enterprises in Gulou Campus (Source: Jie Sun)

Types of enterprises	number of enterprises
cultural and leisure businesses, such as bookstores	7
educational and training classes	16
snack bistros, snack bars, eateries	64
restaurants	57
pubs, cafés, dessert stores, teahouses	118
boutiques, tailor shops, stores for imported goods, flower shops, jade shops, art and craft shops,	54
chain stores (<i>haodi, quanjia, haoyouduo, suguo</i>)	7
traditional retail shops, groceries, alcohol and cigarette stores, fruit stalls or stores	65
beauty salons, pedicure shops, print stores, estate agencies,	40
hostels and guesthouses	17
total	445

TABLE 2 The number and types of the enterprises in Xianlin Campus

Types of enterprises	number of enterprises
cultural and leisure businesses, such as bookstores	2
educational and training classes	3
snack bistros, snack bars, eateries	32
restaurants	18
pubs, cafés, dessert stores, teahouses	6
boutiques, tailor shops, stores for imported goods, flower shops, jade shops, art and craft shops,	0
chain store (<i>haoyouduo, yurun</i>)	3
traditional retail shops, groceries, alcohol and cigarette stores, fruit stores	3
beauty salons, pedicure shops, print stores, estate agencies,	18
hostels and guesthouses	8
total	93



Figure 9.10 The retail frontage adjacent to Heyuan MRD

TABLE 3 The status of typical store owners (Source: Jie Sun)

No.	Names of the Enterprises	Household registration or nationality	Educational level	Age	Former career background
1	Homer's Flower and Snack	Citizen	Bachelor	40	Architect, artist
2	Inadvertent Board Game & Café	Citizen	Bachelor	33	Journalist
3	"I'm in" Clothing Store	Citizen	Master	28	Financial planner
4	Happy English Training	Citizen	Master	32	Overseas-study consultant
5	Weiner Star Restaurant	Canadian	Master	50	Foreign investor
6	Bernini Italian Restaurant	Italian	Bachelor	45	Restaurant manager
7	Korean Cuisine Restaurant	South Korean	Bachelor	40	Foreign teacher
8	Chongyong Fruit Store	Peasant	Senior high school	40	Unemployment
9	Hongbang tailor shop	Citizen	Senior high school	40	Unemployment
10	Bicycle-repairing booth near the gate of the astronomy faculty building	Citizen	Junior high school	60	Reemployment after laid-off

CONCLUSIONS

Entrepreneurship is positively associated with such qualities of the urban environment as diversity and heterogeneity, as evidenced by the different levels of entrepreneurship, urbanity, and their linkages between NJU's two campuses.

However, it should be pointed out that the two campuses have not done so well at the innovative level. As the empirical survey shows, most entrepreneurial activities occur on the market with less growth potential. The economic activities are mainly service-oriented, requiring only a low-qualified labor force, and low in added value. It is always expected that the university neighborhoods with high shares of educated residents might be more innovative and their enterprises concentrate highly on information-, technology-, creative-intensive sectors. In fact, one of the goals of the Xianlin master plan is to make the university town become a high-tech economic accelerator. For this purpose, the plan proposed several high-tech parks in the new town, with one of them (Biotech Industrial Park, Jiangsu) bordering NJU's campus on the North (Figure 7).

Admittedly, economic innovation in the information-, technology-, creative-intensive sectors may be more relevant to a larger geographic scale, such as the metropolitan region. The issues of insufficient innovation go beyond the neighborhood levels. Nonetheless, some factors in particular are still accountable for the insufficiency. One reason might be that the niche market has a captive capability to limit the entrepreneurs' breaking out, especially in Gulou campus. Second, the institutional rigidity and regulatory inflexibility may provide another explanation for the locality's innovative failure. Third, one of the major contributions of urbanity to entrepreneurship lies in its consolidating and reinforcing the integration and mingling of economic activities at different tiers, and in its building up their synergy. However, in reality, more support and resources are allocated to the high-tech firms, while everyday businesses are generally ignored. However, things go awry. First and foremost, such quality as open-mindedness, tolerance, curiosity to the unplanned, unexpected, and sometimes unwished situations inherent in cosmopolitans, which is exactly the essence of urbanity, brings about the enduring upgrading possibility. To some degree, both campuses quarters are deficient in this quality.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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NOTES

1. Because the economic realm is the lowest rungs of the ladder that established entrepreneurs give up and thus room for newcomer is generated, Kloosterman call it “vacancy-chain openings”. (Kloosterman 2010, 31)
2. According to Kloosterman, the highly-skilled labor force has great capability and intention to catch openings in expanding market (Kloosterman 2010, 31).
3. He uses the terminology “urbanism” in the article. However, the two words have common significance when referring to the unique characteristics of cities in contrast to the rural world. Owing to this common sense, we think they are mutually replaceable and use “urbanity” instead of “urbanism” in this paper.
4. According to Sun Jie’s interview. Sun Jie, who is a doctorate at NJU, is doing some researching on the gentrification in Gulou neighborhoods and interviewing some entrepreneurs.

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Landscapes of Resistance: Ecology and Economy in the VVSR

George Jacob
Aneerudha Paul

Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi
Institute for Architecture,
India

ABSTRACT

This paper would like to explore the landscapes in the periphery of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region, in Vasai-Virar, where communities are involved in farming and fishing. They engage in the production of flowers, vegetables, fruits and fish, sold in local markets throughout Mumbai. Farmers in this region organize their livelihood within small individual landholdings in the form of farm houses that are completely dependent on decentralized systems of ponds and lakes for water to irrigate their lands; while the fishing community organizes themselves as co-operative societies that own boats, land for drying and net weaving and other supporting infrastructure. The interdependency between these communities and the geography that their livelihoods are set in, forms an important argument in this paper.

The local authority – the Vasai-Virar Municipality has designated these land parcels as plantation zones in order to protect them from exploitation and in also to safeguard the area from flooding and other disasters. The MMRDA, prepares the regional plan for the metropolitan region, in the current plan has designated lands, earlier protected under the plantation zone, to be replaced by zones where new forms of urbanization, financed by intense global capital can be encouraged. The plans prepared by the authorities are unable to recognize these numerous small scale entrepreneurial farm activities as being productive, whose existence needs to be encouraged in our cities.

While the resistance by the community continues, this paper would like to support their ongoing agitation by documenting the productivity of these landscapes. Over the years, this area of over 75 sq. km. has evolved into a complex ecological system comprising of farmlands, lakes, ponds, backwaters and mangroves. With the dwindling of agricultural activities due to lack of support by authorities, this paper would like to make a case for their continued existence and for similar productive landscapes, to create a resilient urban framework for Mumbai and the metropolitan region.

KEYWORDS

*Ecological Economies, Decentralized,
Community, City-Regions*

INTRODUCING THE PLANTATION ZONE; HISTORY AND ECOLOGY

The topography of the metropolitan region of Mumbai is characterized by a thin strip of coastal plain in the west with the sensitive ecological ranges of the Western Ghats rising sharply in the east. Endowed with naturally sheltered harbor, fertile land, this region historically developed into the most favored destination for trade and agriculture. The location of the region eased trade between the western coast and the mainland. The presence of Buddhist caves, stupas; followed by Mughal, Portuguese and Maratha forts indicate the strategic importance of this region. The area under consideration in this study is the coastal belt of the Vasai Virar sub-region (VVSR). The VVSR now forms a periphery of the Mumbai metropolitan region (Figure 1). Documented history and archaeological remains of this region indicate the influence of the Mughals, Portuguese, Marathas and British. Earlier during the Ashokan Times, the region was known as Sopara while the Portuguese re-named it as Bassein, shifting the port down south at the mouth of the River Vaitarna. The Marathas defeated the Portuguese in 1818. It is later that the British established the Mumbai port south of Bassein. Thus the region losing its importance as a port for trade.

The coastal belt of this region, called the plantation zone, is a thin 5km strip of fertile alluvial soil primarily engaged in multi-crop production. This thin coastal strip is interjected with inland creeks and mangroves used for inland fishing. The belt is also characterized by water bodies that historically were the primary water source for drinking and agriculture. On the east of this fertile coastal belt are the low-lying mud-flats and salt pans.¹ Some of these mudflats are used for rice cultivation during the monsoon but currently most of them are being reclaimed by builders and developers to build new townships. To the east of this land lies the rapidly developing urbanizable zone, which connects to the city of Mumbai via the western suburban railway line.

The coastal region comprises agricultural settlements, inter-tidal zones, mudflat and salt pans continuing to be rich in the production of agricultural produce (presently vegetables and flowers) and fish; both coastal and inland variety. The agricultural settlements, in this zone are organized as goathans or as clusters of

farm houses outside the goathan. The fishing settlements are adjacent to the coast with sheltered spaces for boats. The farming and fishing (kolis) communities, the original inhabitants continue to reside and operate in the region. The East Indian Christians and Hindus are the predominant communities in this region. Among the fishing community there are also the Mangela Kolis, who are a sub-caste, and identify themselves independently of other communities. While the market settlements like Sopara, shown a good prominence of Muslim Trading Communities. The region also has a good share of communities who are predominantly employed as labor in construction sites while few are engaged in farming and fishing activities.

The coastal region comprises of agricultural settlements, inter-tidal zones, mudflat and salt pans continuing to be rich in the production of agricultural produce (presently vegetables and flowers) and fish; both coastal and inland variety. The agricultural settlement, in this zone are organized as goathans or as clusters of farm houses outside the goathan. The fishing settlements are adjacent to the coast with sheltered spaces for boats. The farming and fishing (kolis) communities, the original inhabitants continue to reside and operate in the region. The East Indian Christians and Hindus are the predominant communities in this region. Among the fishing community there are also the Mangela Kolis, who are a sub-caste, and identify themselves independently of other communities. While the market settlements like Sopara, shown a good prominence of Muslim Trading Communities. The region also has a good share of tibal communities who are pre-dominantly employed as labour in construction sites while few are engaged in farming and fishing activities.

Historically the region has been known for its agricultural produce comprising grains, fruits; predominantly bananas and coconuts, vegetables and flowers. The produce is sold by farmers in the local market, as well as in markets in Mumbai city. The produce is highly priced and popular in the city because it is cultivated with minimal use of fertilizers and pesticides. However, in recent times farmers have started introducing pesticides as incidences of crops being infested are on the rise. The locals attribute this to the increasing urbanization in the region, which has taken a toll on the quality of ground water and

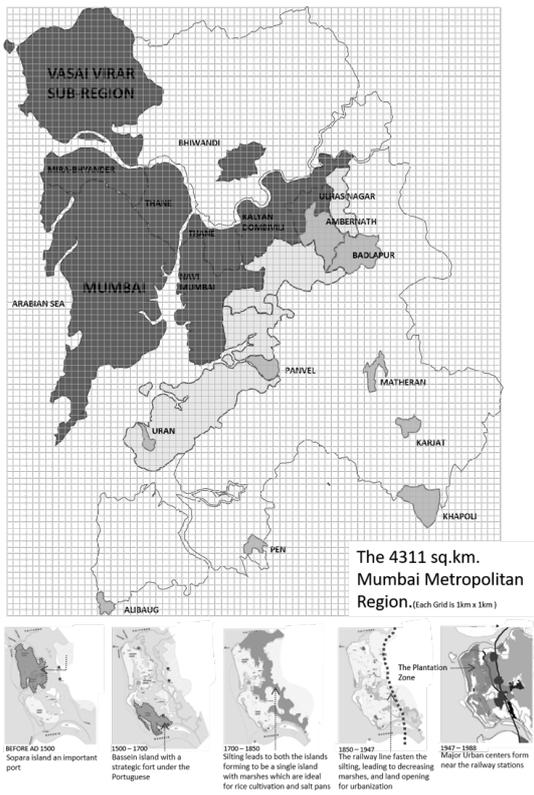


FIGURE 1 Historical and Ecological Evolution of VWSR

subsequently soil fertility. This has also hit the inland fishing activities especially fishing in the estuary, where certain species of fishes have ceased to exist anymore. The fish catch along the coast of this region is substantial, a majority of which is exported or sent to the city of Mumbai.

As stated earlier, the eastern edge of the plantation zone is the urbanizable zone inhabited by the middle-class community who primarily work in the city of Mumbai. This zone is witness to a large internal migration in search of affordable housing due to real estate values in Mumbai and its suburbs. To cater to these demands there is a large amount of speculative housing development by private builders, developers and government housing agencies. There are typological variations from medium sized group housing schemes by small and medium sized private developers to larger, city scale private development of infrastructure, with exclusive amenities like clubhouses, entertainment parks, international schools, etc. where large and gated housing projects are being conceived. These projects lure people with the peace of

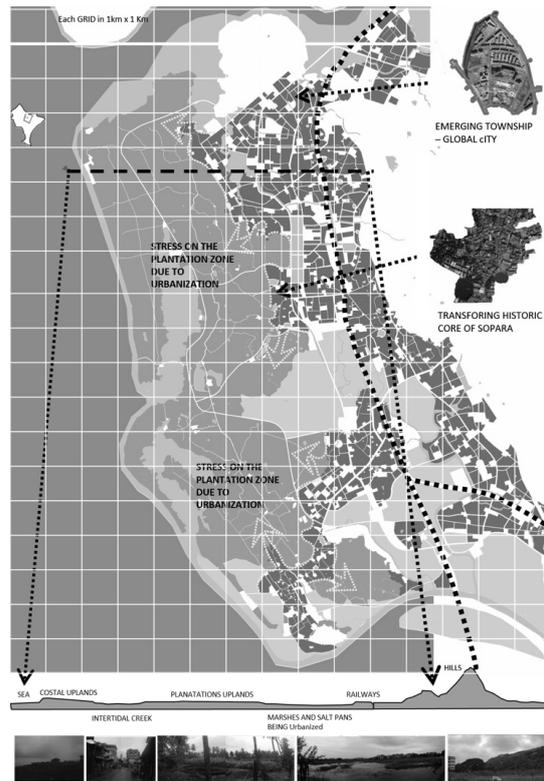


FIGURE 2 The relationship of the plantation zone and the urbanizable zone

suburban life, in landscaped environments that are artificially constructed in already established sensitive ecosystems. Simultaneously on the eastern fringes of the urbanizable zone, along the Western Express Highway are small developers who convert agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes, sub-plotting them to be sold to new immigrants coming into the region, developing huge swaths of informal housing. While the development in this region has happened at a phenomenal pace, the infrastructure, especially with regards to water, has not been augmented. This has put immense pressure on the ground water source of the plantation zone, where both, quality and quantity, is fast depleting. In addition, there has always been a constant attempt made by the local planning authorities to reduce the boundary of the plantation zone and urbanize it. The local community of farmers has resisted this move as a threat to their livelihood. Over three decades the inhabitants, earlier organized as gram panchayats, have resisted moves by urban local bodies and state urban development authorities, to include them within the jurisdiction of the municipal corporation. Recently however in a

long-drawn battle in the judiciary, some of the villages have been incorporated in the municipal corporation area. However fortunately for the local community the development plan of the municipal corporation recognizes this area as the plantation zone, which has separate development control regulations from the urbanizable zone. Figure 2 shows the relationship of the various zone of the Vasai Virar sub-region and their relationship to each other.

LIVELIHOOD AND ECOLOGY

It is in this background that this paper would try to map the existing livelihood of the region, its relationship to ecology and the present nature of transformation that such activities are undergoing. The plantation zone seems to be spatially layered into four types of settlement fabrics associated with different livelihood activities. The first layer runs along the state highway, and other parallel north to south links and has houses with farms adjacent to them. The houses, with farms ranging from three acres to quarter of an acre, grow vegetables, flowers and fruits through the year. Over the years these farms have been divided and

subdivided as the family grew, thus reducing the effective acreage per family. Off the main streets, it is observed that there are bigger holdings of contiguous agricultural land. Most of these houses that are attached to farm land have waterbodies known as “*baukhals*” that are used to irrigate the fields. There are some agricultural fields which are dependent on village lakes and ponds. The complete plantation zone of the Vasai Virar sub-region which has a population of two hundred thousand which does not depend on piped water but these/this network of lakes, ponds and “*baukhals*” that are able to provide sufficient water for drinking and agriculture. It is presently that due to the over dependence of the urbanizable zone on the water of the agricultural zone that the ground water conditions have deteriorated.

Historically, these settlements were organized either as goathans with the church, school, markets, etc., often heritage in character and being the center of activity or as houses which have now been built by sub-dividing agricultural fields. However, in recent years, this part of plantation zone, has seen many cases of speculative development of bungalow housing schemes, through a similar process of sub-dividing agricultural fields.

The second type of settlement fabric observed is concentrated with houses, as clusters, and the agricultural fields at a distance. The agricultural holding in such cases might be larger. This area is extremely rich in horticulture and floriculture. In some belts where the fields do not retain any water, there is a predominance of horticulture, as the returns from this are more. These agricultural plots have wells and waterbodies to serve their water requirements. This fabric is observed behind the belt of the coast. However even these areas are slowly undergoing transformation with houses being built within the agricultural plots. It has seen a mushrooming of many coastal resorts, restaurants, primarily for recreation tourism, catering to the people of Mumbai and its Surroundings. While some of the resorts belong to locals, a lot of them belong to outsiders. This type of tourism has negative implications for this area as they pollute the area with noise, garbage, sewage, etc. apart from using ground water of this region to maintain exclusive swimming pools. On a positive note, there are isolated cases of agro- tourism attempts that have been made by entrepreneurial families. What remains a paradox

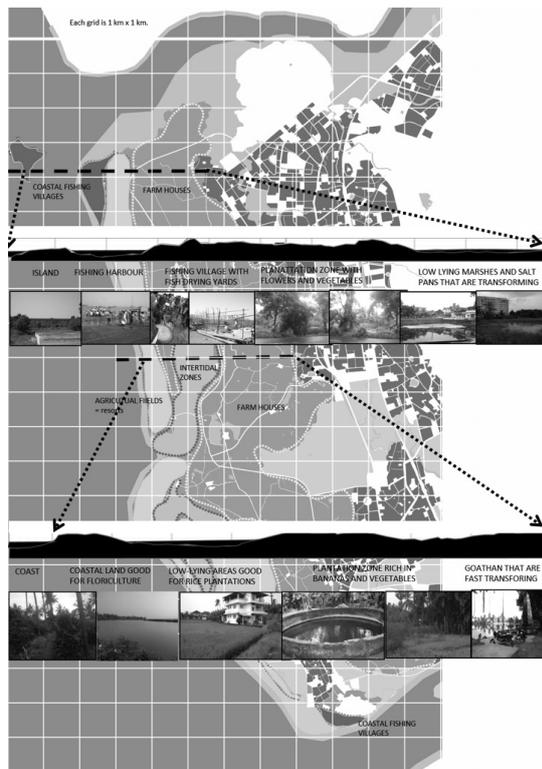


FIGURE 3 The Section of the rich eco-system found in the Plantation Zone

Each Grid is 250m x 250m

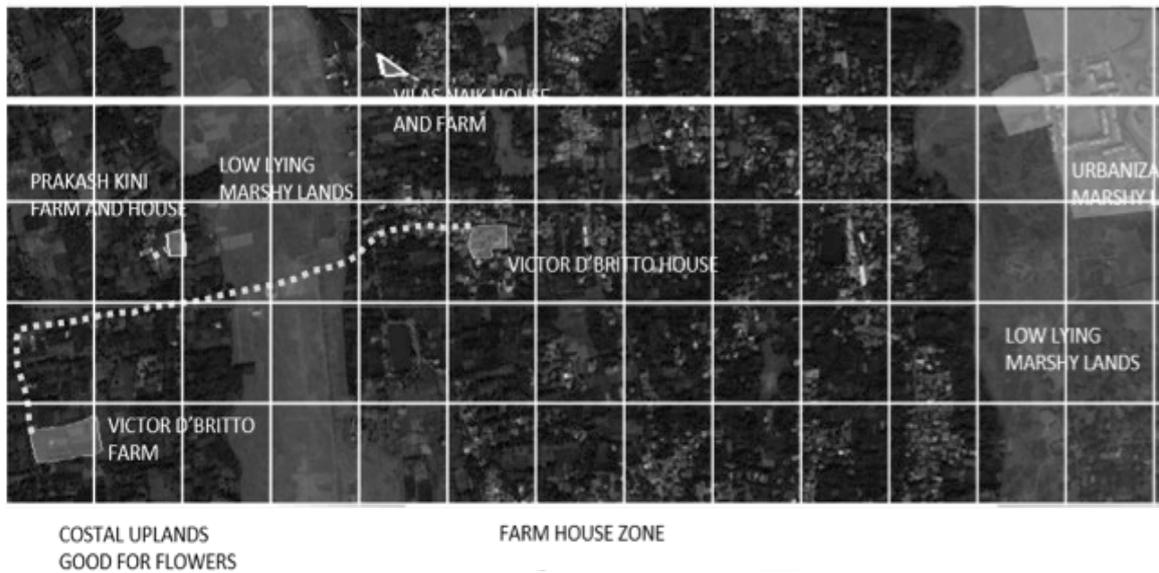


FIGURE 4 Transect showing case-studies of farmers

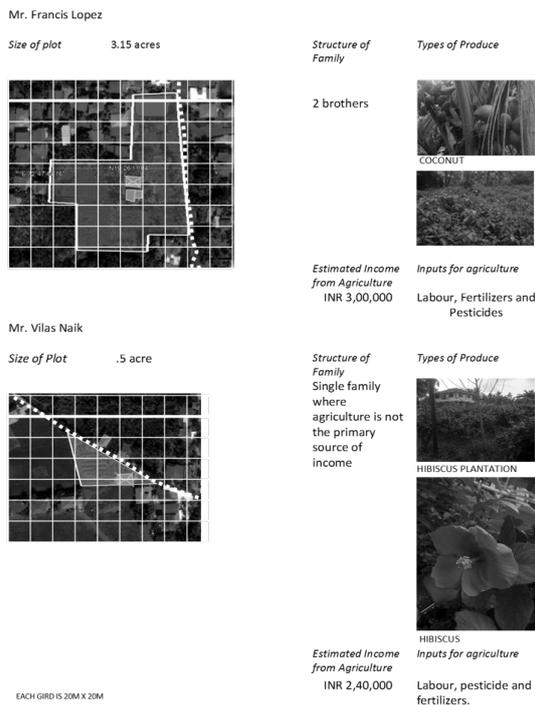


FIGURE 5 Farmer Study: Farmhouse Type Plantation

is that while there is an immense potential of this zone, with respect to heritage tourism, eco-tourism and agro-tourism, such possibilities have seldom been encouraged by the government authorities.

In both the cases of settlement fabrics, a study of agricultural families (Figure 3 ,4,5 and 6) has been conducted to understand the present nature of their livelihood. One type has been that of the farm house where the family has a large land holding while on the other the land holding is small. The second type is where the house and the agricultural field is separated. Similarly, in this case families with a large and small land holding have been studied.

The third type of settlements fabric is created by the fishing villages, adjacent to sheltered coastlines. These are in the form of clusters, within which there are the settlement areas with houses, fish drying yards, docking area for boats, industrial infrastructure like cold storages, ice factory, auction hall, etc. all owned by fishing co-operative societies. In the case of Vasai fishing village, which is large, it has a boat building and repair facility along with the village. The fishing settlements, unlike in other cases, do not have individual rights over their houses but have collective rights over their settlements, which are protected by laws and regulations as they

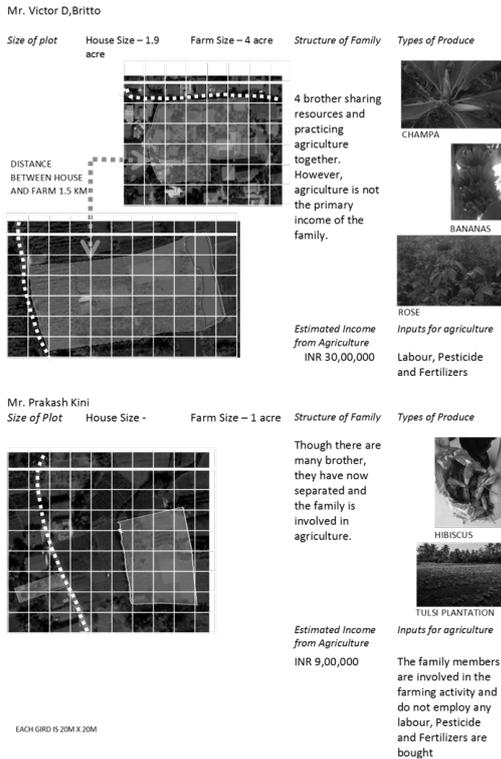


FIGURE 6 Farmer Study: Field and Detached House Type Plantation

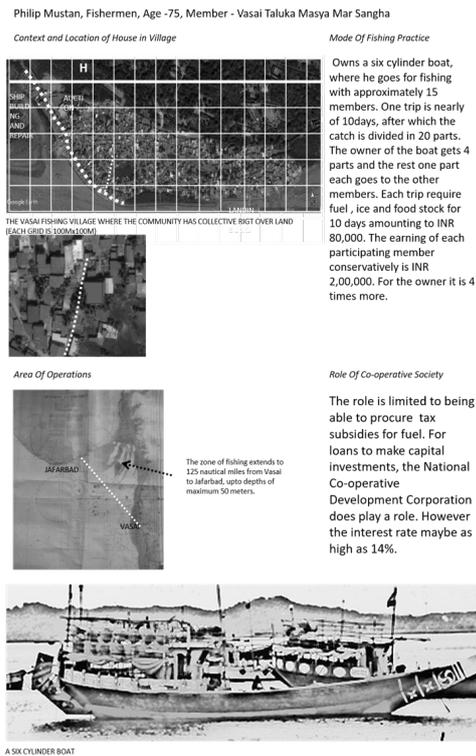


FIGURE 7 Fishing Community: Study of the house, village and the fishing field

are recognized as an indigenous community. It must be noted that coastal fishing as an economic and livelihood activity is conducted by these indigenous communities throughout the country. Among the fishing community there are families that are well to do and are a part of groups and co-operatives that own bigger boats which are powered by 6 cylinders and the others who have smaller boats that have a single cylinder. The co-operatives play a role of providing resources and loans either on a credit or cash basis to the fishing families.

Among the fishing community there are families that are well to do and are a part of groups and co-operatives that own bigger boats which are powered by six cylinders and the others who have smaller boats that have a single cylinder. The co-operatives play a role of providing resources and loans either on a credit or cash basis to the fishing families.

The fourth are areas where inland fishing is practiced within intertidal creeks and mangroves. Incidents of inland fishing are also observed in inland lakes and ponds in the plantation zone. This activity is controlled by local entrepreneurs and contractors. Since this activity is controlled at every stage; from the introduction of fish seed, to feeding, to monitoring their growth in the pond that is not much dependent on the vagaries of nature, it is a growing activity in the region.

Mapping the various food produce

This part of the paper would map the produce of the region along with the networks associated with them. As stated earlier this region is rich for its produce in fruits, vegetables, flowers and fish. However, in this paper, we are going to trace bananas and coconuts that form the majority of fruit produce of the region. Vegetables, flowers and fish will be studied as independent sets. Figure 8,9 and 10 represent the networks of each of these. In some cases, the networks overlap which have also been represented.

Coconuts- The 20km coast of this region is dotted with coconut plantations. While some of the plantations house resorts, some others are grown around flower and vegetable plantations. Most of these plantations are given in contract to agents who buy the bulk produce from the

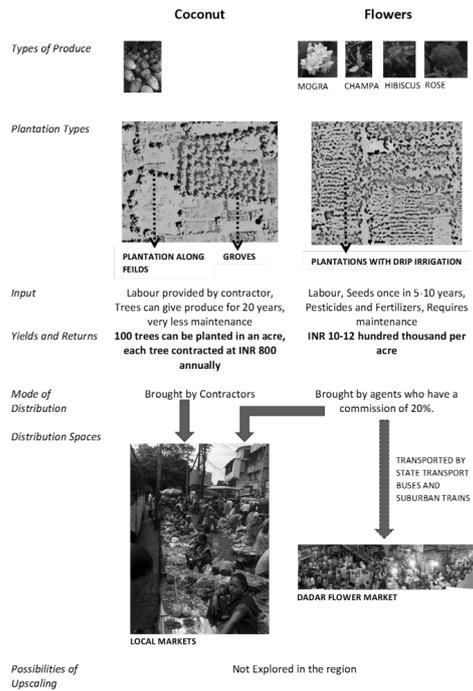


FIGURE 8 Produce Study: Coconuts and Flowers

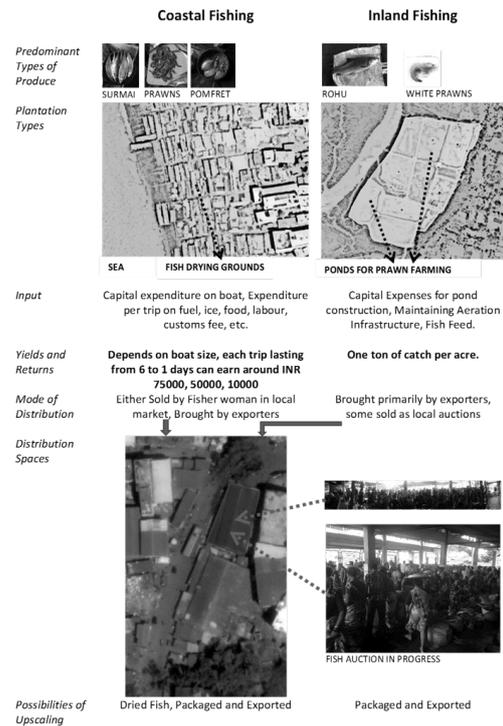


FIGURE 10 Produce Study: Fishes, Coastal and Inland



FIGURE 9 Produce Study: Bananas and Vegetables

farmers. Typically, a contract for a coconut tree might annually cost around INR 800 and an acre of coconut plantation would fetch annually INR 80,000.

Flowers – There are a variety of flowers grown in this region which are sold in the local and city markets in the Mumbai region. The flowers grown in this zone in abundance are rose, mogra, champa and hibiscus. These are grown in farm houses as well as agricultural fields. Farmers try to practice horticulture in this zone as this is a profitable source of income. Some variety like champa and rose can be priced around INR 12,00,000 per acre annually. However, the growth of these flowers is dependent on the nature of the topography, water retention capacity, etc. Like in the case of vegetables, there are local agents who buy the produce and sell it in the markets of Mumbai.

Bananas – The region in the past has seen the production of six types of bananas most of which are indigenous in nature. The bananas are grown abundantly as a part of the house and farm produce. The labor is either employed, at Rs. 200-250 per day or the family members work on the farms. Over time the dependence on chemical

fertilizers and pesticides for these plantations have increased. Through interaction with local farmers it is understood that they are not dependent on any form of agricultural loans in this region. The agricultural produce is either by local agents or by small retailers.

These bananas, depending on the types, command a premium rate over the regular bananas, in the local retail market as well as in Mumbai city. Unripe bananas, are used for making bananas chips, which are then packaged and sold in retail markets. The Rajali type of bananas are ripened, sun-dried packaged and sold. While this was a common practice among families earlier, now only a few families in the plantation zone are still involved.

Vegetables- The plantation zone is known for a variety of vegetables like brinjal, broad beans, black peas, ladies' fingers, cauliflower, green jackfruits, mango, etc. While some of these vegetables are grown in farms-houses, most of them are grown in agricultural fields. Like in the case of bananas, over the years there has been a substantial use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Small farmers sell their vegetables directly in local markets or markets in Mumbai city at a premium. Often these vegetables are sold in bulk in local markets in Nirmal, Arnala and Vasai. In case of big farmers, there are local agents who buy the produce, early in the morning, transport it by the suburban rail, to the city markets of Mumbai. The agents, as claimed by them, earn a commission of 20%. Some organized farms package the vegetables and sell them as organic produce at a premium in the city of Mumbai where there is a huge demand for health food.

Fish – The primary fishing centers are in the villages of Naigoan, Vasai and Arnala. As stated earlier fishing is organized as fishing cooperative societies formed by families in the villages. The cooperatives are formed based on communities like Christian Kolis, Hindu Kolis or the Koli Mangela in case of Arnala.

“The society provide diesel, ice, nets and storage to members, on a credit basis or in exchange of cash for non-members. This take care of the initial investment required for a fishing trip and return are paid when the captured fish is sold in the market, In case of breakage of ship, the society procures loans

form the District Centre Co-operative Bank for needy fishermen on the basis of their records of their case history of business and credibility. Their role also includes procurement of subsidies for fishing activities from the government. But the problem in the decline in profits, within the fishing industry has begun with the removal of all available subsidies by the Government” (Prajna 2006).

The fish catch of this region primarily consists of pomfret, king fish, bombay duck, mackerel, prawns, shrimps, etc. A lot of the fish is exported to agents who buy the catch in bulk, while the remainder is sold in local retail markets. Packaging industries in Kaman and Vashi export the fish produce. Presently the exporters provide loans to the fishermen, thus monopolizing the activity. A part of the fish, especially the shrimps, bombay duck, mackerel are dried and sold in the non-fishing season. However, it must be mentioned that this form of coastal fishing faces a lot of challenges with the government allowing organized trawling activities by large corporations in the same fishing grounds that these local fishermen use.

The inland fishing is organized as brackish water ponds, and the freshwater ponds owned by local entrepreneurs. The lease for the brackish water ponds in the intertidal zone is provided by the tehsildar's office. In these brackish ponds, prawns are harvested while the carps are harvested in freshwater ponds. Even though the brackish ponds require a lot of maintenance, it has been observed that the harvest can be as high as one tone per acre every six months.

It would be important to map the nature of spaces in which the produce of this region is sold or auctioned. Most of the produce is sold in local markets; in the case of small farmers, by themselves, or in the case of big farming families, by retailers, who buy it from them based on the weight of the produce. Most of these markets form an integral part of the public space of such settlements, along with churches/temples and other institutions. These markets are active in the morning as well as in the evening. A lot of the produce is sold in markets in the urbanizable zone or markets in the city of Mumbai. As already mentioned, the produce of this region, being local, has considerable demand in the city of Mumbai, and is always sold at a premium. The fish produce is auctioned in an auction hall/sheds which often

form a part of such markets. These auctions are active from the late hours of the night through the wee hours of the morning.

POSSIBILITIES OF IMAGINING ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

In the earlier section of this study the productive nature of agricultural practice this region is well established. Presently, VVSR is one of the largest ecological and productive regions for food, along with other such regions in the Mumbai metropolitan region. Yet this region is under a constant threat as demonstrated amply in successive region plans and development plans produced by various state and local authorities. There seems to be an implicit assumption that such ecological and productive regions should be replaced by activities that should serve the greed and fear of metropolitan cores. The primary question to such an approach is to what extent can we sustain the over-consumptive nature of such metropolitan centers, which devour resources, that it seldom produces and belches out pollutants and waste on a scale that has never been experienced in human history. There are already signs of such cities not being able to handle their own waste, like in the case of Mumbai. To add to that many municipal corporations and councils in the periphery of Mumbai experience shortages of water and other resources. They continue destroying ecological /fertile agricultural lands for their growth, etc. This is not peculiar to Mumbai but is the case of most of the global cities which are experiencing high growth.

To be able to change this requires a rethinking about the deeply ingrained duality of the urban versus the rural that our authorities have created

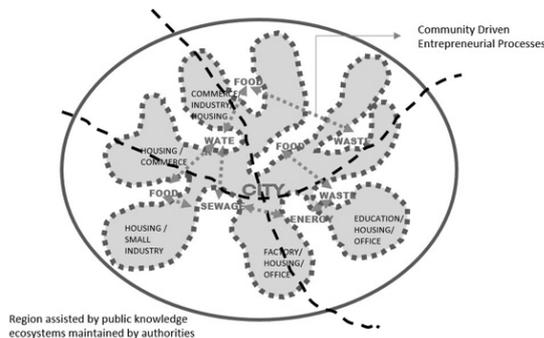


FIGURE 11 Possible alternatives of co-existence, ecology and the city

over time. We need to move away from these binaries which generate this duality in our thinking (Janssens 2008). We need to think of these as entities that need to have a simultaneous coexistence and can make space for them in our imagination of sustainable cities. The present central government in India has tried to frame the National Rurban Mission, under the Ministry of Rural Development, which mistakenly limits this mission to an existing cluster of villages (Shyama Prasad Mukerjee Rurban Mission, 2016). Through this paper, we believe that the “rurban” needs to be integrated into our understanding of existing cities to make them centers of production rather than over consumptive spaces which are parasitic on their surroundings.

For this, our cities need to be entities that can maximize the production and management of its resources. They need to be conceived as ecosystems, where water, energy, waste and food cycles are connected and interlinked so that the city can reduce their ecological footprints. It is not that this has not been attempted. In the case of the city of Kolkata, the sewage of the city is naturally treated in the East Kolkata wetlands, where the treated sewage water is a nutrient for fish and vegetables (Ghosh 2005). They are cultivated in abundance in this area, which is adjacent to the upcoming thriving office/commercial corridor of the city. However, the pressures of urbanization, as well as our urban imagination, do pose a threat to productive places like the East Kolkata Wetlands or the Plantation zone of the Vasai Virar Sub-region.

To create an alternative imagination, we need to respect and recognize the uniqueness of a place created by distinct topographical, climatic, flora and fauna characteristic, all encompassed as a dynamic working ecological system. This is opposed to the homogenizing tendency of modern urbanization, which imagines sites as a neutral receptor that can be used to locate programs of housing, industry or commerce, interchangeably. Patrick Geddes in his book “Bio-polis” observes the relationship between topography, human activity and livelihood (Geddes). Through history such relationships have been established in our settlements. In many cases such relationships still exist in our settlements. To be able to sustain our cities we need to conserve and find new ways of interpreting this



FIGURE 12 Sensitively strategizing the topography for production and consumption to create city-ecologies

relationship in contemporary times. We need to evolve symbiotic relationships between our new city and patterns that already exists on the site of such cities. In most cases these patterns are closely connected to nature, and are also places where marginal communities work and live. In many cases they have been associated with this through a long period in history. Our cities need to recognize them as entrepreneurs who can contribute to making our cities self-sustainable. Figure 11 tries to diagram the possibilities of an alternative future that heterogeneous approach that can be possible when we integrate existing natural and human eco-systems into the design of our cities.

In the case of Mumbai, we need to recognize this city and its region as an important fishing and agro-centre dependent on a fertile ecological system that needs to be protected, as much as it is the financial capital of the country. We need to evolve processes that are beneficial to these activities as well as to the city. Presently it is well known that the solid waste and sewage that the city produces are in a proportion that it cannot handle. Yet the possibilities of treating the solid-waste to create organic fertilizers that can be used for sustainable agriculture and sewage water

as fish feed is well known. To encourage such activities, we need to validate the livelihood of people who are already involved in the recycling of waste in our city. We need to encourage them as entrepreneurs that are critical to achieve a self-sustaining city, as much as enabling new jobs in the service sector of the global city. Often, it is seen that the presence of these marginalized livelihood activities are indicators to the health and well-being of our cities.

SPATIAL AND BUILT IMPLICATIONS

In this section, it might be interesting to speculate the spatial and built implications that might be possible, if we were to conceive the city through the lens suggested in the earlier section of the paper. In such an approach, landscapes that are simultaneously ecological as well as productive need to be recognized and integrated into the process of planning our cities. These landscapes, especially in the case of Mumbai, would be rivers and riverine systems, forests, coastal eco-systems like mangroves, lakes, steep mountain slopes, etc. that can play an important role in the urban ecology by integrating them in our cycle of using water, energy, or treating waste. In such cases these landscapes can be used to



FIGURE 13 Re-Imagining futures

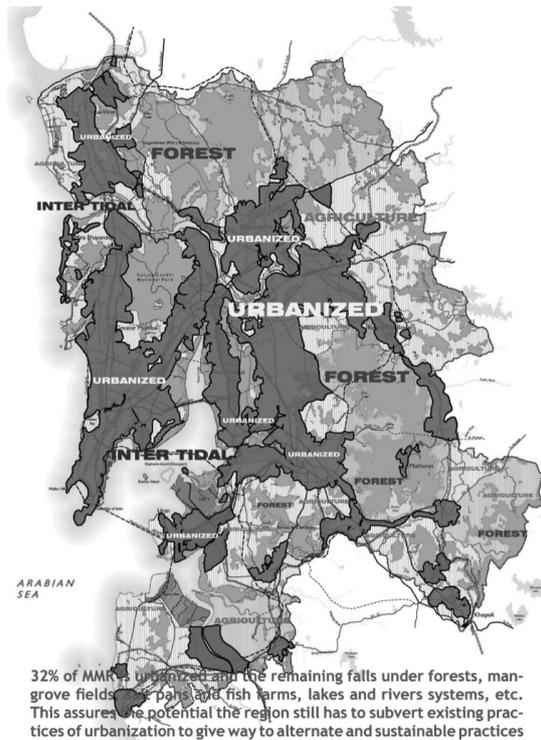


FIGURE 14 Possibilities of integrating urbanized systems with ecological systems in MMR (Source: Regional Plan 2016-36)

develop a symbiotic relationship with the city, while safeguarding them as they are vital to the health of the city and should be protected from speculation. However this paper does not suggest that these systems be only protected, like some of the environmentalists demand, but that the city should explore ways of integrating them into its own eco-system. To exemplify, in the case of Mumbai region, mangroves that are vital to the city can be given licenses for a type of fishing that could co-exist. In this case, to protect such systems the city may need to provide transferable development rights, if communities stay in them or own the land there, to other parts of the city that are supported by an infrastructure of transport and allied services. These are places where higher densities can be encouraged. This might be made applicable for the plantation zone of the Vasai Virar Sub-Region to save it from the immediate pressure of the urbanizable zone. Such an approach can be applicable for any city which has sensitive ecological systems, that need to be safe-guarded and are owned by private entities.

This would require that authorities involved would have to implement programs and

strategies that would enable the sustenance of such activities, like fishing and agriculture, in the Mumbai region. As hinted earlier the VVSR needs to encourage tourism with an emphasis towards promoting the culture, ecology and agriculture of the region, and not the present form of recreational tourism. Promoting the culture of food and cuisine in this region as a part of its intangible heritage assets would provide the impetus to conserve such activities. Spaces and institutions that can encourage this activity at a larger scale should be integrated as a part of its local as well as regional plan. There is immense potential to upscale the produce of this region by encouraging food processing and packaging industries. infrastructure like fishing ports, cold storages should also be consciously augmented as a part of the local development plan. Sensitive water systems at all scales need to be conserved and protected to maintain the biodiversity of the place.

From these ecological and productive regions, there is learning that can be incorporated in the contemporary process of urbanization. The complete system of manmade lakes, ponds and “baukhals” that the Vasai Virar sub-region has evolved over time needs to be studied as a pattern that can be replicated in the urbanizable zone. Planning standards which have become homogenous through the country need to realize that a city region which has an annual rainfall of more than 2500mm, needs more water catchment areas than just recreation grounds and playgrounds. These water catchment areas can become public spaces as well as places while simultaneously preserving the urban ecology of a city and its neighborhood. These can go a long way to meet the water demand of a growing city that perpetually faces a shortage. Even the design response of the existing natural water system in the urbanizable zone, which is based on a short-sighted response of concretization and beautification, needs to be questioned. The water system of the plantation zones which have a landscape that is softer, permeable and far more conducive to the growth of flora and fauna at its edge need a far more sensitive response. While encouraging bio-diversity these systems can recharge groundwater more successfully than the ones which have been concretized and beautified. Housing complexes in the city are landscaped with lawn and alien species of plants that are often

harmful to the environment, there is a possibility to adopt indigenous varieties that encourage the growth of diverse ecosystems, and promote our well-being. This approach requires expanding of the material palette with which we build our contemporary cities. Our over dependence on concrete and steel to build our cities need to be interrogated. There might be other materials that are locally available that might be used in conjunction with these materials. Figure 12 and 13 represent the possible spatial relations that can be evolved in the specific case of the Vasai Virar sub-region at both the macro and micro scale.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

All the field work for this paper has been done in collaboration with the Nirbhay Jana Sanstha and individual fishing and farming families. Without their generous support such a study, which required access to the various local communities

NOTES

1. In history, it is recorded that the primary crop grown in this region was rice (Gazetteer 1882), which was then profitable.

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Local Economic Adaptation Triggered by Giant-Scale Development Invasion: A Case Study of Kampung Karet Kuningan, Jakarta

***Irene Syona Darmady
Lucia Indah Pramanti
Eduard Tjahjadi***

Tarumanagara University,
Indonesia

ABSTRACT

1965-1985 Jakarta Spatial Plan acts as evidence illustrating existence and production of kampung pockets (niet-bebowde kom). The Plan is a solid proof that most kampongs (or niet-bebowde kom) in Jakarta are now situated as local areas adjacent to big-scale developments growing along Jakarta's main roads. This paper discusses further about Kampung Karet Kuningan as one example of these pockets.

The growth of large-scale developments such as office towers and shopping malls on the surrounding perimeters of kampung Karet Kuningan as local areas, forces it to adapt on individual/community level. Particularly, the process occurring in this kampung is not only a survival strategy, but also a way to create business opportunities by providing boarding houses or rental rooms for those working in nearby commercial buildings. On a bigger perspective, this kind of adaptation also tends to boost local economy and has been taking place at Kampung Karet Kuningan since 1990s. By the time this paper is written, there are 2327 recorded rooms, divided into 60 buildings on a 4,5 Ha area. Such adaptation has initiated land conversion leading to gradual and incremental alteration to its urban spatial structure.

This study tries to discover the push factors, resulting in such adaptation and the correlation between the society adaptation and the dynamic of spatial structure. Chrono-spatial mappings of commercial building intensity and comparisons to boarding house/rental room monographs are collected to explain the adaptation pattern and the relation between big development growths, local adaptation efforts, and changes in Karet Kuningan area spatial structures. An understanding of the relationship between the factors, impacts, and different actors involved, will generate a new perspective to deal with kampung spatial structure changes between big-scale developments.

KEYWORDS

*Urban Transformation, Adaptation,
Land Conversion, Micro Development*

INTRODUCTION

In 1906, Dutch colonial government began dividing the city of Batavia (now known as Jakarta) into *bebouwde kom* (planned area) and *niet-bebouwde kom* (unplanned area). This division created spatial segregation, but at the same time, gave autonomous rights to kampongs up to a certain level. Jakarta spatial planning map year 1965-1985 apparently weaved kampong areas (*niet-bebouwde kom*) with building blocks and other large commercial developments located along the city main roads. And now as a consequence, Jakarta's spatial structure is dominated by the sight of kampong between main road/block structures.

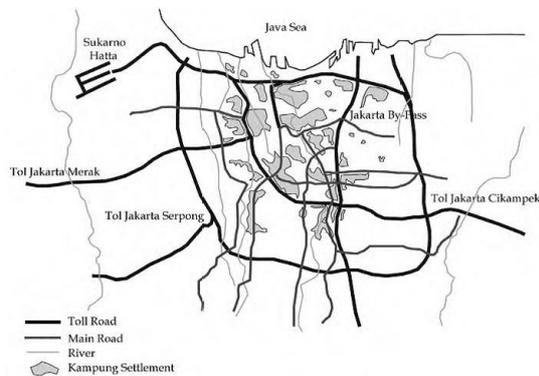


FIGURE 1 Mapping of Kampongs in Jakarta (Source: Silver 2008)

The growth of business and commercial centers along the city's main roads has led to an increasing need of laborers. As a result, rising number of people - residing in kampongs within the city as well as from areas around the city - try to stay as close to their workplace as possible¹. Kampongs in the *niet-bebouwde kom* area are ideal for migrants to rediscover some of their rural identity. New business opportunities arised in the surge of incoming migrants. Leasing and selling of houses or land, selling of various services, as well as informal economic activities improved the economic welfare of actual inhabitants. Kampong's adjacency to the new commercial and potential migrants - who need a place to live close to the workplace - resulted in opportunity to develop various models of "micro" scale development as an adjustment effort to survive in the city. Through this study, kampong will be observed to find out how they adapt in order to "survive" in the city.

Kampung Karet Kuningan is an area that is fringed by various business and commercial centers on Jend. Sudirman St. and Prof. Dr. Satrio St.. It borders several office buildings, shopping centers, and mixed-use developments dominated by developers such as PT. Ciputra Property Tbk (Ciputra World 1-2), PT. Duta Pertiwi Tbk (ITC Kuningan), PT. Agung Podomoro Land (Kuningan City), etc. These large-scale developments are erected exceeding 100.000 m²



FIGURE 2 Large Scale Development in Perimeter Kampung Karet Kuningan

of floor area, on over 2 hectares of land, and of trillions of rupiahs of investment costs. Within the last 10 years, there is a total of 1.000.000 m² floor area of office and commercial development inside the Kuningan perimeter; whose development activities then have transformed the physical condition of Prof. Dr. Satrio St.. They include utilization of urban space and transfer of land use.

However, right behind the large development, Kampung Karet Kuningan spreads; consisting of mostly residences and kampong pockets dominated by 40 m² to 1500 m² lots of land (see figure 2). Intriguingly, this second layer development seems to be pressured by the massive changes happening on the first. A switch of adaptation effort is required; altering from an endure attempt toward the considerable threats, to a more business related opportunity. Locals find opening their properties for residential rent-house boarding houses, possess economic values and benefits. Compared to what happens along the perimeter of the area, the activity that occurs in the second layer could be viewed as a “micro” scale development effort (both in size of investment and land use), which modifies its utilization and local physical space.

Dynamic adaptation process is unavoidable; resulted in a denser, more heterogeneous and socioeconomically refined Kampung Karet Kuningan. This study aims to identify (1) how the swift change took place; and (2) what its driving forces were. In order to get a more detailed depiction regarding this transformation, research was conducted in 2 RWs (RW 01 and RW 06) that covered 20.12 Ha areas².

METHODS

This study uses qualitative descriptive approach to systematically, factually, and accurately point out characters of Kampung Karet Kuningan before any change occurred; and to identify any change which affects the area’s utilization and character. Data on causes and effects of Kampung Karet Kuningan’s spatial-physical changes are collected through field observations, questionnaire distributions, and interviews; while then mapping techniques and diagrams serve as tools to illustrate diversity of data.

HISTORY OF KARET KUNINGAN KOMPONG AS BATIK AND HANDICRAFT INDUSTRY AREA



FIGURE 3 Various type and price of boarding house in Kampung Karet Kuningan (Source: Authors 2016)

Pratipodyo (2014) through an interview with Rusli Agus Aryanto (54 years old) who is a son of a batik factory owner in Karet Kuningan area, confirmed that Kampung Karet Kuningan used to be a center for batik industry. In the 1950s, Kampung Karet Kuningan used to have direct access to Tanah Abang Market. The latter has been popular as a trading center for cloth and clothing. Batik industry by the Chinese and leather shoe craft by the Betawinese flourished in Kampung Karet Kuningan. They hired batik craftsmen from Pekalongan and Surakarta in setting up batik factories. During 1950s to 1980, improving need of industry and worker's living spaces demanded factory owners and migrants to purchase new or expand their properties. By then property extended to between 1000m² to 2000m².

In the 1980s, the batik industry declined due to rivalry with batik cap (stamped, mass produced batik clothes). Furthermore, Jakarta Governor exercised decrees number 203 year 1978 and 220 year 1979 which ruled over repression of industrial pollution in the area of Jakarta. Total production of batik terminated by 1990. According to Aryanto in Prabham, (2014), the policy forced the industries to relocate from the city center to Jakarta suburbs such as Cibitung, Cikarang, and Karawang. The left property were then used by garment industry; and in the early 1990s, there were some land owners who began to see the capability of their land to stay productive by offering boarding rooms for workers and employees of offices and hotels that (up until now) have been growing on Jend. Sudirman St..

KARET KUNINGAN AREA PROFILE

Karet Kuningan area is situated in Kelurahan Karet Kuningan (*kelurahan* = subdistrict). Local spatial plan year 1985-2005 determined Karet Kuningan area as one of Priority Area in South Jakarta (*Segitiga Emas* Kuningan/Kuningan Golden Triangle). Karet Kuningan area was then planned as a center for offices and commercial uses on its first layer, and vertical residential zones behind. Now, office and commercial zones continue to prosper with average floor area above 100,000m²; while some residential zones turned vertical as demanded by middle up class.

Karet Kuningan area is also located adjacent to other business centers such as Jend. Sudirman St., Mega Kuningan, SCBD (Senayan Central Business

District) within radius of 3 km. It is traversed by main city road axes such as Jend. Sudirman St. and Prof. Dr. Satrio St.. These three business areas have been Jakarta's economic centers. Therefore, land value has been skyrocketing since then (see figure 4). Its closeness to other central business districts is considered to be a promising selling point.

SWIFT CHANGES IN KAMPUNG KARET KUNINGAN

Swift changes of Kampung Karet Kuningan and its surrounding areas are inseparable. Due to being bordered by Jend. Sudirman St., Gatot Subroto St., and Prof. Dr. Satrio St., Kampung Karet Kuningan is filled with hopes for continuous economic growth. Many large scale commercial projects such as offices, shopping centers, and vertical housings have thus been built along those roads. The developments can be divided into 3 periods of time as shown below.

Picture above shows the primary change taking place around Kampung Karet Kuningan has been property use conversions into boarding houses. The leap was quite significant from 4% (0,8 Hectare) of the total area of RW 01 and RW 06 in the period 1992-2000 to 22% (4,5 Hectare) in the period 2006-2016 (see figure 5).

The process of turning Kampung Karet Kuningan from being primarily industrial into residential is an adaptation process toward the development situations in Jend. Sudirman St. and Prof. Dr. Satrio St.. There are 4 types of adaptation processes in relation to physical changes and use within the kampong environment: (1) changes based on initial land use; (2) changes of building intensity; (3) changes of development actors; and (4) changes of residents' profiles (see figure 6 and 7).

If we take a closer look into changes of land use and activities taking place on sites across Kampung Karet Kuningan, there are stages of gradual alteration. During the early period (1992-2000) large sites (500-1000 m²), which used to be batik industry, began to adapt itself. These lands were generally located on small collector roads connected to the main road. On the other hand, in the later period (2006-2016), many residences with smaller lands (100-500 m²) were turned into boarding houses. Changes in the area began with adaptation of site utilization, followed by

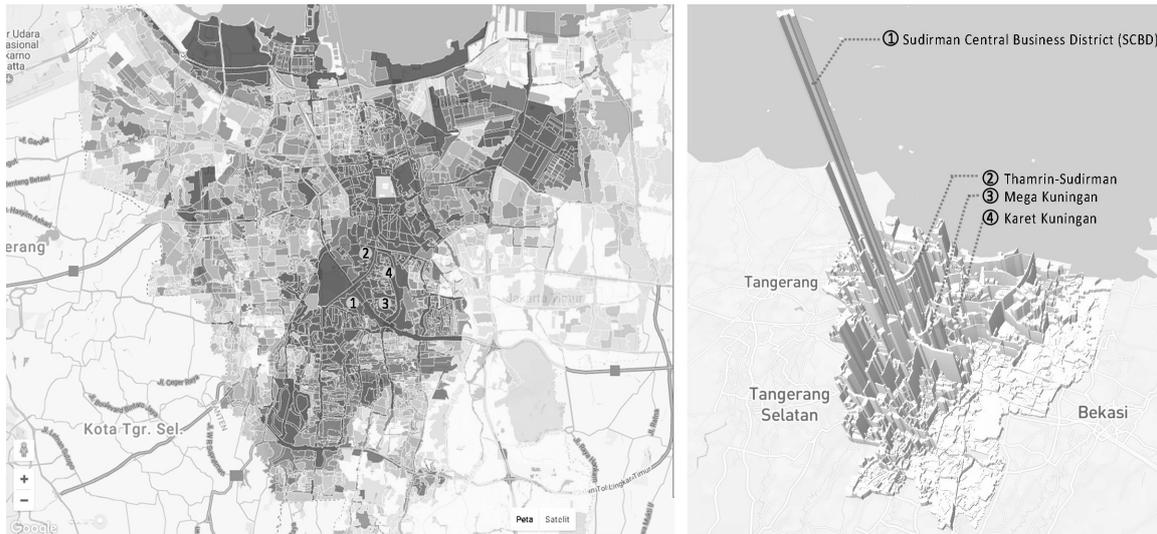


FIGURE 4 Proximity and land value of Karet Kuningan Area (Source: Jakartasmartcity.com, Ramdha Yanurzha in medium.com; 2017)

land intensity. Conversion of site utilization had a direct influence toward the space productivity, e.g. after being turned into boarding houses, now it can be rented by different people. During the early period, sites were utilized as 1-2 floor boarding houses comprising of <40 rooms each. However, taller intensive developments were happening toward 2016. Sites were then dominated by 3-8 floor boarding houses with at least 50 rooms available (see figure 7). Land across Kampung Karet Kuningan then had become a commodity, which was purposed to achieve maximum profit; as expressed in Jack Harvey's (1987) synthesis in Kivell (1993, 15) that land will move to the most profitable business.

Actors behind these changes are Kampung Karet Kuningan residents and migrants (investors). Adaptation of site utilization carried out by residents of Kampung Karet Kuningan happened in 1992-2000; while conversion into boarding houses that was carried out by newcomers (investors) occurred from 2006-2016. Survey regarding the owner profile and the development year conducted on 60 boarding house samples in the area of study regarding the owner profile and the development year, shows that the perpetrators of change in the focus area of study – up until current condition - were still dominated by the residents of Kampung Karet Kuningan.

It is undeniable that conversion of site utilization in the area of study is inhabitants' efforts to

adapt to alterations in economic structures and government policies that occur especially on Prof. Dr. Satrio St.. Mallach (2008) and Pitkin (2001) named these triggering factors as political-economic forces. Changes in the three periods indicate a dynamic process where Kampung Karet Kuningan now has turned denser, more heterogeneous, and socioeconomically more advanced.

THE DRIVING FACTORS BEHIND THE CHANGES IN KAMPUNG KARET KUNINGAN

A. Commercial development

In general, trading and commercial activities outside of Kampung Karet Kuningan helped shaping its inner environment. In 1950s, during the time in which batik industry was still promising, site utilization of Kampung Karet Kuningan was dominated by industrial and residential activities. Opening of Prof. Dr. Satrio St. (in the period 1992-2000) and emergence of commercial building growth (offices, shopping centers, and hotels) slowly "forced" the area of study transform into boarding houses and other service industries. The road we know today as the Prof. Dr. Satrio was introduced as Jakarta's shopping belt by the Governor of DKI Jakarta of 1992-1997. In order to support this concept, permits to build were issued by the former Governor, on August 31, 1997 to nine giant developers: PT Ciputra Property Tbk, Asiatic Group, PT Duta Pertiwi Tbk, PT Dana-mon, PT Mega Kuningan , PT Jakarta Setiabudi

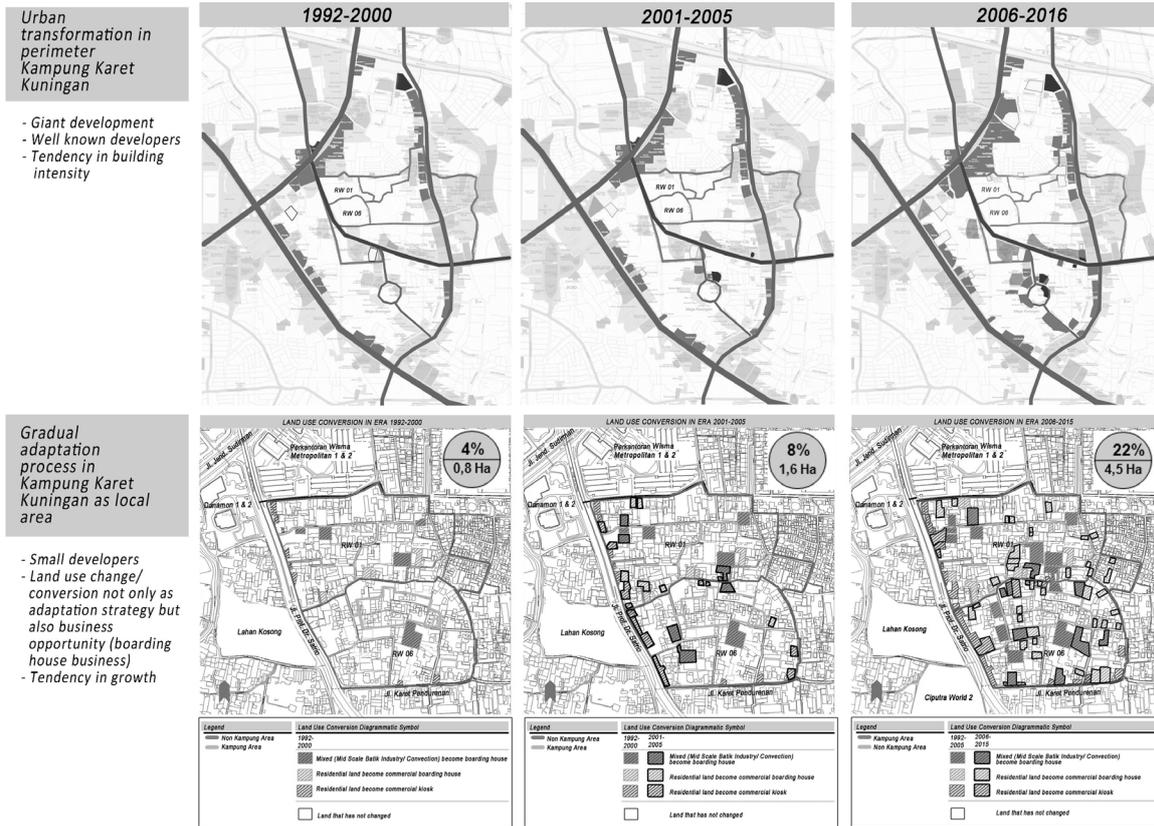


FIGURE 5 Correlation of time and spatial changes between perimeter and local area in Karet Kuningan (Source: Authors 2016)



FIGURE 6 Adaptation process; Tendency of maximization in building intensity and number of rooms (Source: Authors 2016)

International, PT Putera Surya Perkasa, Jakarta Land, and Kawan Group (Haka Group).

The alteration of the site utilization occurs due to adaptation to conditions from the grassroots, from the community, and from the spatially growing and adaptive environment. Global capitalism (through the real estate industry) created demands in the form of increasing needs of rent/boarding rooms, dining places, and other services

from the workers of the commercial area. This new trend gave an extraordinary opportunity for residents in the area of study to enjoy economic benefits; which turned out to be an adaptation drive in transforming the kampung into supporting area for the commercial.

Vertical occupancy in the area of study - driven by the new land use in the latest Jakarta spatial planning - were more intended for the middle-up-

Aspects	Sub-Aspects	Case Studies: Karet Kuningan		
		1992-2000	2001-2005	2006-2016
 Land Use Conversion	Existing function	-Mid Scale Batik Industry	-Mid Scale Batik Industry - House	- House
	Land Size	- 500-1000 sqm	- 100-500 sqm - more than 1000 sqm	- 100-500 sqm (high tendency) - >1500 sqm
	Location	- Local roads	- Local roads - Collector roads	- Local roads - Collector roads - Inside kampung
 Building Intensity	Capacity (rooms/land size)	- 37 rooms/ 1000 sqm	- 45 rooms/ 1000 sqm	- 57 rooms/ 1000 sqm
	Number of rooms	- 15-35 rooms	- 15-35 rooms - 36-55 rooms	- 15-35 rooms - more than 55 rooms
	Number of floors	- 1-2 fl	- 2-3 fl	- 3-8 fl
 Development Actors	Origin	- Native/ local (Live in Karet)	- Native/ local (live in Karet)	- Native/ local - Investor (live outside Karet)
	Age	- 55-70 years old (1st generation)	- <40 years old (2st generation)	- <40 years old - 50-60 years old
	Motivation	-Maintain land productivity after the cessation of batik industry	- Business strategy after economic crisis in 1998 and as a passive income	- Business opportunity
 Inhabitants Profile	Origin	-Worldwide -Outside Java	-Worldwide -Outside Java -Jabodetabek (Jakarta's Periphery Area)	-Local worker (office staff, office manager, etc)
	Category	-Local worker (office staff) -Foreign worker	-Foreign worker (experts, manager) -Students -Mall shopkeeper	

FIGURE 7 Monograph of transformation adaptation process in Kampung Karet Kuningan (Source: Authors 2016)

per class people. Workers demand to be as close as possible to their workplace, demanding a lot of boarding units. However, rental cost was beyond their affordability. Therefore, the only option suited best was boarding houses located in kampung; change of site utilization was then unavoidable.

B. Government policy

Besides commercial developments, thorough application of Governor's Decree no. 203 year 1978 and no 220 year 1979 terminated batik production in late 1990. Large sites were left unproductive; were then utilized by ex-landowners to accommodate new opportunities around. Some built garment industry (derived from batik business), while some began to open boarding houses. At this point, conversion of mixed site utilization into boarding/rental houses function began in 1992. The change proved to be profitable and thus in 2006-2016, residences were also transformed into boarding houses.

At the end of 2006-2016 period, the Provincial

Government of Jakarta issued Government Decree no. 72 year 2013 stating that residential buildings were permitted to be built up to 3 floors tall. Landowners were indirectly encouraged to adapt by having other changes in site utilization and land intensity. In the future, there will surely be other effects on the capacity and density of area.

C. Owner motivation and land ownership status

Commonly, sites across the area are owned and directly made used by individuals/companies. The ownership status plus cultural change, motivation, and social network encouraged residents to adapt. Owners have the right to develop any change on their sites without any financial objection/pressure to purchase the site in order to make a return of investment on the land.

The ex-batik industrial owners did most changes in the period 1992-2000. They attempted to maintain land productivity; with small budget, turning them into residences due to the termination of their business. Little building alteration

were done. Spaces that once had been factories and labor wards were then used as dorms (survival strategy). Generation transfer in batik entrepreneur families happened around 2006-2016. Driven by social network, new generations intensively expanded their site utilization by (1) getting information if there were other near/adjacent lands on sale; and (2) negotiating with local administrative officials for on site permits. During these two periods, owners had been utilizing their lands for economic purposes to ensure their next generation to be well-fed.

The change of owners' motivation in the three periods was largely influenced by cultural factors, transfers of generations, and social networks. Owners now tend to invest on their land for a more economically beneficial use. These reasons then affected the land use changes and additionally in terms of intensity (number of rooms, and building height).

D. Residents' motivation and preference

The residents' preferences to stay as close as possible to their workplace led to increasing demands for available boarding unit density. The new residents hailed mainly from the peripheries of Jakarta (Bekasi, Depok, Tangerang, etc.); some came from outside Jakarta (outsiders of the island and abroad). Additionally, particular recommendations or appointments from the office to certain boarding houses as residential providers for their staffs or experts encourage development of exclusive boarding houses at a rental price starting from USD300 per month.

THE SWIFT CHANGES IN KAMPUNG KARET KUNINGAN

A. Perimeter area of Kampung Karet Kuningan

The swift alteration occurred in Kampung Karet Kuningan cannot be separated from the changes along the perimeter of the area. Jend. Sudirman St., Gatot Subroto St., and Prof. Dr. Satrio St., made up the perimeter area of Kampung Karet Kuningan. The perimeter have been promising for continuous economic growth. Along it, many large commercial projects had been built, such as offices, shopping centers, and vertical housings. As a result, they encircled the less growing settlement area in Kampung Karet Kuningan.

B. Inside Kampung Karet Kuningan

Land Use Change

Changes in site utilization demanded new land uses. First, led by the change of batik factories into boarding houses, each of these previously industries generally were located on 500-1000 m² sites. However, trend showed that owners preferred smaller lands. Currently, change of land use was dominated by areas of less than 100m² to 200m². Chrono-spatial mapping (see Figure 5) illustrates that within 25 years, change in site utilization has accelerated by 3 times in the last 10 years.

Building Intensity

The intensity changes were initiated by alteration in land utilizations, which also resulted in physical modification of properties. In the initial phase, boarding houses generally supplied an average of 15-35 rooms, with an average capacity of 37 rooms per 1000m² of land, and were distributed into 1-2 floors of the building. However, approaching today era, the building intensity is progressively increasing to 15-55 rooms, with an average capacity of 57 rooms per 1000m², and generally 3-8 floors tall.

Development Actors

Due to swift changes of land use and policies throughout the first 2 periods, elder generations laid the foundation of what the site might be utilized as; which were boarding houses. Progressively, young generations tend to be more intensive in utilizing their site which were inherited by their fore-fathers; coming up with new ideas of site activities.

Inhabitants Profile

Based on interviews with some room renters, change in occupants' profiles also affected varieties of room types. In the 1992-2000 there were only two segments of renters: (1) lower-level employees, laborers; and (2) mid-level employees for offices or overseas (expatriate) office staff.

However, since the giant development of offices in Mega Kuningan and Satrio corridor happened in the 2000s, the composition of the resident/renters' profiles were more diversified. Therefore, distinct segments of renters arised. These renters were:

- Expatriates (from America & Europe);
- Outlander office staffs;
- Office Staff coming from the peripheries of Jakarta, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi (who prefer to stay closer to their workplaces instead of commuting daily);

- College students; and
- Workers working in apartments, commercial and offices in surrounding developments, e.g. in-house apartment maids, mall employees, and office boys.

CONCLUSION

Transformation taking place around perimeters of Kampung Karet Kuningan can be categorized into three different periods of time: 1992 – 2000, 2001 – 2005, 2006 – 2016. Toward the latest condition in 2016, dynamic change in site utilization and intensity had become more tendentious. (See Figure 7)

In the context of the region, the transformation did not happen randomly. In fact, there are certain patterns that can be recognized to predict the future development tendency. In the area of study, there is a close relationship between time, land size, location, and the development actors. It is predicted that toward the most current condition, the conversion of site utilization tends to occur on smaller land area.

The dynamic changes happening around Kam-

pung Karet Kuningan prove that former *niet bebowde kom* serves as fringe areas. It previously could be acquired easily by giant developers. However, toward the present time, land conversion process opens up business opportunities allowing “on land added value”. Therefore, developers are more restrained in taking over them. The transformed kampung is becoming periphery for the big developments.

NOTES

1. Jo, Santoso. 2006. *Kota Tanpa Warga*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia
2. *Rukun Warga* (RW) is a division of regions in Indonesia under Kelurahan (subdistrict). *Rukun Warga* is a formation of local communities in the framework of public service set by the Kelurahan. RW is further divided into 3 to 10 *Rukun Tetangga* (RT). In Addition, each RT consists of 10 to 50 families.

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INFORMALITY

Reframing the Self-Made Urban System

Kritika Sha

Delft University of Technology,
Netherlands

ABSTRACT

As a response to the shift of the centre of urbanisation from the global north to the global south, there is a need to extend the existing knowledge base. Self-made systems (equated with informal settlements) and its complex socio-economic dynamics, especially highlight this gap. In the global south, informal settlements often illustrate a distinct form of entrepreneurialism along with acting as an arrival base for many migrant workers. The theoretical exploration of informal settlements, however still has its base in Euro-American literature, remaining at best exploratory in the global south. Even with the authors hailing from the global south, the foundation of the ideas lie rooted in the urban concepts of the global north.

Locating itself at the cross between the study of socio-economic dynamics in informal settlements and the rise of the global south in urban theory, this research reviews relevant socio-economic and political concepts or propositions and tests its implications and validity on a selected informal settlement. Dharavi in Mumbai, India forms the testing ground for the propositions, being one of the most prolific informal settlement in Asia. It is particularly known for its entrepreneurial nature along with a dense migrant community, along with its relevance to the surrounding city of Mumbai. The propositions - an 'arrival city', an 'informal economic base', a site for 'kinetic urbanism' are derived from Euro-American theoretical base and bear particular relevance to Dharavi and its socio-economic composition. This testing is executed through detailed spatial analysis (based off survey data) along with field observations conducted by the author.

The exploration of the propositions reveal a multi-faceted nature of Dharavi that extends beyond the current body of urban theory. Considering the presented propositions and their validation on Dharavi and its links to Mumbai, it becomes possible for us to question and reposition the informal settlement in the current urban theory discourse.

KEYWORDS

*Informal settlements, Global south,
Dharavi*

INTRODUCTION

Exploring urban theory in the case of self-made urban systems, this paper postulates that although the interest in self-made cities or settlements may not be new, it is currently restricted by the limited geography of where it is produced. Its centre is currently in Euro-American literature, and remains explorative at best in the global south. The explorative nature of urban theory is not limited to academia but is also reflected in popular writings and is limited to anecdotal narratives in the global south.

This paper, therefore, aims to investigate this exploratory nature of urban theory on self-made settlements in the global south, by reviewing relevant socio-economic and political propositions and testing them against an empirical site (Dharavi, a self-made informal settlement in Mumbai, India). The objective of the research is, therefore to reevaluate the dominant western theory in the urbanisation processes in the global south.

PROBLEM FIELD & RESEARCH SCOPE

A distinctive shift from the 'Global North' to the 'Global South' has resulted in a realignment of ideas and exploration in urban studies. The global north has predominantly seen scholars who focus on their own area of origin. While this is perfectly reasonable and expected, it limits the extension of urban theory into new unexplored territories. Within this approach, cities have been perceived as inherently self-made in nature and are often equated with large complex artefacts which cannot be controlled in a pre-determined manner by designers (Casakin, H. and Portugali, J.). This was also highlighted in the report by United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, titled 'Self-made Cities: In Search of Sustainable Solutions for Informal Settlements' (Tsenkova, S., 2009). The current model also focusses mainly on cities formed by industrial revolution in the west with a tendency to overlook the rapidly growing cities of the global south, where traditional authority, religion and informality play a key role in the urbanisation processes (Robinson, J., 2002).

However, does urban theory on self-made urban systems stand its ground in a situation where there has been no involvement from any design authority; where organisation is executed purely as per the needs of its residents? This model is

predominantly more visible in the global south, leading this research to the southern turn in urban literature¹.

The southern turn in literature aims to reimagine the urban and rethink the contours of modernity in a global age within the global south (Rao, V., 2006). Several other authors, such as Roy, A. (2009), Nijman, J. (2015) and Neuwirth, R. (2011) have postulated that global south cities have much to offer to the current body of urban studies. It is, however, informal settlements, or to use a more colloquial term – slums, which form a substantial part of urbanisation in the global south. They are also a recognizable frame through which the megacities of the global south are perceived and understood (Nuttall, S. and Mbembe, A., 2005). However, in this case, geographical studies are sparse stemming from a disconnection between economic and cultural geography on one hand and urban and development geography on the other. Informal settlements offer a mix of social, cultural and economic geographies, which present a challenge to the theoreticians (Nijman, J., 2010). Therefore, in the global south, there is a direct correlation between informal urbanisation as a metonym for self-made urban system, requiring a more detailed exploration for the latter.

This research located itself at this cross between the study of self-made urban systems and the rise of the global south in urbanisation processes, exploring how theories and propositions emerging from this new geography test against an empirical site.

RESEARCH QUESTION

This paper investigates how 'socio-economic and political elements of self-made urban systems in the global south are represented and discussed in urban design research and popular writings, and to what extent do they hold their ground in a selected case site?' To simplify the main research question, it is divided into the following segments – (1) What are the different narratives explored by western literature in terms of self-made urban systems in the global south?; and (2) what are the predominant socio-economic and political elements in the selected case site?

METHODOLOGY

The method followed in this research project follows two parallel streams of knowledge, which result in the formation of propositions. They emerge first from an exploration of urban theory into socio-economic dynamics of informal settlements and secondly by exploring them through a prolific case.

First knowledge - Theoretical base

The first knowledge stream explores the theoretical underpinning of informal settlements in the global south. It includes both popular and journalistic writings along with academia, and is explored parallel with the search to find an emblematic case site – forming the second stream of knowledge. The literature and the relevant themes are then, filtered through this selected case site. The final collection of literature explored is further divided into two broad categories. The

first category, termed as ‘Anglo-Saxon’ –comprises of authors from the Euro-American knowledge sphere. The second category comprises of voices and writings that echo the need to incorporate the voices of the subaltern².

Second knowledge - Case site

The second stream of knowledge comprises of the detailed study of the selected case site of self-made settlement in the global south. The cities and urban settlements in South-Asia provide the perfect opportunity as the recent stream of literature also set their sites in this area. This approach has been lauded for lifting much of the theoretical uncertainty and ambiguity previously associated with this context (Rao, V., 2006). Although it is not possible to equate all informal or self-made settlements, as they comprise of distinct socio-economic and political elements, testing through a prolific and visible example provides the opportunity to examine urban theory

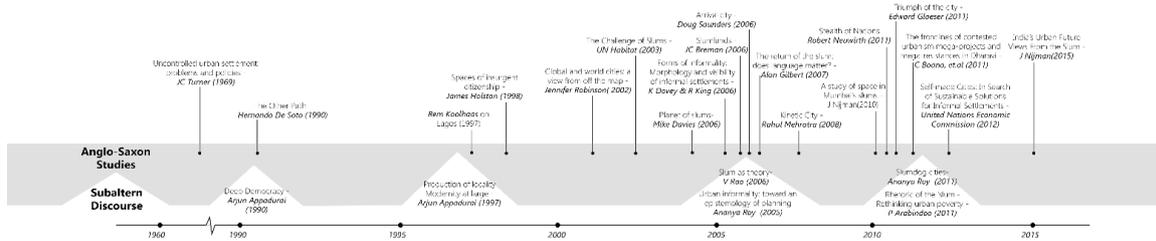


FIGURE 1 The predominant authors in the theoretical discourse of socio-economic and political aspects of informal settlements in the global south

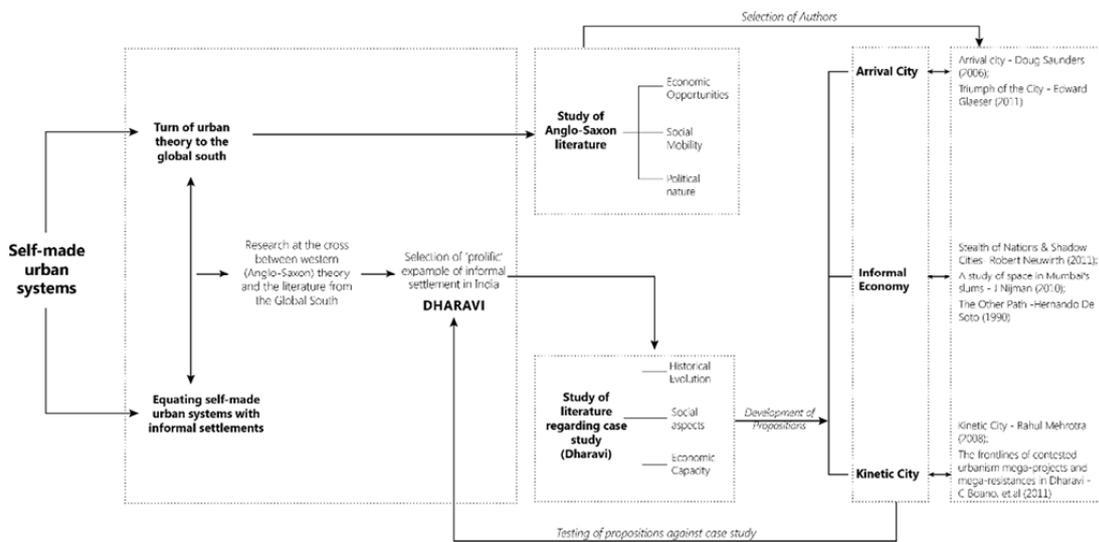


FIGURE 2 Scheme of the method followed to develop the propositions

empirically. The prolific example taken in this research is the settlement of Dharavi, located in Mumbai, India.

To simplify the testing of the theoretical concepts on the case site, the method of testing selected 'propositions' is used, illustrates in Fig.2. The propositions derived in this research are based and derived out of the combination of the first and second knowledge bases.

DHARAVI – THE CASE SITE

Dharavi is currently categorised as a slum by the Indian government, and is quite visible in both national as well as international media. Dharavi was formed on the base of a fishing village in the late 19th century, where the influx of migrants from the hinterlands flocked to Mumbai in search of better opportunities. Over the years, Dharavi has seen a steady increase in its land area along with its inhabitants, becoming an amazing mosaic of villages and townships from all across the country (Sharma, K., 2000). With them came professions and industries like leather tanning, pottery, textile which gave Dharavi its unique identity of self-sufficiency and industrial production³. Inherently devoid of interference

from any planning or design authority, it presents itself as a self-made or a 'home-grown' settlement (Echanove, M. and Srivastava, R., 2016).

Dharavi and its future has been the subject of discussion and debate by academicians, the government, and the private sector. Occupying an area of nearly 2.39 sq.km (Fig. 3), Dharavi houses a population of anywhere from 500,000 to 800,000 (Bharuchal, N., 2014). International movies, and several documentaries have highlighted the squalid conditions as well as the ingenuity of its residents who operate with the 'make-do' culture that its self-made nature encourages. This duality is reflected in popular writings and academia, illustrating Dharavi as either a slum strewn with poverty, crime and disease or as an entrepreneurial community embodying the self-made nature of its physical space.

Dharavi has a lot to offer to the larger body of urban studies as a self-made urban settlement. The propositions, formulated after an investigation into Dharavi's socio-economical aspects are - the 'arrival city', 'sites of ingenuity in informal economy' and 'contested space and kinetic urbanism'.



FIGURE 3 Dharavi's large expanse in Mumbai, India (Source: Foundations World Economic Forum - <https://flic.kr/p/aW97bx>)

PROPOSITION – DHARAVI FUNCTIONS AS AN 'ARRIVAL CITY'

The notion of 'arrival city' has been tied to the appeal of the potential that cities offer to its immigrating inhabitants, featuring in Doug Saunders's provocative book, 'Arrival City'. The arrival city could be the parts of cities where transnational migrants settle into when they first reach the new country (Pg. 130). They can also be parts of a city, which the migrants from rural areas use as a springboard to move to more affluent neighbourhoods. The part which perhaps epitomises Saunders's perception of social mobility are the opportunities offered by informal settlements (pg. 11-13), i.e., although they lack certain basic services, they offer other opportunities, such as a foothold in the larger city, thereby offering a form of social mobility.

The 'arrival city' is often given a positive spin, presenting anecdotal stories of hope, opportunity and the promise of a better life for the migrants. Saunders makes a reflective observation that the crucial paradox of the arrival city is that all its occupants want to stop living in the arrival city in the future – either by making money and moving their families out to other established neighbourhoods or by turning the neighbourhood itself into something better (pg. 321). In this manner the arrival city doesn't simply add itself as an extension to the existing city, but eventually becomes it, 'either creatively or destructively' (pg. 322). Arrival cities in this discourse have shared similarities in urban spatial quality, functions and human relationships, forming neighbourhoods where the transition from poverty occurs. They are places where the next middle class is formed, where the next economic and cultural boom will take place. Saunders concludes that this change of the functioning arrival city slowly colonizing the established city is inevitable and is the 'way of the world'. This metamorphosis translates to a constant change in the socio-economic elements within the populace, as immigrants and villagers slowly and over a few generations become professionals, traders and thereby part of the 'whole'. Publications such as 'Triumph of the City' also highlight the important role informal settlements play in the social composition and success of the larger city by acting as arrival cities for rural migrants, claiming that the flow of disadvantaged and poor people into cities demonstrates urban strength (Glaeser, E., 2011, 9).

Both Saunders's and Glaeser's explorations have been illustrated through anecdotal stories in informal settlements in the global south. However, can it be validated the case site of Dharavi?

Dharavi is the embodiment of the "arrival" nature, being just as much a melting pot of poorer families from marginal communities (Sharma, K., 2000). Most of its initial inhabitants belonged to low-caste artisanal groups who settled in the marshy tracts of land (now Dharavi) which were deemed to be undesirable with communities involved with leather tanning and pottery were among the earliest migrants (Dossal, M., 1991). Industries and their migrant labour force in Dharavi has always been linked to the individual's place of origin and his/her religious affiliation (Nijman, J., 2010), illustrated in Fig. 4. Over decades, Dharavi has built itself incrementally as an aspirational 'arrival' base from the point of view of the new migrant. It is centrally located in Mumbai, connected to several key business hubs, providing a locational advantage. But has Dharavi, with its roots as an arrival city for workers become more than just an 'extension' of the city? And has the constant metamorphosis of social-economic elements in Dharavi resulted in the inclusion of its inhabitants into the 'whole'?

Dharavi has long been a place for the 'outsider' in Mumbai. This was supported by the government, who constructed barrack-like housing in the 1930s to improve the living and hygiene conditions. Dharavi's importance increased for migrants who found a relatively open atmosphere, enabling them to gain a foothold in a city that had not overcome its caste bias, thus providing the essential 'social mobility' fulfilling the primary criteria of an 'arrival city'. However, considering that Dharavi was conceived as an arrival city over a century ago, it should be in the process of becoming part of the 'whole' city. Instead, Dharavi stands out - both in terms of spatial quality and the socio-economic composition of its inhabitants. Most of Dharavi is untouched, lacking in basic rights such as access to safe drinking water, sanitation and electricity. Over the years, although inhabitants have replaced their temporary houses with permanent materials, it still is a mosaic of self-made built space having no connection to the formal built environment of Mumbai.

Dharavi has provided social mobility to certain

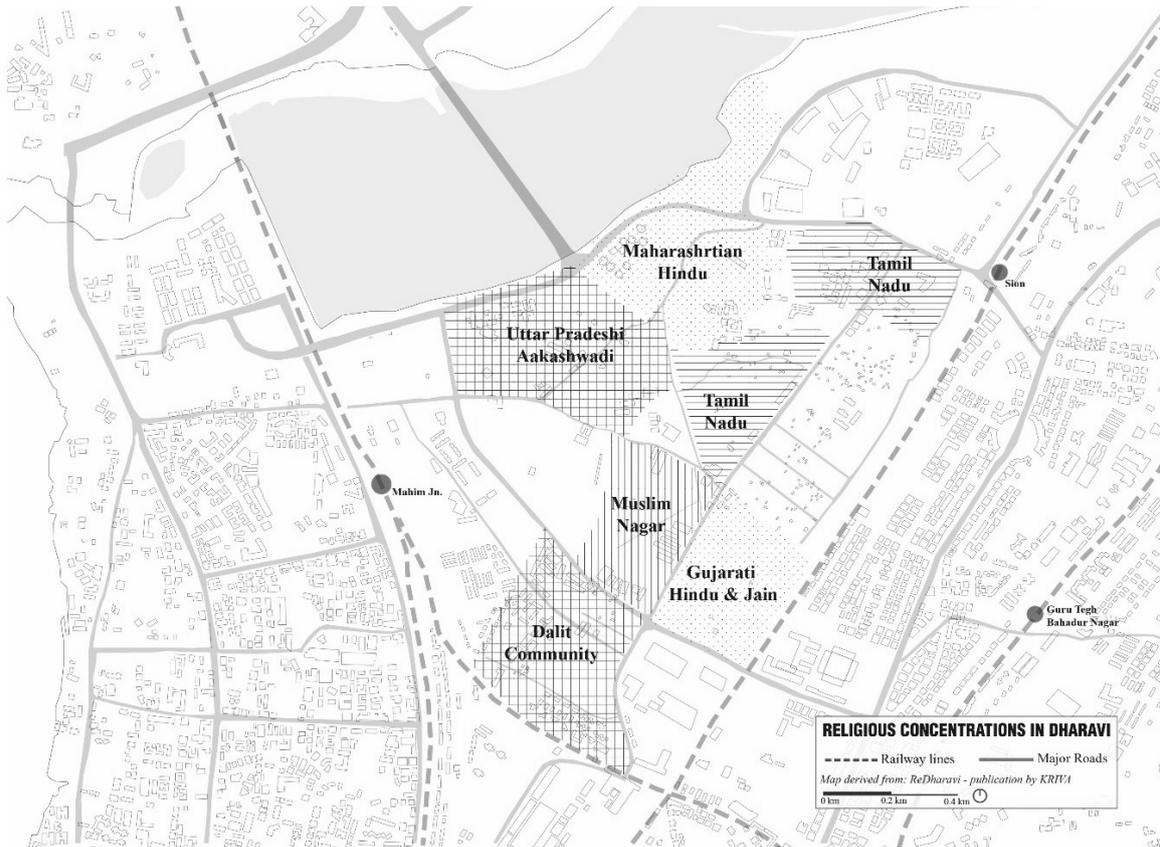


FIGURE 4 Concentration of religious and state-wise concentration of migrants in Dharavi; (Source - Derived from Patel, S. et al. (2010))

set of migrants who have been able to transition themselves into successful entrepreneurs, business owners and middle class employees, illustrated by several success stories in documentaries (Mccloud, K., 2010), books and newspaper articles. However, Dharavi remains predominantly an area of poverty with a very low average income compared to its surrounding areas (Census, 2011). Glaeser's claim that urban poverty as a sign of urban growth resulting in a desirable metamorphosis can be thus questioned. What had once started as a low-caste poor settlement (Dossal, M., 1991) has remained so till this date, with migration taking place through word-of-mouth connections in the village, retaining the socio-economic dynamics, where different communities occupy their own distinct spatial territory (Fig. 4). What emerges is a surprising static nature of social mobility instead of a dynamism and metamorphosis desired by Saunders's vision of the arrival city.

Although there has been spatial transformation and socio-economic changes within Dharavi,

it has not transitioned in the manner Saunders (2011) and Glaeser (2011) hope for. Unable to escape the trappings of poverty and a rigid social composition, Dharavi remains what it started out as – an arrival city in its essentials and nothing more.

PROPOSITION – DHARAVI IS A SITE OF INGENUITY IN INFORMAL ECONOMY THAT NEEDS RECOGNITION FROM THE FORMAL STATE

An extensive informal economy, present in most informal settlements of the global south forms much of the basis of this discourse, ranging from scholars and authors such as De Soto, H. (1990), Turner, J. (1968) to contemporary writers such as Neuwirth, R. (2011). A prolific argument was presented by De Soto in Peru, where informal economic activities are seen as natural response by the poor to the restrictiveness of the formal system. Informal areas are portrayed as bustling with ingenuity and energy, where the survival instincts of the inhabitants is to be lauded instead

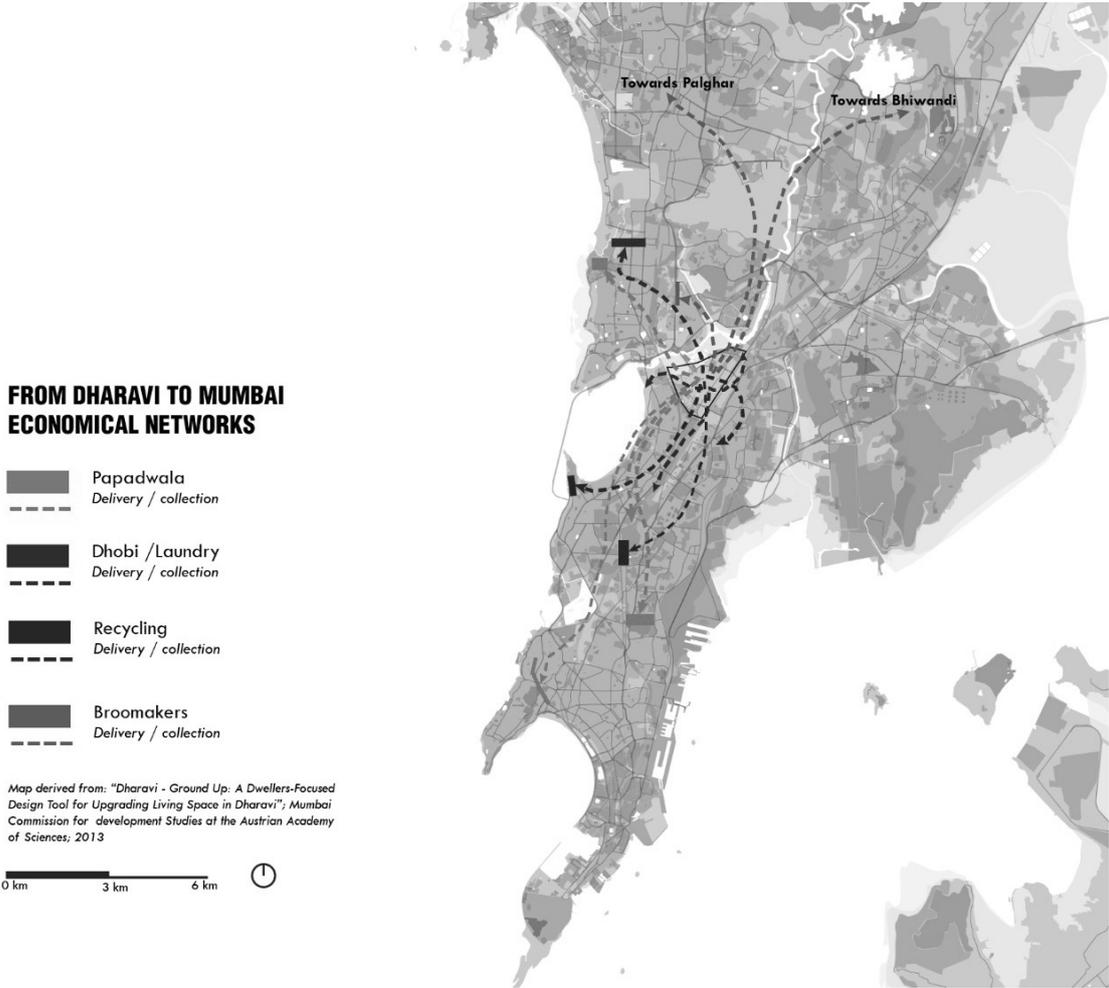


FIGURE 5 A wide range of economic networks emerge from Dharavi, connecting it to the rest of Mumbai (Source: Derived from Ranede, S. and Doongerwala, Q.)



FIGURE 6 Industries such as embroidery and recycling form large part of Dharavi's expanse

of suppressed (De Soto, H., 1990). Although De Soto's lack of a methodological approach and a sound statistical base has been criticised (Rossini, R.G. and Thomas, J.J., 1990), it still has had a large influence in academia.

Robert Neuwirth follows on De Soto's hypothesis citing the qualities of informal economy. Neuwirth applauds De Soto's simple and intuitive response to simplify the regulations so as to enable the informal businesses to join the formal economy (Neuwirth, R., 2016, 205), giving an anecdotal and vivid account of System D⁴ - the massive 'other' economy present that is beyond the law, based on small sales and profits that cumulatively amount to a large amount of wealth and is at the same time microscopic yet global in nature. It is ingenuity economy, the economy of improvisation and self-reliance, the do-it yourself (DIY) economy, which has transformed itself from the economy of desperation to the economy of aspiration (Neuwirth, R., 2016, 16-18). This spontaneous system, dominated by the ideology of improvisation is synonymous with the urbanisation processes in the global south, bringing commerce and opportunities to informal settlements that are off the governmental grid. Neuwirth is not alone. A radical claim was made by Rem Koolhaas, in his work on non-western cities, envisioning them as 'incubators of the future prospect of the global city' (Enwezor, O., 2003). Koolhaas attempts to turn dysfunctionality resulting from informal urbanisation in developing countries into a virtue, citing Lagos as the 'ultimate dysfunctional city' - but in terms of all the initiatives and ingenuity, almost 'utopian' in nature (Michael, C., 2016).

How does the ingenuity in informal economy manifest in Dharavi? Does the ingenuity of this System D provide a solution of integrating Dharavi into formal city of Mumbai?

Founded on the basis of a leather industry, Dharavi today is an emblematic example of 'System D' in Mumbai with a range of informal industry such as recycling of plastic goods, garment finishing, leather finishing, food packaging, etc. (Assainar, R., 2014). At the time of India's independence, which marked the rapid increase in urbanisation across, most of Dharavi was built up. However, it still provided enough vacant spaces becoming a favourite dumping ground for companies operating across the city (Nijman, J., 2010, 8). This economic nature of Dharavi has translated

and is visible to the present day. He observes that the connections of supplies and outputs within Dharavi to the rest of the urban economy in Mumbai (Fig. 5) are considerable and conspicuous (Nijman, J., 2015, 414). The last official survey in 2006 identified around 1200 manufacturing units and 8000 shops (Mehta, M., 2006). Other surveys have estimated that nearly 70 % of the working population in Dharavi are employed within its borders (Gruber, D. et al., 2005). Dharavi offers a very wide range of economic functions such as retailing, wholesaling, producer services (Fig. 6) combined with a strong overlap of ethnic ties and economic interdependence, operating mainly on the peripheries of legal boundaries. Most units of these industries in Dharavi are sub-contractors operating at the fringes of legal permission, with the formal industry often taking advantage of the readily available cheap labour and fringe nature of manufacturing which guarantees a low price of production. Industries such as recycling rely heavily such fringe conditions, as legal permissions to run such an operation elsewhere in Mumbai would prove to be too expensive and fraught with bureaucratic hurdles. Dharavi overlooks such hurdles in its DIY attitude, operating with most industrial units not being registered and hence cheaper for the larger manufacturers.

In many ways Dharavi epitomises Neuwirth's claim, operating System-D to its maximum capacity. However, whether System D has evolved without interference and support from the formal state, can be questioned in Dharavi. Several authors argue that informality is not just the purview of the urban poor, but also forms the realm of the elite, arguing that informality cannot be restricted to the boundary of the slum or de-proletarian /entrepreneurial labour (Roy, A., 2011, 233). Industries such as recycling (Fig. 6) highlight this relationship of informality and the formal state, which is ambiguous and an ever shifting dynamic between legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorised. These industries operate in full view, conspicuous and thriving with the knowledge of the authorities. The state even encourages the presence of such industries, as they provide a service which a legal enterprise cannot provide. Dharavi falls into a 'grey zone' of an ambiguous relationship with the state which contradicts with Neuwirth's optimistic and survival account of informal economy devoid of any interference from state. This complex relationship of the 'grey zone' drives the form

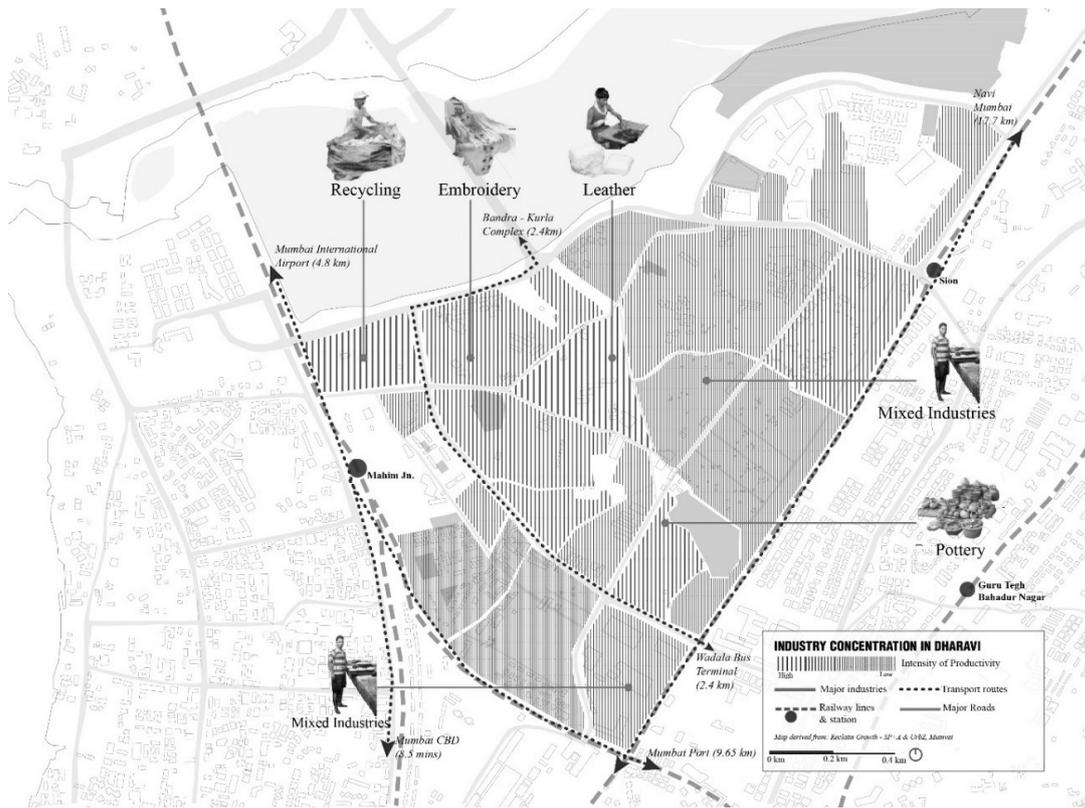


FIGURE 7 Concentration of different distinct typologies of economies within Dharavi (Source: Derived from “Reclaim Growth” by Urbz, Mumbai - <http://www.urbz.net/articles/dharavi-reclaim-growth>)



FIGURE 8 Dharavi’s spaces are in constant metamorphosis, illustrating a model of kinetic urbanism (Source: Ting Chen; <https://flic.kr/p/6X2KqJ>)

of urban development in Dharavi and Mumbai, cementing the power of the state and is therefore desired by it. Informal economy, therefore is just not a survival mechanism by the inhabitants of the informal settlements, but is almost used as a tool by the formal state.

PROPOSITION - DHARAVI ILLUSTRATES 'KINETIC URBANISM', FREE FROM ANY CONNECTIONS TO ITS PHYSICAL OR 'STATIC' FORM

Historically, cities of the global south have always incorporated a landscape of pluralism, illustrating both physical and visual contradictions in their spatial configuration (Mehrotra, R., 2008). In countries such as India, Indonesia, etc., ever since colonisation, cities have operated with a socio-economic and cultural occupation that minimizes conflict between a multitudes of opposing functions. This nature of contested spaces produced in cities of the global south is beyond its material perception and is much more than its static form. Instead, it is more of an active instrument involving the most fundamental processes of social life. In the case of informal settlements, the nature of 'contested space' takes a more illustrative and visible form, that is untouched by planning processes and is as a result in a stake of constant change, termed as 'kinetic urbanism'⁵.

Kinetic urbanism and the spaces it generates can be explored in two distinct, yet interconnected manners. Authors such as Mehrotra, R. (2008) explore the 'kinetic' nature of urbanisation processes in India, working through the role of materiality and patterns in the spatial quality of urban spaces produced. Boano, C. et al. (2011) explores the nature of the 'kinetic' or 'contested' space as the urban system's capacity to absorb disturbance and reorganise while undergoing change.

Mehrotra propositions that cities of the global south have two components that occupy the same physical space - the formal or the 'static city' and the informal or 'Kinetic city' (Mehrotra, R., 2008). In his interpretation, the static city, built of more permanent materials such as concrete, steel, and brick, is perceived as a monumental two-dimensional entity on conventional city maps. The Kinetic City - incomprehensible as a two-dimensional entity—is perceived as a city in motion, a three-dimensional construct of incremental development. In his writings, the kinetic

city is temporary in nature and often built with recycled materials: plastic sheets, scrap metal, canvas, and waste wood. It constantly modifies and reinvents itself (Mehrotra, R., 2008). The Kinetic City, is therefore is not perceived as architecture by Mehrotra, but in terms of spaces, which hold associative values and supportive lives. Patterns of occupation determine its form and perception, comprising of a 'local logic' and is indigenous in nature. It is not necessarily the city of the poor, rather, it is a temporal articulation and occupation of space that not only creates a richer sensibility of spatial occupation, but also suggests how spatial limits are expanded to include formally unimagined uses in dense urban conditions.

Boano, C. et al. (2011) echoes Mehrotra's rhetoric, but approaches the nature of contested space through only informal settlements. Dharavi's 'contested space' illustrates the battle between the production of space for domination (propagated by the formal state) against the production of space for appropriation to serve human needs and aspirations (expressed by the inhabitants of informal settlements). It is viewed as a reaction to the technocratic top-down discourses that shape state authority's material interventions by slum dwellers who directly challenge this power and claim their right to the city through building, adapting and evolving their living spaces (Boano, C. et al., 2011).

Dharavi, in most aspects, embodies Mehrotra's kinetic city. It can be argued that the nuances and the subtleties in Dharavi should be recognized as a space which is in a constant state of metamorphosis (Fig. 8). Its materials and buildings highlight the temporary nature of the 'kinetic city', illustrating a mode production of space which is for appropriation. However, to state that Dharavi is free from its material form is debated by a branch of urban theory that analyses morphological types of informal settlements (Dovey, K. and King, R., 2011). Although Dovey & King uses their analysis from simplified typologies of informal settlements to open up a series of questions about the visibility and image of informal settlements, it does imply that these areas are dependent on their material or 'static' form. Their argumentation also suggests a dependence of the typology informal settlement on its relationship with the formal city, with the typology based out of morphological studies that are independent of scale and are not mutually exclusive. This exploration raises many questions

in Mehrotra's hypothesis of Kinetic city and its supposed independence from the material forms of the urban system. Other aspects of the 'kinetic city', such as contested space, however stand out plainly in Dharavi. The struggle from Dharavi's residents and organisations against the State sanctioned redevelopment project is illustrative of the contested nature of space produced in Dharavi. This struggle for the contested space of Dharavi is expressed through the spatial adaptation of the residents of Dharavi and their struggle to develop housing in a bottom-up process with aid of other grassroots organisations. This uprising has been echoed in urban theory, especially by the subaltern discourse. The voices of the subaltern, in this case, Dharavi's residents, bring forward the notion of involving locational politics in the discourse and urbanisation processes in the global south, thus transcending contested space to a political level. Still in its infancy, the discourse of and contested urbanism holds the capacity of becoming a prominent part of urban theory, based on its rising visibility in settlements such as Dharavi.

CONCLUSIONS

The testing of the three propositions on Dharavi reveal the multi-faceted nature of self-made urban systems. The first proposition demonstrates how different aspects of 'social mobility' contribute in the formulation of arrival city. However, the static form of social mobility and the lack of change in socio-economic composition can limit the potential of 'arrival city'. The informal economy of Dharavi, on one hand, illustrates the ingenuity of the inhabitants, but on the other hand demonstrates the complacency of the formal state, placing it in a 'grey zone'. Dharavi's dependence on its physical form is questioned by Mehrotra's rhetoric of 'kinetic city', where appropriation guides the production of space. The political action of appropriation also gets highlighted by the constant struggle of Dharavi's residents against state intervention.

However, this is only a limited range of propositions for a multi-faceted informal settlement such as Dharavi. In such a complex setting, finding the most relevant propositions that illustrate the socio-economic dynamics is a challenging part of the research and requires a more nuanced empirical methodological backing. Also, the propositions presented are illustrative of the range of its validity and exposure to academia. The second

proposition, exploring the role of informal economy, for instance is perhaps the most established in academic discourse, beginning with Turner in 1968 and brought to the forefront by Hernando De Soto in 1991. The 'arrival city' proposition is currently a debatable notion, with its aspects to be tested at empirical sites. The 'kinetic city' notion is explorative in nature with limited exposure to the wider academia. These propositions illustrate the wide range of each socio-economic aspects in self-made urban systems, each revealing its own set of complexities when tested against Dharavi. A way forward for this research, along with a nuanced methodological approach to select the propositions, would also be testing these propositions on other empirical sites, in order to reinforce their position in the emerging urban theory.

In the case of Dharavi, this research brings across new questions in its classification as an informal settlement. The propositions highlight certain dominant as well as subservient socio-economic dynamics and characteristics present in Dharavi. Propositions such as the 'arrival city' and 'kinetic city' question the broad definitions of informal settlements and correlation to self-made urban systems. The detailed exploration into the propositions present a more nuanced picture, questioning the established terminology of informal settlements and slums. In academia, this questioning is not new. Scholars such as Gilbert, A. (2007) and Arabindoo, P. (2011) have questioned the implications of the negative connotations associated with the terminology of the 'slum'. Warning against the stereotypes associated with 'slum' such as being centres of crime and violence, Gilbert writes against some of the UN habitat's policy statements, such as 'cities without slums' claiming that it would work only as a slogan - 'a rhetoric with an empty promise' (Gilbert, A., 2007, 710). Arabindoo questions the implications of such terminology in the urban theory produced. She argues that slums are epistemologically inadequate in terms of conceptualising urban poverty and thereby distorting policy decisions (Arabindoo, P., 2011).

In this research, the exploration through these propositions also highlight, albeit for the case of Dharavi that equating it to an 'informal settlement' or 'slum' as done by the formal state is restrictive in nature. Instead, Dharavi offers what most other urban settlements have to offer. It offers certain aspects of social mobility for people

to gain a foothold into better neighbourhoods of the city as well as for rural migrants to find a niche in the urban environment. Along with social mobility, it offers economic opportunities, which although informal in nature, co-exist along with the formal state. It also offers a mode for appropriation, spatially as well as politically. These socio-economical as well as political elements are not exclusive to 'informal settlements' such as Dharavi, but are crucial elements of urban systems in general. Taking the presented propositions in this research as an example, can we reposition Dharavi in the urban theory discourse?

This raises questions regarding the differences between self-made urban systems and informal settlements in urbanisation processes in the global south. Can we still equate self-made urban systems with informal settlements? Is it now time

to disassociate urban poverty which is always in correlation to self-made and the informal? In this changing geography of urbanisation processes now centred in the global south, it becomes essential to raise these differences and question the position of self-made urban systems, offering a rethink on the current dominant theoretical perceptions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1. Southern Turn in Urban studies: With several interpretations of this term present, I interpret this as the literature, exploring the global cities of the south, understanding and testing the socio-economic changes and their impact. Several authors such as Appadurai (1996, 2001), Roy (2009, 2011) and Rao (2006) and other popular writers such as Saunders (2011) have been recently exploring this phenomena.
2. Which comprise of local agencies and people, moving towards a non-western approach in theorizing urbanisation processes
3. A detailed exploration into the history of Dharavi is enclosed in the Appendix
4. System D has been adapted by Neuwirth as a metonym for informal economy. The term is derived from 'debrouillards' - by French speaking Caribbean and Africa that used to describe particularly effective and motivated people. System D is a street term of 'debrouillards' used in the former French colonies.
5. See Mehrotra (2008)

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Mapping Thamesmead's Economic Landscape: an Ethnographic Approach to Self-Employment and Invisible Economies in Southeast London

Bridget Ackeifi
José Cesar Faria
Ghadeer Mansour
Oliver Tovatt
Ignacio Uliarte

Sociology Department,
London School of Economics,
United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

This research explores employment trends within Thamesmead, a historically low income community, developed as social housing, located at the periphery of Greater London. In an attempt to understand employment and local economic opportunity, the research found a significant number of self-employed residents and small, “invisible” businesses within the area of Thamesmead. These “invisible” businesses do not have storefronts or designated office space but function from within a home, computer, or travel between spaces. Still, these businesses play a major role in supporting the local community and in the area's potential economic development.

Through mapping, census data analysis and semi-structured interviews with local “invisible”-business owners, the research focused on understanding these “invisible” businesses and reveals and explores three key characteristics of the interactions between these small-businesses and the urban landscape of Thames mead. First, census data reveals shifts in the area's demographics over the past two decades. Those shifts include the largest account of African immigration in Greater London, rising levels of education and a growing number of self-employed residents and small businesses. Second, the research showed a disconnect between infrastructure and the community it is meant to serve. Local business owners lack knowledge, awareness and accessibility to existing supportive local institutions and social infrastructure. Third, the paper examines the above stated characteristics in the context of the urban form.

The analysis aims to understand Thamesmead demographic shifts, community and resources within the larger scale of Greater London and on a local level considering urban design, architecture and infrastructure. Furthermore, to add to the discussion of potential, the paper considers important planned development, investment and advancements and their potential impact on Thamesmead's urban, social and economic environment and overall urban design and management.

KEYWORDS

*Urban Economics, Self-employment,
London, Minority Communities,
Ethnographic Approach*

INTRODUCTION

Thamesmead, a 1960s modernist new town in southeast London on the south bank of the Thames River, is on the brink of transformation. Following the purchase of much of the area's housing estates, Peabody Housing Association is planning major redevelopment. In addition, a new Crossrail station will make major improvements to the area's links to Central London as well as major transport hubs across the region, will bring in thousands of new residents to the area. In this context, this research investigates the existing economic landscape of Thamesmead and opportunity and future sustainable development. This report describes the trail of research and analysis which found corresponding shifts in demographics and employment to highlight a growing number of "invisible" businesses, economic activities not visible from a street level, that made up a growing portion of Thamesmead's economic landscape. Empirical data, mapping, and semi-structured interviews highlighted characteristics of the relationship between these invisible businesses and the area's urban form. Jane Jacob's *The Economy of Cities* (1969) makes a distinction between economic growth and economic development, where the former is alluded to as "more of the same" while development suggest improvement and the building of something different. The economic landscape of Thamesmead is developing at a moment where the urban landscape has the opportunity to change as well. This paper discusses the relationship between the urban form and the city's invisible businesses and explores opportunities to inform the area's urban and infrastructural development as well.

BACKGROUND

The construction of Thamesmead as it is known today began in the 1960s when the Greater London Council (GLC) envisioned it as a town of the 21st century. The initial proposal was to transform the 1,300 acres of available land into a thriving community with more than 60,000 residents over a period of 10 to 15 years. To make this scenario possible, the plans contained innovative architectural ambitions to overcome the risks of building in floodplains while developing a densely-populated community (LdnMetArchives 2012). One of the most peculiar solutions used to avoid flood problems,

for example, was not using the ground floor of buildings. The impacts this had on social life in Thamesmead still linger. The modernist approach deployed during early development, coupled with the lack of connections to the rest of London, created a rather isolated community (The Landscape Partnership 2009, 3).

Another relevant issue that plays a key role in the Thamesmead establishment is that of local governance. The GLC was in charge of the site until the early 1980s when abolished by the British government. The local community, after a referendum, created the Thamesmead Town Community (TTL), which held land ownership and was responsible for managing Thamesmead. With the abolition of TTL, three institutions replaced it. Gallions Housing Association (Gallions) was responsible for the stock of social housing and the maintenance of public areas. Tilfen Land took on the responsibility of managing and developing the local land portfolio. Finally, Trust Thamesmead was responsible for community development (The Landscape Partnership 2009, 3-4). More recently, in 2014 the Peabody Housing Association bought all three institutions and is now responsible for the administration of the area. Added to this complexity, Thamesmead lies within the two London boroughs of Bexley and Greenwich. This inconsistency in the management, investments, and growth of Thamesmead has been one of the constraints to the development of the area (Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners 2015).

Existing Conditions

Thamesmead is flanked by significant pieces of infrastructure, such as the HMP Belmarsh Prison on west and the Crossness Sewage Treatment Works on east. Additionally, the northern boundary of town lacks a crossing over the River Thames, while the southern boundary is enclaved by the railway line. These physical obstacles reinforce the isolation of Thamesmead from the rest of London.

The incomplete and fragmented development of Thamesmead and its discontinued administration have directly impacted the quality of life of its residents and limited opportunities for regeneration of the area. Among these issues, Peabody points to some more relevant ones (Allies and Morrison Urban Practitioners, 2015), such as:

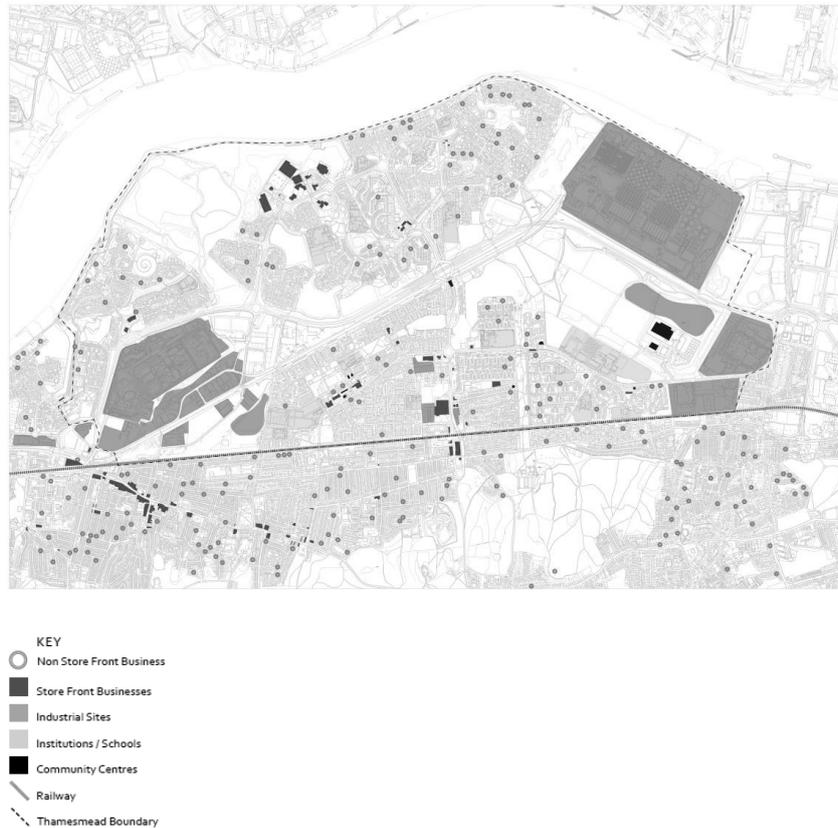


Figure 1 Commercial Activity in Thamesmead

- Low property valuation restricts investment;
- High construction costs due to the floodplains soil conditions;
- High rates of deprivation and unemployment that impact on perception and well-being;
- Lack of maintenance in social housing and public areas;
- Low provision of community and commerce infrastructure;
- Low connectivity with other regions of London and low permeability within its neighborhoods;

These conditions are evident when observing economic activities and the provision of services in Thamesmead. At first glance, there is little to no commerce in the vast majority of communities and neighborhoods, and the existing commercial zones are organized into sets of just a few units. One exception is the Town Center, situated in northern Thamesmead with car-centric standards differing greatly from the high streets of London. It is the primary shopping destination for residents, and while it serves as a hub for bus transport in Thamesmead, roads are wide and

have few pedestrian crossing, and much of the area is consumed by parking spaces. A survey of commercial activity in the region indicated that there is limited available retail space and an absence of bank branches, complementing the diagnosis of missing services for Thamesmead residents.

The map in Figure 1 illustrates the described fragmentation. The areas marked in red are the concentrations of commercial units existing in Thamesmead, low in quantity and density. In the southwest corner of the map is Plumstead, showcasing an example of a London high street with walkable streets and storefront businesses supported by the Plumstead train station. Similar networks of diverse stores accessible by pedestrians are scarce in Thamesmead. A significant portion of the area is removed from services, and even those neighborhoods that appear relatively close to a commercial unit may in fact have hindered access by the streets laid out as cul-de-sacs. However, fieldwork of this study reveals that a significant amount of supplementary services are provided through small, home-based

businesses. This project focuses on understanding and supporting the residents that creatively operate businesses in Thamesmead despite gaps in existing local infrastructure.

EMPIRICAL DATA

The empirical data analysis investigates the composition of the underlying socio-economic factors of Thamesmead's population and how these attributes may influence the local economy. The census undertaken by the British government every tenth year provides a detailed source of socio-demographic statistics. This report uses data from the latest census carried out in 2011 and the previous round that took place in 2001. To analyse the demographics of Thamesmead, five Middle Layer Output Areas were chosen: Bexley 001-002 and Greenwich 001-003 respectively, marked in figure 02.

Using the five output areas of Thamesmead, data on travel distance between home and work was analysed and compared to the Greater London region. The average travel distance is 14 kilometers for Thamesmead compared to 10 kilometers for Greater London. Public transport

and road connection are important for work commutes of the Thamesmead population.

Figure 03 illustrates the work location of Thamesmead's labour force. A majority, 64 percent, works in other parts of London, while only one in ten has a fixed working place within Thamesmead outside their home. About 25 percent of the local population either work at home or have no fixed work space. This group of residents is the focus of this project and forthcoming analysis.

Increasing Share of Professional Occupations and Self-Employment

The census 2011 data reveals a large share of low skilled occupations in Thamesmead. However, when comparing the development between 2001 and 2011, it becomes clear that the number of 'professionals' with higher employment qualifications has increased by almost 200 percent. Similarly, the self-employment rate of the Thamesmead working population almost doubled with a change of 96 percent between 2001 and 2011. Over the same period, the Greater London witnessed an increase in self-employment by only 12 percent.

Largest Population of West Africans in London

Another significant trait of Thamesmead that was found in the census analysis is the large share of African immigrants, particularly from the West part. Over the ten years of comparison, the population density of African migrants has tripled (Office for National Statistics 2016), making it the highest proportion in London (figure 04).

Challenge of High Unemployment

Looking at the unemployment rate in Thamesmead, the data reveals a significant increase of 61 percent between 2001 and 2011. This can be compared to only 5 percent increase on average in Greater London.

Understanding the Data

Several interesting implications can be derived from the census data. First, the growing number of professionals and self-employment may be correlated with the rapid increase in immigration. Self-employment and professional occupations require a higher level of knowledge and skills than required for jobs available in Thamesmead.



Figure 2 Census MLOA

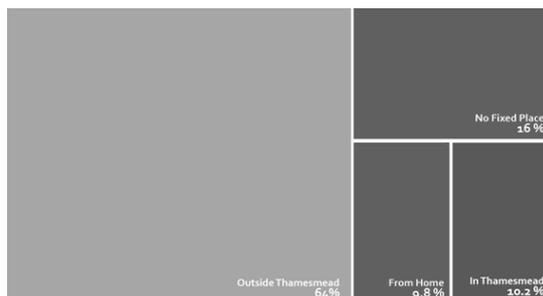


Figure 3 Working Location of Thamesmead's Workforce



Figure 4 Share of African Migrants

The higher unemployment may also be due to the quality of jobs being misaligned with residents' credentials. Some scholars have found a positive association between self-employment and unemployment at the country level, where higher rates of unemployment go hand-in-hand with a larger share of self-employment (see for example Bøgenhold & Stabler 1990).

Given the growing number of small businesses in Thamesmead, it is important to make a distinction between self-employment and entrepreneurship. According to Baumol & Schilling (2008, 1), “[a]n entrepreneur is an individual who organizes, operates, and assumes the risk of creating new businesses”. The same authors make a distinction between innovative and replicative entrepreneur, where the former creates something new whereas the latter starts a business by copying existing products or services (*ibid.*). Henrekson and Sanandaji (2014) describe entrepreneurship as growth-driven whereas self-employment simply denotes small-business ownership without a focus on innovation or growth. This distinction is important, as the two definitions often conflict (*ibid.*). Many of Thamesmead enterprises interviewed in this study belong to the second category.

There are several theories that try to explain why self-employment may differ across different ethnic groups within a similar geographical area, such as London. The disadvantage theory suggests that some groups in society are simply “pushed” into self-employment because of experiencing disadvantages in the labour market. Discrimination or language barriers may, for example, lower the returns to employment for some groups and make them prefer self-

employment (Fairlie & Meyer 1994). According to the enclave theory, the geographical concentration of certain immigrant groups in a specific area may facilitate the creation of strong entrepreneurial networks, which could in turn explain the difference in self-employment (Borjas 1986). Both the disadvantage and the enclave theory well describe the socio-economic situation in Thamesmead.

INTERVIEWS

In order to assess the composition of economic resources available in Thamesmead, semi-structured interviews were conducted with various stakeholders categorized as institutions and individual business owners. Thamesmead has a unique structure of governance situated within the two London boroughs of Bexley and Greenwich, yet independently owned and managed by the Peabody Institute. Efforts to boost the local economy of Thamesmead are thereby less defined, with less streamlined resources. In particular, the Thames Innovation Centre (TIC) of Bexley was found to provide resources to the local business owners and entrepreneurs in Thamesmead. TIC is a young not-for-profit model of economic development support, delivered only ten years ago. TIC serves as the primary case study of an existing business support organization within Thamesmead, allowing for a critical examination of what works and what does not.

TIC houses the Bexley Economic Development Office to connect business start-ups with resources. Two business liaison officers explained the limited commercial space availability, with only 2% vacancy rate. The assistance is offered to businesses based in the borough, with a variety of support pillars available through the Bexley Council. For example, a partnership with the Department of Work and Pensions exists to market employment opportunities. Intro-to self-employment and business plan write-up workshops are offered by the business liaison officers, along with funding and sector-specific grant application support to somewhat make up for the absence of formal banking facilities in Thamesmead. The Centre provides virtual offices, and conference, meeting and event space, and access to a commercial property database regularly updated to reflect competitive land prices within the borough.

The highlighted issue in the words of a business liaison officer is that personnel is a challenge for companies interested in moving to Thamesmead since “talent leaves.” With no universities in the area, those who leave town for university typically do not return. The biggest employers in Thamesmead are therefore retail. It was disclosed that a data communications center was to move to the area but negotiations fell through possibly due to a limited qualified local labour force. Within the next two years, Ocado, an online food distributor, and Amazon, a digital commerce distribution center, will provide an estimated four thousand low-tech jobs to the area, occupying former industrial warehouse spaces located at the extremities of Thamesmead.

As it stands, there is a trend of low-skilled job opportunities coupled with a growing rate of achievement in education. This creates a cycle of qualified individuals having to work outside of Thamesmead or for themselves, as well as limited training and scarce resources for those without high-skill credentials. The absence of diversified jobs and sectors in Thamesmead limits inward investment and services formally offered within communities. With a focus on high-tech businesses, the facilities manager of TIC offered insight to the operation with spaces for rent ranging from a desk in a shared room to a full commercial unit, all affordable relative to Greater London. The structure of payments are that of rolling rent instead of a fixed lease, to mitigate the risk of long-term commitment for small businesses. Basic amenities of an address, formal meeting place, business telephone number, and plug-in internet are available for users of the space, alleviating some limitations of working from home. However, a problematic aspect about the layout of the building is that it is not open to the public. Not only is it away from any passer-by traffic by location in an old industrial estate, TIC requires sign-in and appointment access only to patrons of the businesses. Lift access is restricted only to those with a key card. The facility is very secure, but for businesses in need of accessibility and visibility to consumers, this would inhibit growth and reduce the likelihood of success. There are no indications of the businesses inside TIC posted outside of the building.

With a better understanding of resources available to businesses, the perspective of business owners will allow for insight into the needs

of local businesses as well as the disconnect between public resources and the businesses they aim to support. Interviews with a sample of ten local business owners were conducted. Their businesses are listed online but they do not have a commercial storefront. Interviews were qualitative and covered the businesses’ general characteristics: location, lifespan, structure, employees, expectations, resources used, and challenges faced. The participants were self-selected upon cold-call invitations to share attitudes and opinions from the team of researchers. The industries that each business belongs to vary. The businesses are Leamar Associates (tutoring centre), Julius Lodge (hostel), Darcoss Systems (IT services), Solidus Security (security services), NG Network Consultancy (software development), Tee Break (clothing retailer), GAP Mobile (personal trainer), Duduwa Talking Drummers (entertainment), Trailes Upholstery (furniture exchange), and Natalie’s World Entertainment (children’s events). When interviews were conducted, two of the ten businesses were no longer in operation: GAP Mobile and Solidus Security. Interviews with the independent business owners highlight three key obstacles to the success of their business: the lack of space, funding, and support.

Leamar Associates is a tutoring center run out of the owner’s home. A key finding is highlighted in the description of this business operation: “The greatest challenge in sustaining my business is finding a location outside of my home, but nearby within Thamesmead”. Solidus Security similarly struggled in finding suitable space to operate. Providing security services became unfeasible as the owner shut down operations, however he states, “If I went back to where I was I would definitely need bigger premises. Not very large, but large enough to accommodate what I know I will be needing. I used to have a workbench and enough machinery and tools to get by. All of that went through the door, so I lost all of that. And now, if I were to get back to that stage I would like to recapitalize... get the premises that I need. Maybe 800 square feet would suffice to make it feasible to create an office space and a workshop.” Solidus Security also indicated the issue of financing. “I think that if I had some hope of getting the finances I would get a new impetus for doing all that I needed to do to make the business run again. But it’s a Catch-22. You need the fire to be lit in order to get the furnace going.” Echoing

this sentiment is the owner of Julius Lodge, who laughed while answering the question of whether or not funding is a challenge, responding “in business, funding is always a challenge.”

The personal trainer of GAP Mobile indicated, “I’m thinking about starting [the business] up again, but if I would do it I would want to know more about how to run a business.” The owner of Natalie’s World Entertainment stated simply and honestly that “I have found information on what I could, but there are many things that I don’t know or understand what to do next,” as she learns of the requirements for formalizing her business. Still, when participants were asked whether or not they had received any guidance or take advantage of public resources such as those provided through the Thames Innovation Centre, every business owner expressed a level of ignorance concerning the services available, most denying any knowledge of the local services altogether.

In addition to the knowledge gap, networking among other business owners is rare within the home-based operations. Interviewees express the presence and importance of weak social ties, what Robert Putnam (2000) would describe as bridging social capital. The owner of Solidus Security explained, “I used to go to a breakfast club back then, which generate unexpected businesses. People from the plumbing or roofing industry would be there and ask around if anyone would help them with different jobs.”

In The Death and Life of Great American

Cities, Jacobs defines social capital as “forged neighbourhood networks” (Jacobs 1992 [1961], 138). Jacobs points out that the less private wealth a person has, the more important the social capital (ibid.). And as Callahan and Ikeda (2014) point out, social capital is to a large extent built in public spaces: “on corners, in barbershops, on stoops and sidewalks, and in bars and coffee shops—when the physical lay-out allows it to form.” As these interviews suggest, support encompasses mentoring, networking, and business development tools that allow for a business to get through difficult times they are bound to face. While these services are currently available in Thamesmead, they are disconnected from community members and require outreach efforts to maximize their engagement with local business owners. There is an evident lack of linking social capital, which Szreter & Woolcock (2004, 655) define as “norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalized power or authority gradients in society.” In other terms, the transparency and trust in institutions is weakened in Thamesmead. Hence, any intervention aiming to support and enhance the local economy should facilitate the connection and exchange between business and business, but also between business and local authorities.

Additional to the above relationship concerning private capital and public institutions, is the relationship between culture or ethnicity and the public sphere. Architect and sociologist, Suzi

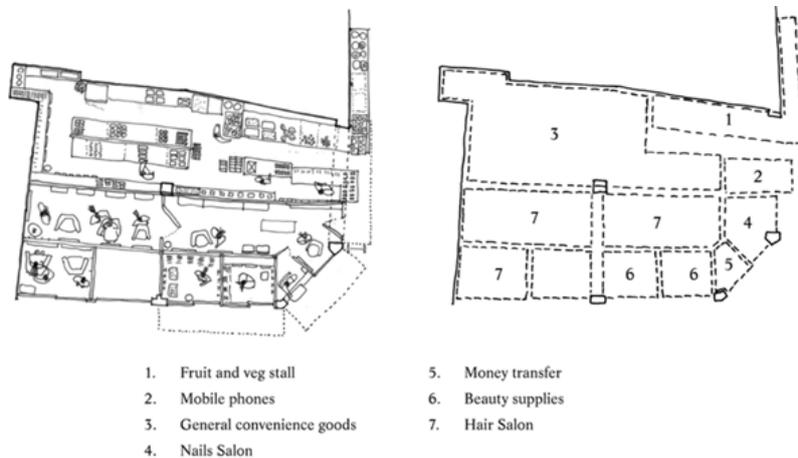


Figure 5 Mutualism on Rye Lane: sub-divisions and sub-letting of shop interiors (Source, Nicolas Palominos, Ordinary Streets Project, LSE Cities, 2012)

Hall addresses this relationship in field work on Rye Lane in the south London neighbourhood of Peckham. Located not far Thamesmead, Rye Lane, Peckham's main commercial street, is a dense and hyper-diverse area of commercial activity and central to the formal and informal economy of many immigrant groups in south London. Through ethnographic investigation, Hall observes how constantly changing needs of the African and South Asian migrant communities have developed easily transformable spaces (figure 05) – often divided and divided again, prominently reaching out on the sidewalk or obscured, mixing program and services – to meet the needs of the community. The informality of the space allows for the spaces to be accessed by a community that can often be left out of more formal spheres (Hall, 2013). In fact, Hall mentions that the subdivision of commercial spaces in Peckham to different merchants and small businesses, means that the per-square-meter some of the area's smallest rentable spaces come at a square meter cost that surpasses some of the highest rents in Central London. With this, Hall questions formal mechanisms of how we understand and set value to space. In the context of a super-diverse community under the pressures of accelerated migration, Rye Lane continues to bend and mould to the economic needs and developments of its community and in doing so certifies and maintains its position as an economic centre for many.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

Transport Infrastructure

Thamesmead looks forward to major developments in its connectivity and accessibility within the Greater London area. Transport for London is undertaking the expansion of the Crossrail. The extensions will cut travel times to central London by nearly half, connecting Thamesmead to the wider region, and vice versa.

Plans are also in place to extend the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) across the river into Thamesmead. The current rail line passes through Gallions Reach to terminate at Beckton Station. The new extension will continue southeast into Thamesmead to an unspecified station location on Thamesmead northwestern side and then continue on Abbey Wood Station. The Overground train network currently has plans to extend past Barking Station, further

connecting Thamesmead. The current reports describe an Overground extension from the Barking Station to Barking Riverside, connecting northern Thamesmead with a stop at the Town Centre. With three new major transportation links arriving at the newly improved Abbey Wood Station, the area will become an important transportation hub for southeast London. Furthermore, in the next five years, Peabody foundation is set to expand the existing bus routes throughout the area. This strategy encourages more sustainable modes of transportation such as walking, cycling, bus transit and the new rail networks connected to the area.

Peabody Development

In 2016, the Peabody Housing Association presented their 10-year long plan for redevelopment in South Thamesmead through an intervention that focuses on creating a “high-street” between Abbey Wood Station and Southmere Lake. Peabody has committed £225 million for the mixed-use development which includes housing units, commercial spaces, indoor and outdoor public spaces including plazas, a new library, community centre and other services. The overall ambition of Peabody is to “transform Thamesmead into a high-quality place to live, work and visit” (Peabody Document p7). This significant acquisition of housing and public spaces presents a unique opportunity for Peabody, both Greenwich and Bexley Councils and the Thamesmead and surrounding community.

Peabody needs to design the built environment as well as supportive services to meet the characteristics produced by the socio-economic, political and demographic reality of Thamesmead. It is important that in planning new housing and commercial areas, Peabody acknowledges the shifting characteristics of the employment as development rather than ‘more of the same.’ The emerging small businesses and number of self-employed, not only will impact the local economy but will transcend into other social realms. To support small businesses, their owners and their employees, governments and local institutions will need to directly address the changing pressures and needs of its citizens. For Peabody to continue to ‘grow’ supportive services, it would simply give ‘more of the same.’ Instead, Peabody can look to ‘develop’ the supportive environment to match the development of the local economy.

Second, it is important to acknowledge Thamesmead's accelerated rates of immigration over the past decade and how the area is now a prominent West African enclave within London. Although Thamesmead is often referred to as a city on the 'fringe' or 'outskirts', however, for London's West African community, Thamesmead is already a centre. As the area develops, it is important to allow these immigrant groups to help shape program and built form in order to capitalize on the opportunities they present as a community. Hall observes how the built and unbuilt spaces forged by human interaction on Rye Lane – Thamesmead can create a built environment that permits and encourages such human interaction. Within an active built environment, Thamesmead's "invisible" businesses can become visible.

CONCLUSIONS

This study examines the less visible economic activity throughout Thamesmead. This analysis found that Thamesmead has the highest concentration of African migrants in London, coupled with high levels of achievement in education and an increasing number of professionals. Despite this, most employment opportunities are low-skilled with big-box employers along the peripheries of Thamesmead, with commercial spaces few and far in between. Furthermore, this paper references enclave theory that observes a correlation between immigrant enclaves and an increased entrepreneurial spirit. Nonetheless, the current employment conditions are likely correlated to, and potentially the cause of, an increasing rate of self-employment in Thamesmead.

Secondly, the research conveyed a disconnect between infrastructure and the community it is meant to serve. Conversations with self-employed residents in Thamesmead highlighted the major challenge to find suitable space, funding and support for their business endeavours. Although there are institutions that offer business support and shared temporary commercial space, local business owners lack knowledge, awareness and access to existing supportive local institutions and social infrastructure. Soon, major infrastructural developments will meet Thamesmead and the area will gain easier and faster access to Central London. Alongside this, under the new ownership

of Peabody, much of the area's neglected 1960s social housing will be torn down and replaced with new multi-use development. Under these circumstances, Thamesmead faces a high risk of gentrification, meaning the area's residents and particularly its entrepreneurs and self-employed, will inevitably face growing pressure to uproot.

Supporting Thamesmead's self-employed and small businesses is key to supporting the vitality of the wider community. Within the urban eco-system, seemingly small economic shifts can engender fundamental changes in our society. The shift from traditional employment to self-employment and entrepreneurialism will challenge the area's supportive services and networks, placing new pressures on public institutions to meet the emerging values of the community. When Hall's research uncovers the hidden values of Rye Lane, she highlights how general social values have failed in this hyper-diverse environment and questions the methodology of how society comprehends and imposes values.

In planning new urban, social, and political interventions within Thamesmead, the Councils, community members and other institutions must take into consideration the existing socio-economic and cultural landscape. Only with a comprehensive understanding of the landscape will these organizations be able to reveal the community's true values and begin to accurately identify the support and access required for the area to be successful.

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Negotiating Entrepreneurial Space: The Survival of Puri Night Market in the City

**Wahyu Kusuma Astuti
Suryono Herlambang**

Department of Urban and
Real Estate Development,
Tarumanagara University,
Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Whilst the debate on entrepreneurial urbanism elaborates immensely on globalisation and structural forces in the production of the city, it has been widely criticised for its homogeneous context and inability to capture the provincialised practice of entrepreneurialism. This paper therefore will illustrate how the entrepreneurial practice in Jakarta hinge on the capacity of individuals in maintaining and anticipating socio-political relations between themselves as individuals or community. This includes the capacity to update and calibrate the ever-changing political economic condition, and finally to negotiate the existence of communities.

Manouvering between the discourse of legal and illegality, Puri Night Market exists amidst massive development of malls, apartments, and upper-class housing in its surrounding. The night market reflects what Foucault termed as *heterotopia*, or the liminal space which mirrors and unsettles the everyday of the city – yet it is lived and celebrated by the people. This paper will analyse how local entrepreneurialism persists, relates, and is reconstructed under the discourse of Jakarta as a global city. The analysis will highlight the network of actors, socio-spatial mapping of the market, and multilayers of discourse which challenges and sustains the survival of Puri Night Market. In conclusion, this article is expected to illuminate how the existence of Puri Night Market allows the circulation and reproduction of knowledge through network of multiple bodies and institution which creates a territoriality where the dualism of formal and informal economies are negotiated hence produces an alternative discourse to the entrepreneurial urbanism.

KEYWORDS

*Entrepreneurial City, Informality,
Jakarta*

ENTREPRENEURIALISM AND SPACE - INTRODUCING THE DEBATE

The term “urban entrepreneurialism” has been widely used by scholars since the work of Harvey (1989) to signify the shift in the art of governance, not government, that emphasizes on political alliance between public and private sector to seek for investment, innovation, and the rise of creative class (Florida, 2002). Harvey (1989) argued that in 1980s the alliance has been entangled with speculative mechanism in ensuring inter-urban competition and has been orienting itself in urban projects as to re-brand and upgrade the condition of the city to gain investment. This is where ‘cities’ dominate the discourse of entrepreneurial practice, although not to undermine its expansive network and effect to its surrounding, particularly as cities are presumed to be where interventions for creating welfare can be unfolded. Later, this mode of ‘policy entrepreneurs’ (Jessop, 1997) is discussed closely with the neoliberal conducts which promotes, “deregulation of state control over industry, assaults on organized labor, the reduction of corporate taxes, the downsizing and/or privatization of public services and assets, the dismantling of welfare programs, the enhancement of international capital mobility, and the intensification of interlocality competition” (Peck, et.al, 2009:50).

However, such definition of entrepreneurial cities, as Jessop argued (1997), emerged in the context of post-war Europe and North America as a response to the crisis and failure of national states in responding to the salient process of economic globalisation and competition from East Asia. Drawing from that theoretical background, in this article, we question the transferability of the regime, knowledge, and language of “urban entrepreneurialism” from its Anglo-American context and we seek to explore its concrete meaning for the local entrepreneurial practice in Jakarta. This article examines the existence and survival of Puri Night Market, a spontaneous and lively night market, in the midst of Puri Central Business district – a mixed use area comprised of commercial, offices, and residential uses developed by Lippo Group. This paper illustrates entrepreneurial practice in the night market and the relations between the two contrasting elements; the spontaneous night market and planned economic district in theorizing entrepreneurialism in such context.

Through looking at the operability and situatedness of Puri Night Market, it is strongly argued that the discourse of entrepreneurialism should also emphasize how urban residents anticipate and coordinate through multiple networks in surviving their small business while also re-configuring the relation with their surrounding economic activities. Leitner, et.al (2007) who argued that among the propagation of entrepreneurial city is based on individual freedom precisely resembling the contemporary liberalism where residents are expected to work hard, be responsible for their own welfare, and detach such matter from the role of the state and its bureaucracy. Entrepreneurialism therefore has unified with the everyday life of the urban residents as they have to survive their existence in the city. It becomes a rationality, coupled with a set of narratives and knowledge such as propaganda or policy which is (re-)produced by multiple bodies of human and non-human actors. This also aligns with the agenda of exploring what Peck, et.al (2009) argued as the *actually existing neoliberalism* which is historically specific, localised, and realized across uneven institutional assemblage in great variance of coevolving and co-dependent political-economic processes. Puri Night Market presents how entrepreneurial city is an actually incompleting and fragmented landscape with many temporariness and multiple finalities, particularly considering the place-making process it induces, the street as becomes an important element to the assemblage. It agrees with Simone that the street is a switch, it gives a sense of somewhere ‘in between’, it deviates, and “is more about relays of intensity and conversion of one thing into another” (Simone, 2010:232), rather than a designated space for particular function.

The writing of this article involves a process of field survey of the socio-economic condition of Puri Night Market which is far from exhaustive research. Gap of information might exist and have consequence on the narrative in this paper. In elaborating the argument, this paper is structured in four chapters. After the first chapter on Introduction, the second chapter will present the theoretical background of urban entrepreneurialism and neoliberalism and why its ‘provincialized form’ remains relevant to be researched despite of its omnipresent and often trivialized meaning. The third chapter will discuss the case of Puri Night Market and the

relation of its existence with its surrounding large economic district. This paper will conclude by pushing forward the case of Puri Night Market as a ground to re-theorize contemporary urban entrepreneurialism.

EXCAVATING ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY

Harvey's (1989) seminal work on the shift from managerial to entrepreneurial governance in 1980s has been discussed until now as it blatantly elaborated, if not predicted, the narrative about cities today – almost 30 years after it was written. Harvey characterize the early phase of entrepreneurial city with dominant discourse on “a public-private partnership focusing on investment and speculative construction of place rather than amelioration of conditions within a particular territory as its immediate (though by no means exclusive) political and economic goal” (1989:8). Control to global financial and information command and inter-urban competition are among the strategies for wealth creation. Peck (2014) see this as the early phase of neoliberal urbanism and Harvey narrated only the foothill of what now “thinly oxygenated and deeply striated plateau”. Leitner et.al (2007) too describes entrepreneurialism and the ambition for competition and economic success as one of the characters of neoliberal city besides also the emergence of quasi-public agencies promoting privatization and competition, and liberal rationality of the residents to contribute to the collective welfare.

Besides, the rise of knowledge, networked, and creative society puts a precondition to global competition (Ong, 2007; Florida, 2002). Entrepreneurialism therefore evolves into a ‘biopolitical’ process which is resulted from market-driven rationalities which governs bodies and life (Ong, 2006); even Rose (1996) coined the term ‘entrepreneurialisation of the self’ as to argue on how individuals and communities bear the risk and responsibility to create welfare. However omnipresent, it is dangerous to presume a generic theorization of entrepreneurial cities. Nonetheless omnipresent, Sheppard et.al (2013) argued that the mainstream global theory on urbanism and urbanisation needs to be decentred from its Anglo American native. Such argument is derived from its post-colonial roots which criticize the universalism and parochialism of knowledge (see Spivak, 1999). Such spirit has been carried by

many thinkers, one of them is Roy (2011) who, on the debate about urban informality, argued for the rise of ‘subaltern urbanism’ as a critique to the dominance of Western/universalist approach to research cities and provokes to reframe the existence of informality and its particular centrality to the urban production. Reflecting to the theories above, it is argued that decentring the context of entrepreneurial city is important as to re-theorise and reframe the particularities of places as a distinct but related phenomenon. The next part of this chapter will delve such heterogeneities in the case of Puri Night Market in Jakarta.

NEGOTIATING ENTREPRENEURIAL SPACE WITHIN CAPITAL EXPANSION: PURI NIGHT MARKET

The sun almost set that day when men and women were pushing carts, unloading stuffs, and assembling food tents – always getting themselves ready to welcome visitors to their place although they were not sure whether tomorrow they can do the same, this practice has been going on and on for years. As the sun set, lights from the commercial building and street gave some shade to the row of street vendors. In a glimpse, a prejudice of what is inside and outside, of fixation and temporariness, modernity and modesty, perhaps of who belongs to where and what can be made instantly by looking at the contrasting landscape of street vendors and commercial and business districts - but far beyond, this is a space of relation, of knowledge, codes, and ordering which no one really comprehends what it is and how it exists in the first place.

This is as Foucault argued about *heterotopia*, that “[e]verybody can enter into those heterotopian emplacements, but in fact it is only an illusion: one believes to have entered and, by the very fact of entering, one is excluded” (Foucault, 1967:21). Puri Night Market is indeed a site of control but it re-produces its own order by means of splintering knowledge which creates an interstice of tactics and negotiations. Although the concept has been largely debated for being too all-encompassing (Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008) thus prone in losing its significance (Harvey, 2000), heterotopia remains an important concept which adheres to the making of differentiated space, as Johnson (2013:796) argued “... heterotopia makes difference and unsettle spaces, sometimes exposing the extraordinary in the most ordinary



Figure 1 Puri Night Market situated in Puri central business district

of places [...] Life is full of different ‘worlds’: miniature, transient, accumulative, disturbing, paradoxical, contradictory, excessive and exaggerated”. It is prevalent that in the midst of a business district, the kind of noise, density, and chaos along with particular freedom and value that are celebrated through the existence of Puri Night Market as part of the city’s heterogeneous construct remains a critique to the discourse of global city Jakarta with dominant discourse on the modernisation and ‘formalisation’ of the unruliness.

Puri Night Market is located in front of CNI building and along Jalan Puri Molek in Puri Central Business District (CBD) (see Figure 1). Although housing area, offices in Puri Indah Trade Centre, and the office of West Jakarta Authority has already been developed in late 1990s, property development within Puri area recently has been progressing significantly after the operation of Jakarta Outer Ring Road (JORR) in 2013 and 2014 – connecting the area to Ulu Jami and Kebon Jeruk. Among large projects in Puri area, St. Moritz, developed by Lippo Group before the operation of JORR, was designed as a superblock area with integrated and mixed uses of 11 functions in one area including penthouses, hotel, convention centre, shopping malls, office,

school, and chapel (see Figure 2). After the operation of JORR, new apartments have been constructed namely Puri Mansion, Puri Orchard, and The Windsor.

Puri Night Market emerges along with the development of Puri area in around 2010. Puri Night Market becomes a place mostly visited and enjoyed by workers who are employed in the CBD. Puri Night Market operates in a vacant land informally, without any supervision from PD Pasar Jaya, the quasi-governmental agency responsible for marketplaces, and along the road surrounding it. It operates from 04.00 – 11.00 PM with majority of the plots are used for selling foods (31%) and clothes (28%) whilst a big portion of the lots are also utilised as a storage or warehouse for the vendors. Smaller portions of the sellers provide bags, shoes, and accessories (see Figure 5). The night market reaches its peak of visitor number during weekends and Id Fitr holidays. The night market is comprised of almost 150 vendors during weekend with more than 180 stalls.

Puri Night Market also provides space for entertainment for children and adults such as fun fair, horse riding, and group exercise at night. Figure 4 exhibits that lots for entertainment and

storages utilise the inner part of the vacant lands while food and clothes vendor occupy the outer part with closer accessibility to the pedestrian and motorcycle. This is the vendor's strategy of getting attention from the pedestrian and claiming their territory to other vendors. This too often generates conflict between vendors as one is blocked from the street by another. There are two types of selling lots in the night market: the mobile one and the one with stall. The vacant land is usually occupied by the stalls while mobile vendors take place along the pedestrian way in Jalan Puri Molek. The street here resembles a place of encounter, a place of counter-dominating the dominant discourse of value, as for Lefebvre (2003:19): "In the street and through the space it offered, a group (the city itself) took shape, appeared, appropriated places, realized an appropriated space-time. This appropriation demonstrates that use and use value can dominate exchange and exchange value".

There are differentiated rent price for vendors namely 700.000 – 1.200.000 Rupiah (including electricity) for vendors with stall in the inner part of the land, 500.000 for vendors with stall in the outer part of the land, while street vendors occupying the pedestrian way do not pay rent except for cleaning service charge. Vendors pay to *preman*, or intermediary agents bridging the interest of the state in terms of stability and



Figure 2 St. Moritz superblock development concept



Figure 3 People congregating Puri Night Street Market

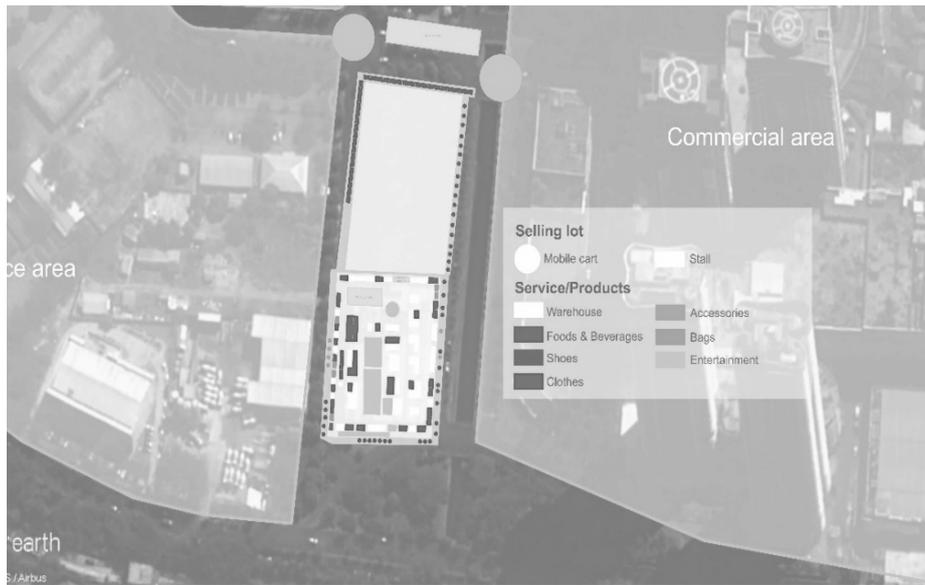


Figure 4 The layout of Puri Night Market

security (see also Wilson, 2011) who benefits from its clients, or in this case, the vendors who occupy unintended land in forms of rental charge. It remains obscure about who is behind the management and operational of Puri Night Market but with its centrality within the CBD, the role of private developers in allowing the occupancy of vacant lands for night market resembles mutual relations between the capital and informal enterprises. The capital obviously provides services and entertainment not for its workers but for high-end economic class, but it needs labours for its reproduction. To avoid its crisis, the capital therefore needs other actor to fulfil its needs while at the same time helps to reproduce itself. This is where the night marketplace plays an important role for the existence of its surrounding capitalist projects.

Through the intermediary agencies, or *preman*, street vendors gain the 'permit' to occupy although there is no written contract between street vendors and *preman*. A practice of anticipation, or "the ability to see loopholes and unexpected by-products of the powerful plans" (Simone, 2010) is implied here where *preman* also helps to facilitate and protect street vendors from burglary or evictions. Tactics and negotiation are practiced while actors such as visitors, driver, pedestrian, public institution, street vendor, or

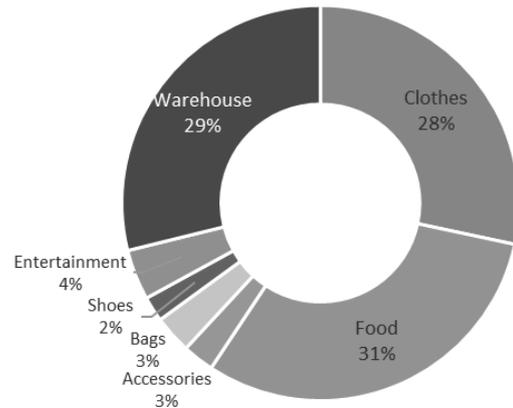


Figure 5 The proportion of products and services at Puri Night Market

preman create flexible configuration to survive their existence and fulfil their needs. Every element plays out their roles to exist in some ways conflicting or subordinating to one another. Beyond their dependency to intermediary agents, street vendors also organised an association where they collect money as a saving to anticipate if they are being evicted. However, due to lack of coordination the association does not gather a lot of vendors as its members.

This is important because the threat of eviction has been evident for Puri Night Market vendors

for they occupy unattended land and public street. In the past, there was a relocation program for street vendors from the street to formal marketplace. Historically, in Jakarta, threat to eviction of street vendors were always related to the intention of the state to discipline and relocate vendors into formal marketplace. As a comparison, in 1967, there were only 84 formal marketplaces with less than 26.5 Ha (7,600 permanent traders and 5,600 non-permanent traders) while there were 60 'informal' markets with less than 9 ha with 5,000 permanent traders and almost 6,000 non-permanent traders only part of it were re-developed as it fits with the city plan. The process of disciplining the vendors were followed by evictions, forcing street vendors to occupy the 'revitalised' marketplace instead. It was also aligned with the disciplining of streets as Governor Sadikin had the urge to expand, widen, and develop roads where 25% of the budget of local government at that time was spent on road construction (Ramadhan, 2012). Elsewhere, Kusno argued on the cleansing of street vendors as he quoted, "... he (Sadikin) viewed them as deviant 'others' in need of a space that would take them away from the visibility of "clean" Jakarta (the heart of nation's modernity)" (Kusno, 2013:85).

In the next regime, having military background and quite an influence of Soeharto, Governor Sutiyoso maintained the of 'stabilizing' Jakarta including the enforcement of street-vendors free Jakarta. Eviction and relocation were the ways of ordering notwithstanding that street vendors kept going back to the street as their revenue declined in the new area. Also during his tenure, Governor Sutiyoso issued Governor Act 50/1999 that regulates every private market with more than 200 sqm to provide an area for small traders with 20% of the effective area of the building, and was revised through Regional Law 6/1999 that the location should not be detached from the building and cannot be compensated. Governor Ahok's regime this day has almost quite similar approach to his predecessor in disciplining street vendors: eviction and relocation under the discourse of public order (*ketertiban umum*). Besides he also integrated the informal vendors into financial capitalism by registering them and introducing them into the use of formal banking to pay for retribution, where in turns street vendors are given ease to access micro credit. This is argued that the disciplining of informal vendors from the 'public sight' has shifted from eviction or

relocation into formal marketplace into a financial capital integration of small business into global financial system of banking. However, within such contentious political-economy process and history, Puri Night Market survives by manoeuvring its co-existence with large capitalist development who also needs the night market to restructure itself from crisis. It also survives with the ability of networks reconfiguring between street vendors, *preman*, public institutions, and visitors to anticipate and negotiate their existence.

CONCLUSION

This article begins with a provocation to decentre and deconstruct 'urban entrepreneurialism' from its Anglo American root by looking at the particularity and situatedness of Puri Night Market in the midst of Puri CBD. This instantly becomes a contested space of where street vendors occupying high-valued plot, illegally, and on the main axis of the CBD area yet street vendors have survived their business for many years. The practice of entrepreneurialism cannot be detached with the liberal rationality of urban residents yet it might open a potentiality of re-ordering and countering the dominant narrative of entrepreneurialism. It depends on the ability of street vendors to update and anticipate of what might come in the future within their group and with the asymmetrical information that circulates, particularly in regards with continuous threat of eviction or relocation to formal markets. The existence, furthermore, is also induced by the surrounding capitalist development in restructuring itself as it cannot provide affordable goods and services for its workers. It is therefore concluded how the entrepreneurial city hinges on the fissure, incompleteness, and temporariness within a contested capitalist development which faces them directly with informal economies, such as Puri Night Market.

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NAYA DHARAVI – a Community Vision for Reinventing Dharavi

Sujata S. Govada

UDP International /
Institute for Sustainable Urbanisation

ABSTRACT

Dharavi is home to one of the most dynamic and entrepreneurial communities in the world which contributes between US\$500m- \$1.5billion per year in economic output. It is also the most densely populated area on earth with 500,000 people in a density that is 175% more than of the next densest place, Mong Kok district in Hong Kong. Yet, Dharavi suffers from a lack of infrastructure and proper living and working conditions as well..

To offer a higher standard of living for all residents in Dharavi, “Naya” Dharavi, an overall sustainable development approach is proposed. The masterplan framework of “Naya” Dharavi is built on the following Five Pillars of comprehensive development:

1. Envision: Social uplifting; the people as a part of a fair and democratic system; a development which encourages a balanced living and is environmentally sustainable.
2. Facilitate: A robust institutional framework; community engagement; a long-term planning horizon with 80-year leases.
3. Create: New economic value; opportunities to upgrade current industry; a community economic zone (CEZ) as a sustainable model for Slum Area Regeneration.
4. Build: Integrated development; a multi-faceted infrastructure; affordable homes, decent basic utilities and sustainable transport.
5. Realise: A viable future; a legal home ownership through the Resident Purchase Scheme; a land development policy that can generate finance without compromising the interest of its people.

“Naya” Dharavi is an award-winning strategic framework that offers a higher standard of living for all the residents that ensures and maintains their economic livelihood by building on the strategic location of Dharavi and entrepreneurial nature of its people. The aim of the proposal is to build strong, healthy and sustainable communities and ensure a cleaner, brighter and dignified future for all the residents of Dharavi while addressing the needs of the community, the city and the country.

KEYWORDS

*Entrepreneurial City, Master-Planned
Community, Standard of Living,
Sustainable Development, Institutional
Framework, People-Oriented, People
Place and Planet*

INTRODUCTION

Dharavi is home to one of the most dynamic and entrepreneurial communities in the world. It is also the most densely populated area on Earth, suffering from a lack of infrastructure and proper living conditions for both families and workers alike.

Dharavi is an amalgamation of neighbourhood clusters with migrants from all over India, bringing people of different states, backgrounds and religions together that all manage to live in relative harmony. It not only offers more affordable accommodation, but also creates real opportunities for livelihood.

The various informal interactions that take place in Dharavi create a uniquely distinct combination of economic livelihood for its residents. However, these contributions are, in part, the result of poor environmental, working and living conditions. We need to establish a framework in which the industriousness of Dharavi is retained and enhanced - characterized by social equality, environmental sustainability, cultural vitality and a better quality of life.

Basic Premises

- Dharavi's key resources are land and people
- All residents need a home regardless of the cut off date
- A range of affordability for housing provision per family
- Industries and economic livelihood should be enhanced
- Basic needs and sanitation should be upgraded as needed
- A network of open space and community amenities is a need
- Solution space for high-rise and high-density development should be in certain key nodes and areas only
- Existing industries should be improved and sanitized and new industries should be introduced with new standards
- Residents and other key stakeholders should be involved in the reinventing process
- Dharavi should promote a livable, walkable, healthy and sustainable lifestyle

To **'Reinvent Dharavi'** is to provide a greater standard of living for all residents whilst ensuring that their livelihood is not compromised.

ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF DHARAVI

Though the majority of its operations work within the informal economy, it is estimated that Dharavi contributes between US\$500m to \$1.5billion per year in economic output. The economic output of Dharavi accounts for approximately 0.4-1.2% of Mumbai's total annual economic output (GDP). This is a considerable amount given that Dharavi's economy is largely informal. Mumbai, India's largest economy, accounts for 6.16% of India economy. Mumbai is also India's fastest growing economies. As shown in Figure 2, the economy has grown vastly and is set to more than double by 2025.

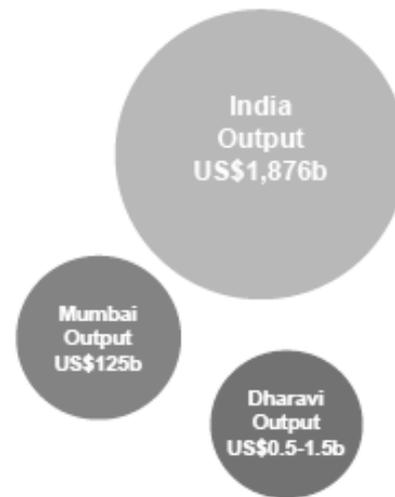


Figure 1 Output comparison between Dharavi, Mumbai and India as a whole

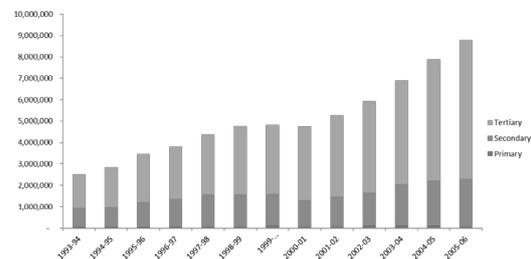


Figure 2 Mumbai Output by industry structure 1993-2006. (Source: Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai). Note: Mumbai = City + Suburban; Currency = Rs in Lakh

Dharavi's informal economy provides a range of essential services and products to Mumbai's economy. These range from manufacturing of clothes, textiles, wood products all contributing to Mumbai's growing manufacturing sector. Dharavi

also provides important recycling functions such as reuse of cooking oil tins, paint tins and plastics. This provides an important waste removal service to the cooking, construction and manufacturing industries and also secondary economies in the reuse of plastics and tins.

Contribution to Global Supply Chains

Dharavi's is fully integrated into both local, regional and global supply chains. Products and services such as plastics and paper recycling created in Dharavi are used in the day-to-day function of Mumbai's economy and leather goods, textiles and pottery are sold across India. Increasingly Dharavi's products are being exported internationally through initiatives such as the Dharavimarket.com and Dharavi Brand.

LIVELIHOODS, EXISTING LAND USE AND OWNERSHIP

Labour Force

Dharavi's residents provide Mumbai with an important source of construction workers, laborers, cleaners, drivers, secretaries and cooks, which are an integral part of Mumbai's service sector. Within Dharavi there are a wide range of entrepreneurs in the manufacturing industries (i.e. recycling, pottery and textiles) and also many in the service sector, providing essential services such as education, health, community services retail and real estate.

Household Income Overview

Household incomes in Dharavi range from almost nothing to INR18,000 per month. However, most households earn less than INR5,000 a month (US\$82) which is much less than the typical

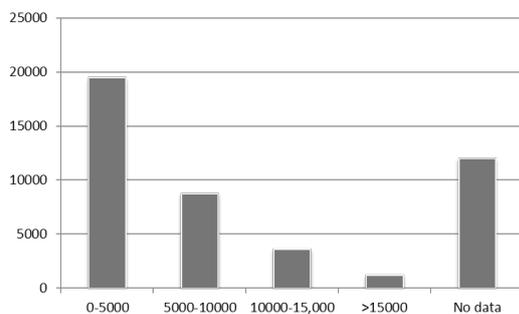


Figure 3 Household Income Distribution, 2009; Currency: Rs in Lakh

monthly income for residents of Mumbai which is more than INR12,000 (US\$197)¹.

Current Cost of Housing

Mumbai has some of the highest housing rents in the world – at Rs.30-70,000 per month (US\$492-\$1,148). Dharavi provides more affordable housing with its wide range of rents –some as low as Rs.185 (US\$4) to rents which are more competitive with surrounding areas –at Rs.5,000 to Rs.10,000 a month (US\$82-164)².

Land Ownership Breakdown

Land in Dharavi has 9 main uses classes, and Residential Slums have the majority at 32.95%. Residential and Industrial have 14.86%, Roads are 13.89%, Industrial is 8.58%, Residential (Rehabilitated) is 7.55%, Residential and Commercial is 6.16%, Private Open Space is 5.56%³.

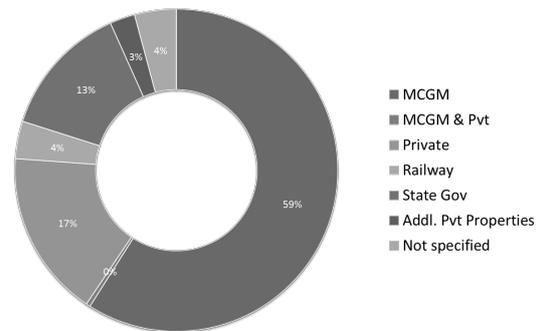


Figure 4 Dharavi Land Ownership Breakdown

WHO IS DHARAVI?

Role of Stakeholder Mapping

Stakeholder mapping is the process of identifying groups and individuals that are likely to be affected by the redevelopment of Dharavi. The stakeholder mapping process also sorts stakeholders according to their impact on the redevelopment and the impact it will have on them. This information is used to assess how the interests of those stakeholders should be addressed in a project plan, policy, program, or other action.

Key Players

Key players are those most impacted by the redevelopment and those who have the greatest

influence and should be the focus of stakeholder efforts and should be regularly engaged throughout the redevelopment process: Dharavi Residents and Resident Representatives; Dharavi Businesses; Government; Developers; Investors; Citizens of Mumbai and Mumbai Business Owners

Residents & Resident Representative Views:

“We are afraid that our livelihood will be vanished,” said some.

“Redevelopment will harm community [in the] thousands if small businesses that operate in Dharavi,” said some residents and charities.

“It is essential for Residents to work from their homes in the new Dharavi” said Sundar Burra – An advisor to Society for the Promotion of Area Resources Center (SPARC).

Dharavi Business Views:

“Reconstruction of the whole industry chain will break Dharavi. Workers can work and sleep here,” said Khurshid Sheikh - A Leather Shop Owner.

“Every Slum has a sale. Aircraft can’t be manufactured here, but we can recycle airline cups, food containers and other waste,” said Mobin – An entrepreneur

“The revamp will help my business. More buyers will come” said one garment exporter.

Developer Views:

“There are three major economic variables: the cost of construction, expected market prices, and the cost of capital.”

“We see the Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP) as a vehicle for us to change the lives of a very large number of people.” Dharavi Redevelopment Project

Government Views:

“This is the first time ever where after undertaking a project not only the developer but also the government and hence the city gets a share of the profit, which could be further used for its development,” said SRA.

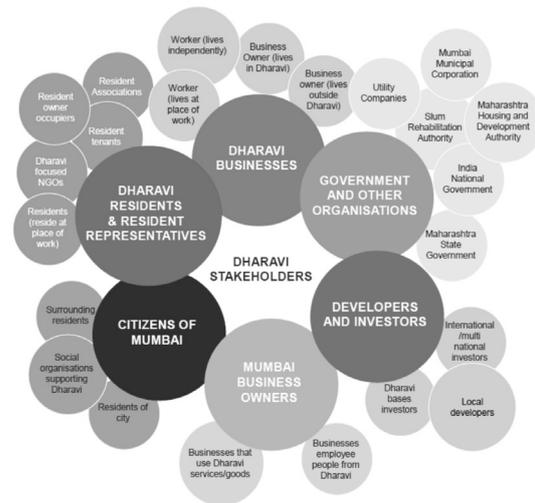


Figure 5 Stakeholders of Dharavi

SITE ANALYSIS

Baseline Review

Morphologically, Dharavi is a mix of interlocked informal and formal settlements, with the former being the predominant settlement. The informal parts have been built over decades by residents in a mostly unregulated fashion. The relative uniformity of these solutions reflects the spatial, structural and economic constraints. The formal parts are the result of development programs such as the DRP (Dharavi Redevelopment Project) and institutions such as SRA. The Slum Rehabilitation Authority has now dissolved, since the approval of the DRP.



Figure 6 Residential Premises and Toilet Facilities



Figure 7 Public infrastructure



Figure 10 Industrial Premises



Figure 8 Commercial Premises



Figure 9 Locations of Permanent Buildings

Density Analysis

Dharavi is clearly a place with extreme population densities. Even compared to a number of known high-density places, Dharavi is denser still. Excluding the creek land, the built-up area of Dharavi is 220 hectares. Dharavi's 500,000 people result in a density (2,272 people per hectare) that is 175% that of the next densest place, the district of Mong Kok in Hong Kong, which has a density of 1,300 pph. In New York and Hong Kong, density is achieved through multi-storey structures, but other examples consist mainly of low-rise buildings with little open space, much like Dharavi. Dharavi's density can only mean that more people occupy a single household of the same size and/or that the average dwelling is much smaller and/or there is even less open space in the area. In addition to living space, Dharavi houses many active workspaces; space-sharing is inevitable. The graphic below shows the potential land coverage required for housing. With a population of 500,000, 10 sq.m. per household and 5 people per household, a total footprint of 100 hectares would be required ($500,000/5 \times 10 = 1,000,000 \text{ sq.m.} = 100 \text{ ha.}$). With an average dwelling size of 15 sq.m. the required area would grow to 150 ha., and with an average dwelling size of 20 sq.m. the required area would be 200 ha. Many houses are over two storeys and space

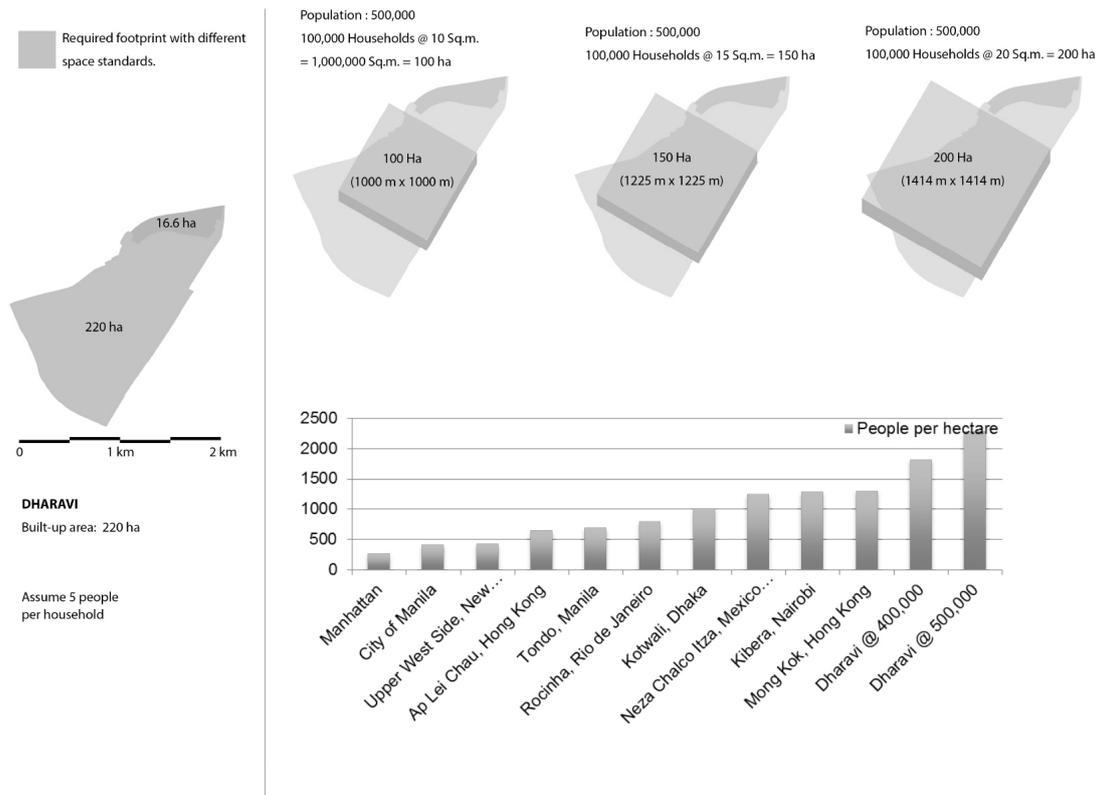


Figure 11 Footprint Variations with Increasing Residential Floor-space Requirements, and comparison with other High-Dense Areas

will be given over to streets, alleys and other open spaces as well as non-residential uses.

Proposed Government Plan & Concerns

The Slum Redevelopment Authority has been responsible for redevelopment of Dharavi and has prepared the Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP). DRA is the approving and monitoring Authority under the Ministry of Urban Development and Planning, State of Maharashtra. The Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM) is responsible for deciding the eligibility of the slum dwellers. Currently Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA) is responsible to redevelop Sector 5. The Government plan is for the rest of the 4 sectors is to be developed by the private developers and construction companies. The current Government plan is a top-down approach that will result in wholesale redevelopment, large-scale uprooting of social networks, people's employment and livelihood. Any positive change requires low to medium, but temporary,

disruption that may cause nuisance. Some people or businesses may have to relocate in the interim but will maintain the opportunity to be within the larger Dharavi community.

Dharavi is a place of enormous variety – there are many facets that make it a unique place. There are many positive characteristics but clearly there are also a number of adverse aspects.

Strengths

- Self-made people, strong sense of community, multi-generational, hardworking, enterprising in nature;
- Self-built and flexible development, sense of ownership;
- NGO support, social networks, community participation;
- Strategic location, high potential land value;
- Education, awareness, moving up the social ladder;
- Recycling hub, leather, textiles, food and other industries offering economic livelihood;

- Integrated workspace, close to ground;
- Human scale, compact development, walkable;
- Sense of identity, vibrant;
- Economic contribution to the city;
- Close proximity to Mahim Creek.

Weaknesses

- Poor living and working conditions;
- Lack of basic infrastructure and utilities;
- Hazardous industries and pollution;
- Traffic congestion, pollution;
- Severe risk of flooding and environmental problems;
- Severe public health hazards;
- Lack of interaction between community and Government;
- Lack of community facilities, public space, open space;
- Isolated position;
- Poor built quality of structures;
- Lack of legal status for many people.

Opportunities

- The micro-entrepreneurial environment can be leveraged for upward mobility – to be unlocked with infrastructure improvement;
- A Community Economic Zone (CEZ) could unlock productivity through financing mechanisms;
- Strategic location is a long-term asset;
- Existing co-operative developments could be further enhanced;
- Regularise and expand recycling hub;
- Technological innovations could improve living and working conditions in Dharavi;
- The function as an incubator could be enhanced;
- Adjacent mangrove and nature as conservation areas, integrated with Dharavi;
- Innovative concepts in transportation and preserve walkable networks.

Threats

- Government plan is seen as pressure to move people and livelihoods out of Dharavi;
- Proximity to Bandra Kurla Complex poses redevelopment pressure;
- Land ownership issues;
- Legacy of SRA's piecemeal redevelopment;
- Legacy of poor construction ill-suited to the needs of the people;

- Low-lying land poses continued risk of flooding and environmental problems;
- Lack of interaction between community and Govt;
- The dense morphology means difficult emergency access.

A Few Key Themes

Based on these findings, some key themes can be distinguished as a focus for a better future for Dharavi and its residents:

1. Health
2. Legal Status
3. Industriousness
4. Human Dignity
5. Sense of Community

OUR VISION

“**Naya**” Dharavi, is a potential framework that offers a higher standard of living for all the residents that ensures and maintains their economic livelihood, by building on the strategic location of Dharavi and entrepreneurial nature of its people. The aim is to create a Naya Dharavi



that provides opportunity for the community with proper infrastructure and economic clusters to function well within yet is well integrated with the surrounding areas and truly becomes an integral part of Mumbai. The purpose is to ensure a cleaner, brighter and dignified future for all residents of Dharavi while addressing the needs of the community, the city and the country.

The proposed framework is based on the **Five Pillars of Naya Dharavi**:

1. **Envision:** Social uplifting; the people of Dharavi as a part of a fair, inclusive and democratic system; a development which forms a balance with live, work, play and cares for its environment; a Mumbai which has environmental sustainability at the core of development decisions.

2. **Facilitate:** A robust institutional framework; community engagement through the DDC; a long-term planning horizon with 80-year leases; a stakeholder framework where everyone has an equal share.

3. **Create:** New economic value; a Dharavi that couples commercial prowess with community well-being; opportunities to upgrade current industry and jobs; a community economic zone (CEZ) as a sustainable model for Slum Area Regeneration.

4. **Build:** Integrated development; a multi-faceted infrastructure to cater to future demands for an integrated Dharavi; affordable homes that are safe, resilient, healthy and enjoyed by the community; decent basic utilities and sustainable transport for a connected, walkable and reliable Dharavi.

5. **Realise:** A viable future; home ownership through the Resident Purchase Scheme and make their residency legal; shared funding and equity from public, private community and NGO interests; a land development policy that can generate finance without compromising the interest of its people.

Our objectives are as follows:

1. Develop a long-term strategic planning framework as a guide for development.
2. Involve local residents, NGOs and businesses as much as possible.
3. Minimize preventable diseases, including exposure to harmful substances.
4. Ensure Dharavi is a safe place to work and continues to create livelihood.
5. Integrate Dharavi with surrounding areas as an integral part of Mumbai.
6. Create the foundation to build a bright future for current and future residents
7. Make Dharavi a sustainable community that is socially acceptable, environmentally friendly and economically viable through education and awareness programmes.

8. Ensure that Dharavi is home for all segments of society and contributes to the city, country and beyond.
9. Empower the people of Dharavi to envision and build a future together!

Development Parameters

1. Existing Dharavi population is 500,000
2. Per capita income of Dharavi is Rs.5,000/month
3. Range of flat sizes to be provided 30 sqm, 40 sqm to 50 sqm max
4. The flat size is based on workers/tenants, residents after cut-off date and residents before cut-off date
5. Optimum Land Use Distribution
 - Residential - 50%
 - Industrial - 20%
 - Office – 10%
 - Retail/Commercial use - 15%
 - Institutional/Community use - 5%
6. Prospective Land Coverage
 - Site coverage – 55%
 - Road footprint - 15%
 - Open space - 30%
7. Density is predominantly low to mid-rise high density
8. Low rise - 4 to 6 floors (with ground and upper floor for work, retail, community)
9. Medium-rise high density - 6 to 12 floors
10. High rise-high density - 12 to 24 floors
11. Overall FSI of 4 maximum
12. Land is leased on an 80-year lease with option for renewal
13. Residents pay for their accommodation, industrial and work space
14. NGO, Public, Private Sector contribution with land and funds

Guiding Principles

1. Adopt a collaborative, place-making and sustainable development approach
2. Create a walkable, pedestrian and transit oriented development
3. Develop high-density low-rise structures in the core area of Dharavi
4. Limit high-density mid-to-high-rise development in the periphery of Dharavi and high-rise development at specific nodes
5. Integrate and upgrade community facilities and a well-designed landscaped open space network
6. Incorporate an educational hub to create

awareness among the people of Dharavi
 7. Highlight art and culture throughout with

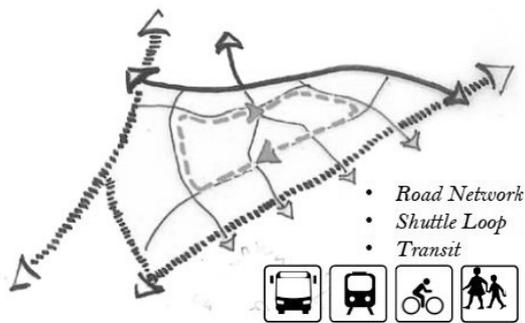


Figure 12 Increased Permeability and Connectivity



Figure 13 Larger Open Urban Resource Connection

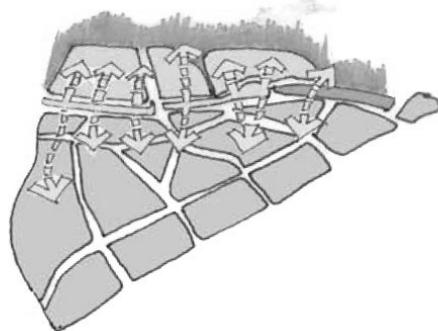


Figure 14 Edge Development Promenade

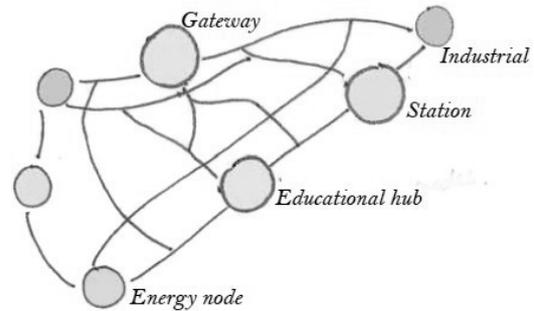


Figure 15 Integrated Development



Figure 16 Stakeholder Engagement

opportunities to showcase Dharavi's heritage

8. Introduce new industries such as clean energy, high tech, prefabricated and other green building materials to ensure and maintain livelihood of the people of Dharavi.

9. Restore the environment by converting the local mangroves into a nature reserve

10. Use innovation, sustainability and green infrastructure as the back bone to the whole development

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Reimagining Dharavi as a walkable, liveable and sustainable community that caters to the needs of current and future residents will take a comprehensive development plan that is based on enriching livelihood with the following focuses: Community, Infrastructure, Education, Transportation and Commercial Viability. A key consideration, before any development happens, is to possibly set up a Dharavi Development

Corporation (DDC); 75% of the members of which would be members of the community, and the remaining 25% of the members made up of individuals from the city and the state, along with professionals, academia and other industry leaders from the private sector. The DDC will be tasked with developing and managing the Dharavi Regeneration Plan for the next 86 years, as the land will be leased for a period of 80 years to residents and investors.

Leveraging the Community for the Better:

Building on existing societies and communities and streamlining the overall structure will make it possible to create a Community Cooperative Program so that volunteer work is generated and nurtured among residents, as well as individuals and students from neighbouring areas that will work together in the rebuilding process.

Infrastructure:

The first task is to clean up the existing environment, including streetscape, gutters etc. Then green infrastructure can be developed; first providing proper drainage, water supply, electricity, and then use renewable resources like solar energy

Education, Training and Collaborative Construction

Creating opportunities for education and awareness by way of building a new educational hub will offer Dharavi residents and a place for their children to go to school and a place where they themselves can get trained in vocational techniques, such as computers, construction, trades etc. A green construction factory for building materials such as bricks, stone, blocks, prefabricated units etc., could spearhead this effort while serving as the source for material needed in regenerating Dharavi.

Transportation Improvements

Improving the road network in an incremental manner by adding missing links, like those needed at the eastern edge of Dharavi along the rail tracks under the high-tension wires, will be the least disruptive. Improvements to the overall transit network builds on the existing railway network and two stations, adding a bus network including a Dharavi electric bus service that improves mobility, accessibility and provides better connections to surrounding areas.

Commercial Viability

The plan envisions a solution space of commercial intervention at areas of least resistance where people are favourable to regeneration to support the success of the overall regeneration of Dharavi. This should be in the form of higher density high-rise sited at key nodes. Sector five housing can then be developed as per the Current Government Plan, but done in a more sensitive way, absorbing Rajiv Gandhi Nagar and the Transit Camp.

Phased Development

Phase I: Immediate Term – 2014-2020

Phase II: Short Term – 2021 - 2030

Phase III: Medium Term 2031 - 2050

Phase IV: Long Term 2051 – 2080

Phase V: Longer Term 2081-2100

OUR APPROACH

Planning and Urban Design Framework

The proposed framework adopts a sensitive, place-making and sustainable development approach, keeping in mind the following:

1 Dharavi's informality is one of its treasures

The current settlement is the product of the exchange between permanent and temporary residents, who over decades and generations, have shaped Dharavi with the complexity of their needs and their relationships. This complexity can only be addressed by the involvement of a plurality of actors, including residents, local NGOs and formal and informal forms of association of residents. Any pure top-down and centralised approach will fail to safeguard the achievement of the current area and will always fall short in the immensity of the task of trying to improve the life of more than half a million of inhabitants.

2 With a plurality of actors comes a diversity of interventions

The master plan aims to be a framework within which many possible approaches, private, collective, public, planned and designed, informal and spontaneous etc, will contribute to the development of the area. The framework should guarantee a balanced

mix of big development driven by market forces or government funding and smaller scale interventions driven by locals and private residents.

3 Delivery versus partnership

Avoid the “delivery” paradigm (top-down development). It is the community and the local residents who, within the guide of communal frameworks, have the power and the knowledge to improve the current situation.

4 The government’s role is to support

The role of the government is to guide this process within a framework of regulations and incentives and to support it with investments in the primary infrastructure.

5 Incremental upgrading

The proposal is a long-term strategy framework, aimed at creating the conditions a balanced mix of spontaneous and planned improvement over the

span of many years.

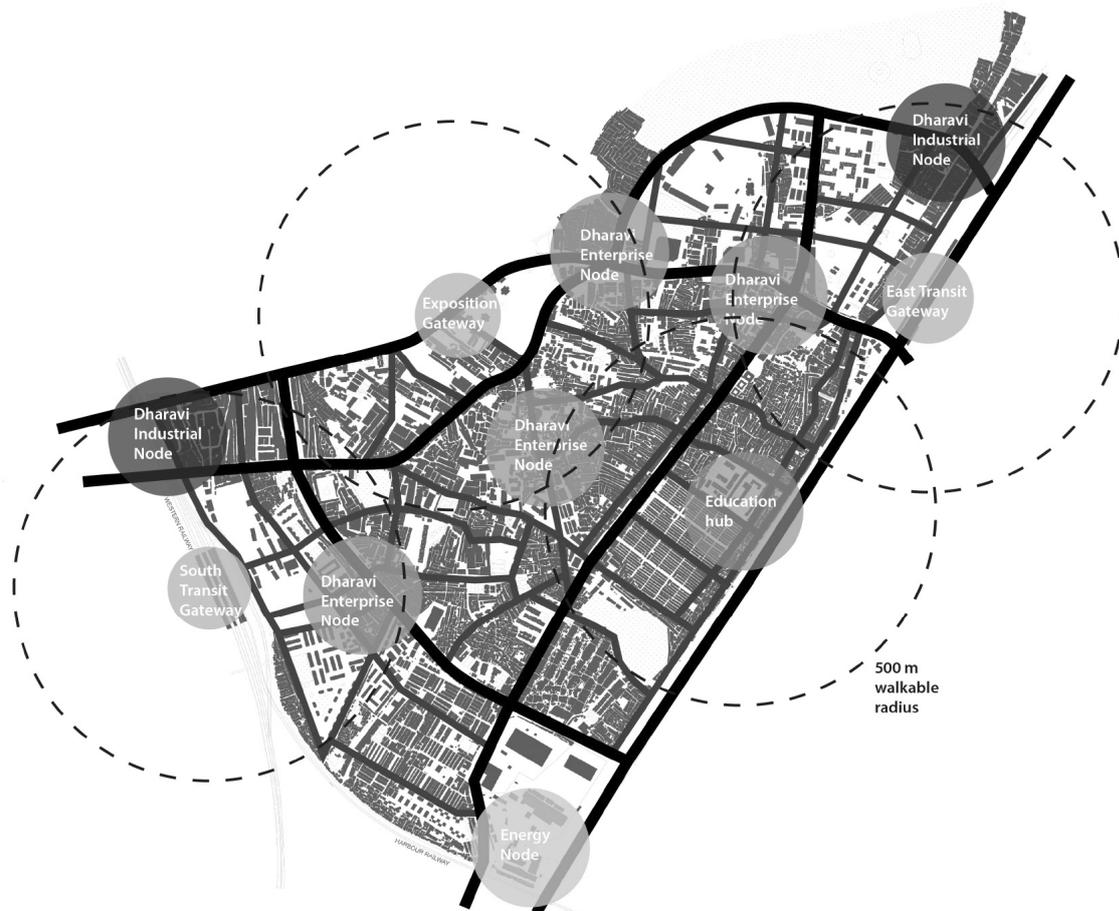
6 A “fine grain” approach

Local interventions coordinated with the local community instead of centralised big projects (except for infrastructures). In this way we try to guarantee the involvement of the residents, promote a sense of responsibility towards their local environment and promote the complexity of the city.

The “fine grain” approach and the incremental upgrading are strategies that favour slow and diffuse upward social mobility of the residents rather than a sudden improvement for a relative minority of people. From a morphological point of view, the fine grain approach aims to safeguard the complexity and the diversity of the current situation and at the same time promotes the incremental development of the area.

Integrated Development with Nodes and Clusters

Dharavi’s industriousness and productivity takes



place in a very informal way with a very intricate mix of uses. Work places are located throughout the area and, in some cases, the factory floor is used at night for sleeping, while sustainable in a way by minimizing the need for transport, these systems clearly pose a heavy toll on human living conditions. In particular, industries that deal with toxic fumes and hazardous materials should be located at a safe distance from homes.

The master plan includes measures to retain the benefits of mixed uses whilst addressing adverse impacts of certain industries that produce air, noise or light pollution, foul smells or excessive vibration. Dharavi's current clustering of industries has many benefits, for example businesses can easily share knowledge, raw materials or employees, and buyers can more easily compare goods and products. The plan retains the idea of clustering and proposes to reinforce a focus on recycling and sustainable development. These nodes will be used as catalysts for transformation and new economic development.

Dharavi is centrally located within Mumbai but as a result of railway lines and Mahim Creek its position is somewhat isolated.

The master plan applies the principle to create a hierarchy of roads, which is reflected in the hierarchy of spaces and building density. Along big roads, Dharavi will be more open, buildings will be taller and traffic faster and more intense. Within the different sectors, roads get smaller, the traffic is reduced and the building height decreases, down to the inner areas where traffic is mostly pedestrian and buildings are kept between ground plus three to four storeys. The low-lying areas will have buildings raised one level above ground to address flooding issues. This method will allow an increase of the overall density of the settlement without compromising daylight and ventilation and maintaining its spontaneous character.

A Framework for the Community to Envision a Master Plan

A framework is proposed for the community to collaboratively envision incremental changes to the urban fabric to enable a better future for Dharavi. This is not a wholesale master plan change from the existing situation.

This proposal could be the tool to coordinate and study the major infrastructure works that require a direct public investment such as road network, sewage, public transport, etc.

Zoning

After recognition of the pros and cons of the centralised and the bottom-up approaches and their differences, a framework is proposed where these two forces can work together in synergy, one complementing the other. The central idea is to favourite the bottom-up approach in the central area of Dharavi and to create external areas where the planned, market driven approach is given priority. Therefore two zones are identified:

- Zone A: Central Dharavi – lower density, bottom-up approach based on sectors defined by classes of roads
- Zone B: Peripheral areas – high and medium rise development

To provide more open space, a variety of building typologies are proposed to suit different housing requirements in recognition that all people and households have slightly different needs and ambitions.

Naya Dharavi can be an example of how inner urban areas can contribute positively to the city and society they are part of. The ultimate goal of the plan is an incremental upgrade of the city environment guided by the local community, coordinated by the government and combined with market driven interventions and public investment.

The incremental upgrade concerns topics such as:

1. The density of the building environment and the distance between buildings
2. The quality and safety of the buildings
3. The number and the size of amenity spaces such as public spaces, cultural centres, etc.
4. The liveability of the environment in terms of mobility, social interaction, level of pollution and sense of dignity and participation for the residents.

Hierarchical Road Network

The master plan includes a multi-faceted road system hierarchy that could be implemented over time in order to give people in Dharavi more options to get to where they want to or need to

go. Part of the risk of a quick development driven by a limited number of subjects and with big, top-down planning, is the loss of the current complexity of the built environment and the creation of a city with no public and outdoor spaces, where life happens only in buildings and where the communal element is overlooked.

A social and sustainable model where there is a clear hierarchy between spaces of different function and where the built environment reflects this:

- Main roads will be the spine of the infrastructure including the sewage network, the cable network and an eventual public transport network
- Roads create a hierarchy of spaces and accessibility, giving the character to the different areas (traffic areas and fast movements, pedestrian areas and slower mobility)
- They drive the development based on maximum density and maximum building heights allowed according to the different classes of roads.

Roads R1 and R2

Roads R1 and R2, being part of the big infrastructure plan, are planned and delivered by the authorities but ideally approved with some degree of public consultation.

Roads R1: these roads are the main vehicular roads connecting different sectors within and beyond Dharavi. These are existing roads (like 90 ft or the T-Junction Sion Road) or newly designed, based on the DRP scheme and divide Dharavi in different sectors; each sector becoming a unit to coordinate the design on the local level.

Roads R2: These roads are secondary vehicular ways; they serve the traffic between different

sectors and connect transversally the roads R1. Heavy traffic is not allowed.

R3 and R4

Roads R3 and R4 will be designed based on a local approach with public consultation and approval and will be developed along and accordingly with the upgrading of the building stock.

Roads R3: These roads are local vehicular and pedestrian accesses to the internal parts of the sectors. They serve local restricted traffic and emergency vehicles. These roads are identified within the existing urban fabric with the involvement of the local community.

Roads R4: These are smaller roads than R3 are categorised as R4 and includes backstreets, alleys and semi-private roads with no vehicular traffic. These roads are planned on the micro level and are mainly for pedestrians.

The proposed hierarchy of roads will be reflected in the hierarchy of spaces and building density. Along big roads, the city will be more open, buildings will be taller and traffic faster and more intense. Moving inside the different sectors created by this first subdivision, roads get smaller, the traffic is reduced and the building height decreases, down to the inner areas where traffic is mostly pedestrian and buildings are kept between two and three storeys. This will allow an increase in the overall density of the settlement, with the benefit of high density (more units, therefore cheaper, possibility of trade profit for dwellings with privates) without compromising daylight and ventilation and maintaining areas where the spontaneous character of the settlement is safeguarded.

Walkability and Open Space

Walking is the most sustainable mode of

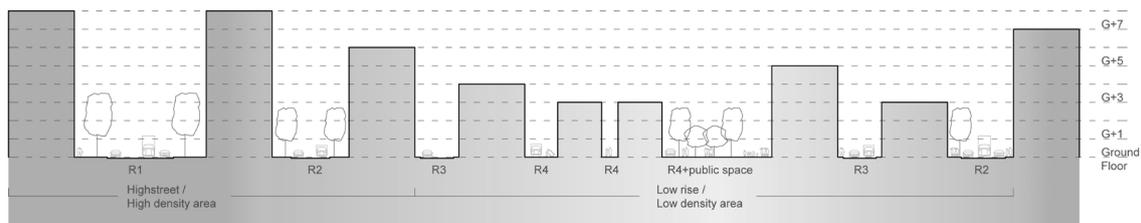


Figure 17 Road Network Hierarchy

transport with the highest health benefits and the masterplan includes measures to stimulate walking. Central for these plans is a network of green spaces and linkages. This green network is expressly designed to be away from the main roads to provide convenient journeys.

At the same time, however, the roads within Dharavi are not completely given over to motorized traffic. The roads within Dharavi will still be accessible and crossable by pedestrians, bicycles etc. Currently Dharavi lacks open space especially given the extremely high population density. The proposed master plan includes a variety of building typologies and heights to enable a higher provision of open space:

Starting at the Neighbourhood Scale: Case Study: Sub-Sector 4D

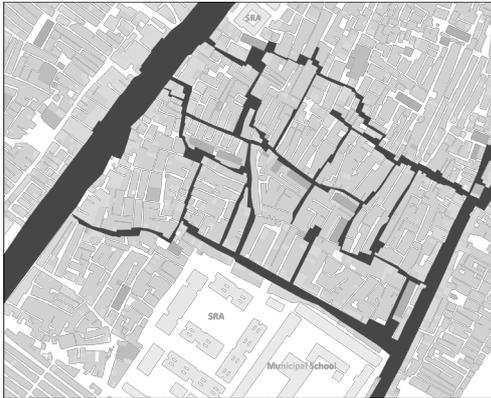
As an example of possible planning and development, the Sub-Sector 4D has been considered. This area currently sits between 90 Feet Road and Mahatma Gandhi Road (considered in the master plan scheme as R1 roads). It runs approximately north-to-south and is lined by two R2 roads, running east-west, that serve as connections.

The area has high density in the proximity of an SRA Development and the Municipal School, with toilet facilities spaced evenly throughout. Temples, located at various locations in the site, serve the population well. That said, the area itself is characterised by informal development, an irregular and complex urban fabric, few public spaces and no green areas.

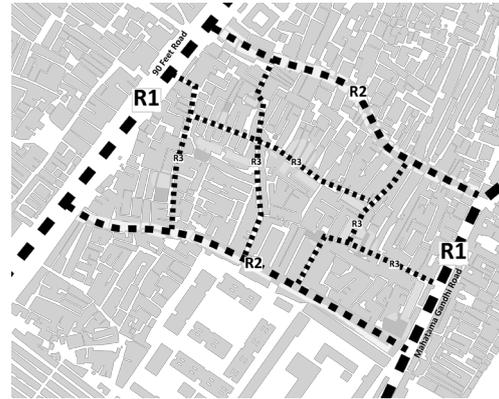


Existing Road Network Analysis

There is a high number of commercial activities, mainly, but not only, distributed along the two main roads - 90 Feet Road and Mahatma Gandhi Road. Beyond these, there are two other large roads that are not fully developed and do not cut across the site where commercial activities concentrate. The remaining roads are irregular and with little hierarchy.



the existing road network, making rational adjustments when necessary. Shown to the left is a possible outcome of this prospective consulting process between public institutions and local associations in defining secondary traffic roads and the location of public services, temples and green/ public spaces.

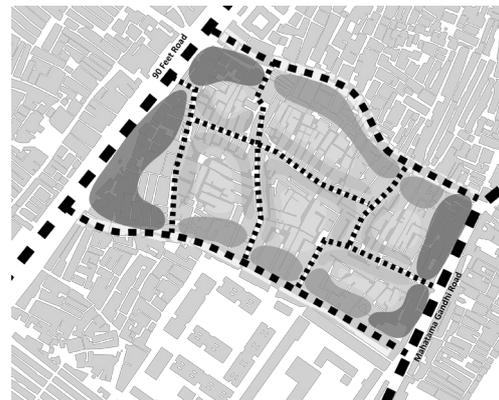
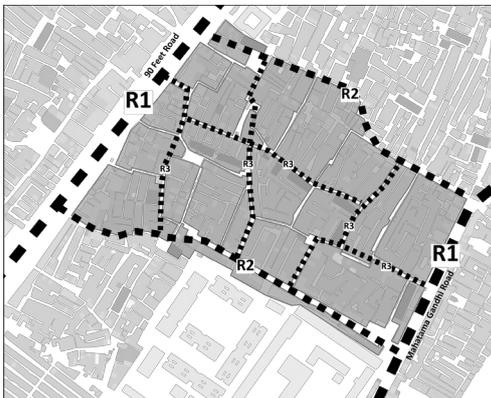


Cluster Analysis

The analysis of the numerous associations of different kinds that are present in the city can be overlapped with the morphological analysis of the urban fabric to create blocks of physically adjacent buildings with a common social identity and development schedule.

Proposed Traffic Network Density

The road network identified in this consultation/ planning process also defines also the different zones R1, R2, R3, R4 with the relative values of maximum height (H), maximum FSI, percentage of public space (P), etc.



Possible Traffic Network Proposal

The R3 Road Network is low traffic and allows penetration within the sub-sector for small deliveries, assistance and emergencies. It serves the local sub-sector only and therefore it is locally planned and locally implemented. It should be designed identifying and strengthening

Neighbourhood Scale Development Scenario

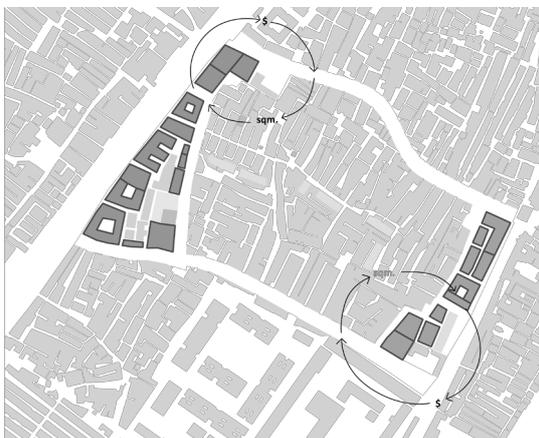
Based on the previous analysis and proposal, the following diagrams aim at illustrating a possible scenario of development. Although presented in a sequence for clarity, the following diagrams are not a phasing of a development but an illustration of a possible progress by subject.

Phase 1: Public/Private Scheme and New Infrastructure

The first development presented is the only one that actually needs a more planned approach. It involves the creation of the new traffic network and the densification of the built environment along the two main roads R1, the 90 Feet road and the Mahatama Gandhi road, by joint forces of the public and private. After the identification of the path of the new roads, to be decided by the public authority in conjunction with the local institutions and based on the existing urban fabric, the scheme used to finance the development could be the one proposed for the Dharavi Redevelopment Plan, where privates are invited to build new buildings, incentivised by an increase in the buildable surface. The surplus of surface resulted after the construction and after accommodating all of the people displaced by the development, could be sold at market prices. The idea is that the residential and commercial surface destroyed in the making of the new traffic network will be offset by the new development, and the new surface created by the drastic increase in the density, sold at market prices, will finance the infrastructures and provide profit for the private investors.

Phase 2: Development Along the R2 Road Network

The creation of the R2 Network provides two fronts where an increase of density is possible. Here the development is left to local institutions and associations and relies on the spontaneous economic and social forces and the application of schemes, such as SRA.



Phase 3: Development Around Public Space

The areas around the public spaces within the site

have give the development specific characteristics. The creation of green areas and squares reduces the availability of building surface. In order to guarantee that a reasonable ratio of building / open areas is maintained, the density allowed around this public areas is increased compared to the average of the inner zones of the sector. Therefore the clusters of citizen willing to develop around a garden or a public square will compensate with extra buildable surface.



Phase 4: Development Along the R3 Road Network

Phase 4 is a more localised development with residential buildings, local commerce and local services and amenities along the R3 Secondary Road Network.



Phase 5: Incremental Upgrading of Building Stock of the Existing Informal Settlement

Similar to the Phase 4, in Phase 5, the current existing building stock will be gradually improved according to private and public resources and needs. In the long-term is to allow building upgrades with both large-scale and small-

scale intervention. The urban fabric should be developed considering the existing form - taking into account different hierarchies of spaces and increasing the amount of open space and facilities available.



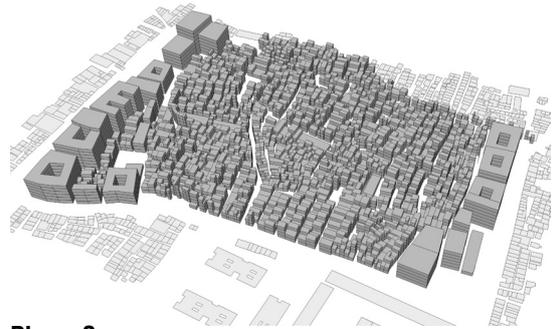
3D Neighbourhood Development Scenario

The current settlement as it appears now, with a prevalence of small huts between two and four storeys, very narrow streets and little public space. On the other side it presents a very fine grain that makes the city walkable and socially very active. As time passes inside the development process, so does the scale of development. The upgrading of the existing should take many forms, from a larger scale settlement on big roads to a finer grain on secondary and tertiary road network, to the preservation of some of the current settlement but with an upgrading of the buildings.

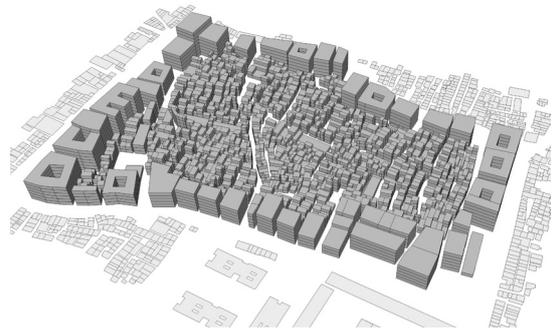
Current Conditions



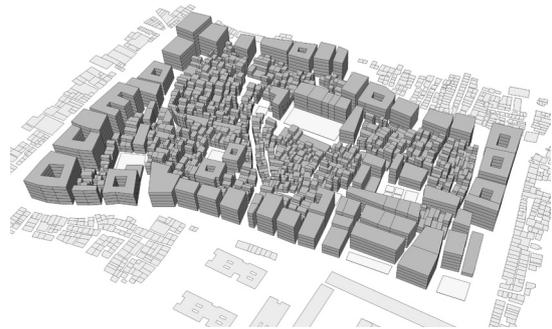
Phase 1



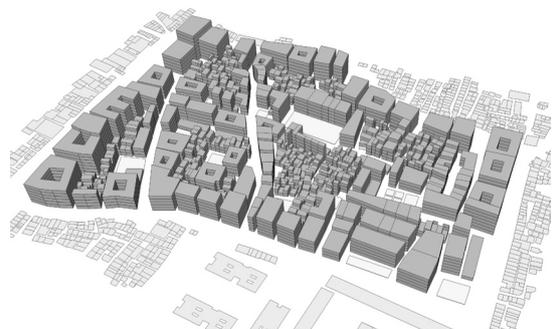
Phase 2



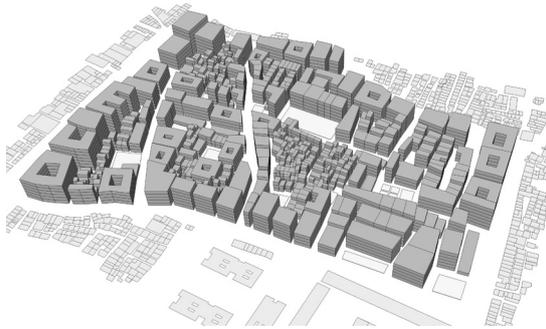
Phase 3



Phase 4



Phase 5



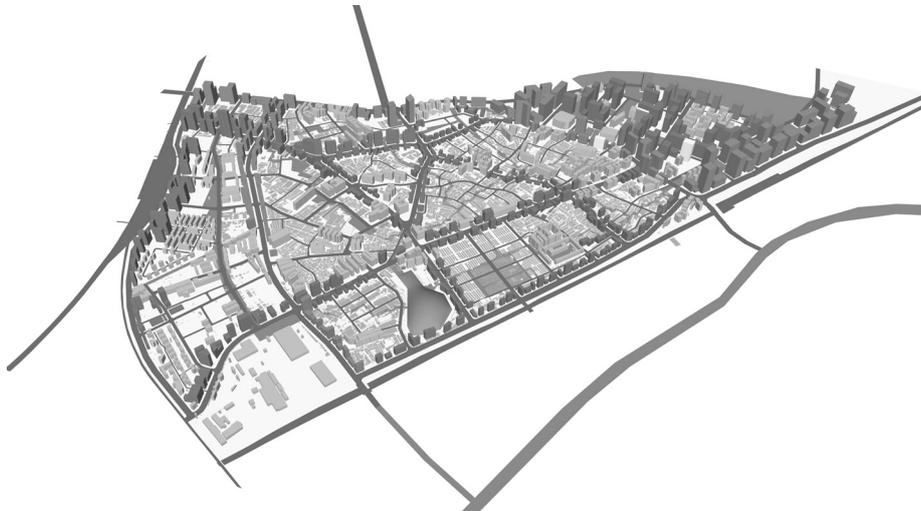
Overall Masterplan Development Framework

The proposed master plan builds off the Neighbourhood Development Scenario in an incremental, phase-by-phase, approach as shown below:

Phase 1



Phase 2



Phase 3



Phase 4

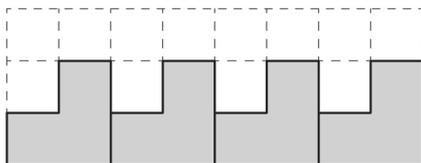


Walking is the most sustainable mode of transport with the highest health benefits and our plan includes measures to stimulate walking. Central for these plans is a network of green spaces and linkages. This green network is expressly designed to be away from the main roads to provide convenient journeys. At the same time, however, the roads within Dharavi are not completely given over to motorized traffic. The roads within Dharavi will still be accessible and crossable by pedestrians, bicycles etc. Currently Dharavi lacks open space given the extremely high population density. Our plan includes a variety of building typologies and heights to enable a higher provision of open space.

Our suggested building typologies for Dharavi aim to lesson disruption caused by development: We propose a set of possible typologies for intervention that can be used according to different conditions and implemented across the whole settlement. These are spatial typologies or intervention typologies and do not prescribe particular architectural solutions:

Self-upgrading of Core Units

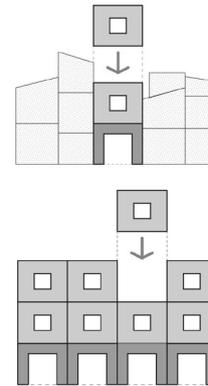
In this case a core unit is delivered for each household. This unit is designed to provide an expandable structure with a core of services such as bathroom and kitchen and the very minimum of living space. In this way, with small investment, households are provided with the very basic services and are then free to self-upgrade the core unit depending on needs and resources availability. (In the diagram the grey parts are the built cores delivered by builders and in dots the parts self-built)



Micro-Apartments

These are pre-fab stackable units corresponding to the minimal living space of 27-30 sqm and including core services as bathroom and cooking facilities. These units can be the way to upgrade

existing huts with small-scale interventions or can be stuck one on top of each other to form bigger typologies such as urban blocks or courtyard houses. A local industry for the production of these units should be incentivised and after an initial public investment it could become a self-fuelling business.

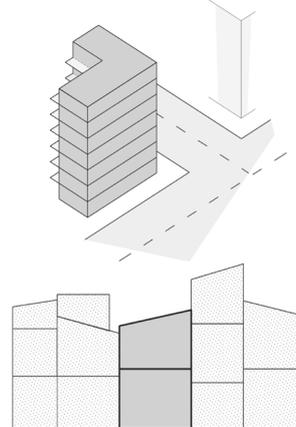


Tower

The tower can be housed to sensibly increase the density of an area in order to accommodate residents relocated for building infrastructures such as roads or public green and squares. It should be used mainly along big roads R1 and R2 and avoided in areas with a finer grain urban fabric. The ratio of commercial/residential space is reduced because of the small footprint, but the tower can also accommodate spaces for offices.

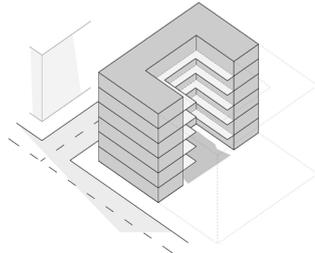
Self-Incremental Upgrading

This type of upgrading is delivered by single residents on a small scale and mostly individually and it includes the refurbishing, rebuilding or upgrading of existing huts, with the possible intervention of local builders.



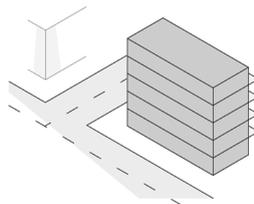
Courtyard Block

This is the direct development of the urban block wrapped around an internal courtyard. The size of the courtyard can vary from a relatively small light well to a wider communal space that can host production and warehouse functions.



Urban Block

This is the very basic typology for collective interventions of medium and large scale. Vertical circulation is either internal or external to the block and the horizontal distribution to the apartments is external through passageways. These also provide for external and communal spaces for the flats.



SUSTAINABILITY AND GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE

Green infrastructure and design are likely to be critical elements in the redevelopment of Dharavi. The following are carefully considered during the master planning stage:

Power Supply

The industriousness of Dharavi is encouraged in the plan but the productivity of the industries will depend on a steady power supply. A variety of renewable energy sources or technologies will be applied. Considering the large amounts of solid waste generated in the neighbourhood, bio-gas production is a promising direction to consider. This strategy not only will produce fuel, it will also ease the burden on landfill sites. Solar heating can be used to warm water so that less power is required to bring water to a boil. Solar power is becoming more affordable each year and can be used for local consumption. The higher structures could be used for limited production

of wind energy. Technologies such as recycled plastic bottles filled with water and bleach can be used as an inexpensive way to illuminate indoor areas.

Water Management

No life can exist without water and when the available water is contaminated the conditions for life are dramatically worsened. Due to the lack of a proper system of utilities, poor maintenance and open drains, freshwater supply is often contaminated with sewage through the cracks of old and rusty pipelines. Water pipes are also often overwhelmed by garbage disposal sites, which are often contaminated with hazardous materials.

The proposed Dharavi Development Corporation, through community engagement, will be able to establish a renewed system for fresh water that will be sealed from contamination and that will reach every neighbourhood. The new pipes will be bright blue to avoid confusion with other pipes. In addition to improving the provision of municipal drinking water, deep tube wells will be offered as an option to provide for freshwater supply, as these deep tube wells are not contaminated by ground water pollutants.

Drainage and Waste Management

With each monsoon season or heavy rain the low-lying land of Dharavi is under threat of flooding. The current system of shallow open drains and lack of run-off capacity results in flooding, and the dispersal of hazardous waste, as well as human waste, into the open air. The pollution of surface and ground water is a serious threat to human health. The master plan includes two new major sewage pipe lines and a number of smaller sewage pipes. These pipes, all grey in colour to avoid confusion with fresh water pipes, can be provided at the same time as the new water pipes. The new pipes will have a steeper gradient so that, through gravity, any waste will be carried to the two new sewage treatment plants at the border of the marshes along the Mahim creek. Waste will be filtered and treated and pumped into the creek. The mangrove marshes between the creek and Dharavi are an interesting eco system, offering habitat to certain bird species. The plan retains this as a natural resource. Limited access could

be provided for educational purposes on the eco system and its place in Mumbai. In the lowest lying areas, housing on stilts will be considered in response to potential flooding in the area.

In terms of dry waste, Dharavi plays a big part for recycling and therefore minimize the load on landfill sites. Mumbai generates approximately 7,025 tonnes of waste per day. Studies shows that Dharavi accumulates a significant variety of waste released from tanneries, plastic units, scrap yards and through incineration of solvents and e-waste. (i.e. NEERI). About 80% of the dry waste generated in the city is segregated for recycling into reusable products. In addition to proper rain water run-off a system of underwater tanks can be used to store rain water as extra capacity. In case of excessive rain the sewage system will not immediately be under threat of overcapacity. Rainwater in these tanks can also be filtered and used for drinking water.

Air and Noise Pollution

People living and working in Dharavi suffer from the exposure to air pollution: Air quality is severely affected from the pollution arising from smoke from brick kilns within the neighborhood; toxic fumes from melting plastics and other non-organic materials; foul smells from open drains and gutters; municipal garbage dumping sites; and other domestic industries and traffic. In a pollution study of Dharavi by the National Environmental Engineering Research Institute (NEERI, November 2010), 551.7 microgram/ metre cube (ug/m³) of average suspended particulate matter (SPM) was found, a figure more than five times higher than the permissible limit set by the Central Pollution Control Board (Ghanekar, N. Hindustan Times, Mumbai, February 04, 2013).

Illegal incineration of electronic waste, copper wires, PVC pipes, plastic, paper and chemical dyes generates toxic smoke which impacts residents' health as well as a threat to mangrove habitat.

In addition to air pollution, Dharavians are subjected to near-constant noise pollution due to, for example, trash metal industries. Absence of zoning and haphazard developments of residential and small-scale industries and restaurants has created harsh living conditions.

The master plan also proposes to include measures to establish regulations for air and noise pollution. Industries that deal with toxic fumes and materials will be encouraged to treat their emissions, manage their waste disposal or relocate away from residential properties.

Given the context of extreme population density – nearly 2500 people per hectare – it is clear that sustainable development is a key issue in Reinventing Dharavi. All resources, including water; electricity; air; food as well as space and human resources, must be used very efficiently to avoid a complete breakdown of living and working conditions.

Sustainable Development

- The current situation is very challenging;
- Insufficient fresh water supply to meet the needs of the population
- Widespread contamination of the freshwater supply
- Insufficient run-off of rain water
- Insufficient capacity of sewage discharge
- Inadequate waste disposal
- Untreated emission of toxic fumes
- Discharge of hazardous waste in open drains
- Widespread noise pollution
- Unpredictable power supply

Sustainability in this sense comprises many issues and topics. Social sustainability, economic sustainability and cultural sustainability will be dealt with in other sections. The main environmental sustainability issues include Water Supply; Waste Management; Power Supply; Air and Noise Pollution; and Ecology and Green Infrastructure.

One of the principles of our plan is efficient use of resources coupled with basic parameters for decent living and working conditions. The proposal seeks to strike a balance between industriousness and human conditions, between economic viability and cultural vitality. The term 'Sustainability' is taken in the broadest sense and the overall aim is to develop community wellbeing. As such, a 'quadruple bottom line' is sought, with Community Well-being being the result of Social Equality; Cultural vitality; Economic Prosperity; and Environmental Sustainability.

Mangrove Nature Reserve

The mangroves at Mahim Creek near Dharavi can be restored with community input and developed as a Mangrove Nature Reserve that can create environmental awareness and restore the ecology while providing additional business and employment opportunities for the residents of Dharavi and Mumbai.

This can be organized as part of a community development program by an NGO interested in environmental sustainability. An environmental and recreational centre will be developed to link between the Mahim Park and form a beautiful natural edge to Dharavi creating a new green image and identity to Dharavi.

MAKING IT HAPPEN

The greatest challenge for the financial and implementation strategy is land ownership.

In other areas of the world government provides (hypothecates) land at low or zero market value for a specific period of time, as their contribution to meet social, environmental and economic objectives. The land revenue forgone is likely to be recouped through greater taxes from economic growth, or gained indirectly through increase in values in neighbouring areas etc.

The financial strategy assumes that private land is purchased by the government and together with the publicly owned land is hypothecated to the Dharavi Development Corporation for a lease period of 80 years. Costs of construction are borne by developers or utility service providers.

The Dharavi Development Corporation would be able to fund the redevelopment of Dharavi with minimal social disruption. DDC will be a brand people understand is for the betterment of their society as a whole.

Denizens should not feel like they are at the mercy of a huge, faceless corporation that they cannot communicate with or have any say in its operations.

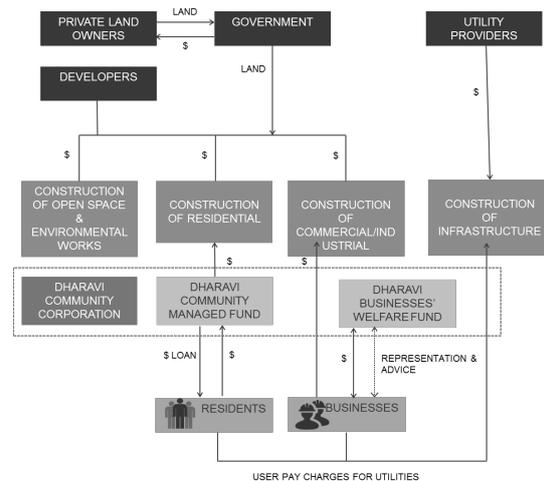


Figure 18 Dharavi Development Corporation

Flow of Funds

The Dharavi Development Corporation sits at the centre of all fund flow and through specific funds, residents and business owners rent their dwellings and premises, or buy them over a period of time. Utilities are provided by third party companies and paid for through user charges.

The DDC offers governmental control while allowing capital to flow swiftly through to those in need. Through these mechanisms, the people of Dharavi can work towards a better future for themselves and Dharavi overall as investors of the community.

Dharavi Residential Purchase Scheme

The proposed residential purchase systems for Dharavi combine adequate incentives for small scale private sector developers to build appropriate dwellings and a purchase scheme mechanism funded by the developer to enable people to afford their home. Dharavi residents are not 'one size fits all' in terms of affordability. The proposed scheme embraces affordability, choice and flexibility:

- Those who can afford can buy if they choose to
- Those who cannot afford or prefer not to buy can rent
- Others can choose part rent, part buy and/or gradually buy as affordability changes.

In order for Dharavi to develop in a sustainable and socially responsible manner, it is important

Principles of the Dharavi Residential Purchase Scheme



1. Operated and managed by a **Dharavi Community Managed Fund** which lends money to households
2. Sells or rents dwelling at market value (excluding land costs)
3. Developer builds dwellings (with a profit margin) at a cost of Rs. 13,000-16,000/square metre

Dharavi Community Managed Fund lends 0-80% of principal at terms of 15-25 years. Interest rates vary on monthly household income with households with less Rs. 5,000 per month charged 2.5% interest and households with more than Rs. 5,000 per month income charged at 5%. Alternatively a 20% rental subsidy can apply to low income households.

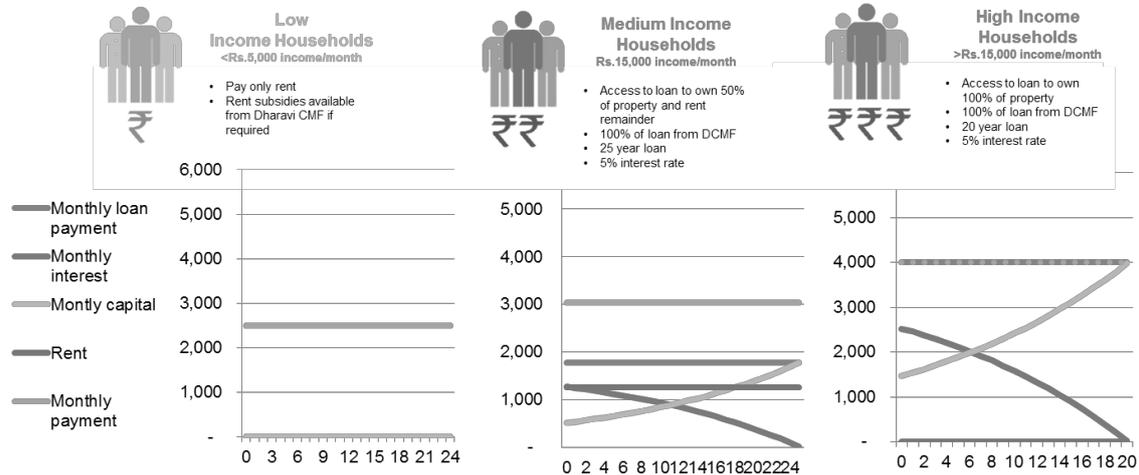


Figure 19 Principles of the Dharavi Residential Purchase Scheme

that the base of entrepreneurial activity is supported and new businesses are encouraged, but in a manner which complies with relevant business legislation, provides a safe and fair working environment for all workers, yet does not increase costs so much to the point of decreased business profitability.

As Dharavi and Mumbai mature, it is likely that some of these businesses will adapt or even close, replaced by others, seeing opportunities in the market. The concept is never to hold on to businesses because of nostalgia or force them to become dependent on subsidies but to enable the entrepreneurial spirit to thrive.

A 'Community Economic Zone' based on the framework of the Special Economic Zone is proposed as a mechanism which can help Dharavi businesses transition towards formalisation. The SEZ model has been relatively successful in India and can provide a framework for a modified type of economic zone which incentivises investment, job creation and economic activity, and meets the objectives of Dharavi.

The Business Implementation Mechanisms for the Community Economic Zone include the following:

The underlying principle is that businesses are supported through the transition process over a five year period in order to meet the objectives of the Community Economic Zone.

1. Register businesses within Dharavi and ensure compliance with relevant business regulations within five years
2. Establish a Dharavi Business Welfare Fund (funded through tax contributions of Dharavi Businesses) to provide support to workers, minimise worker exploitation and enhance workers' health and safety
3. Establish a Dharavi Green and Clean Businesses initiatives supported by NGOs to promote information on reducing pollution generated by business and provide access to grants
4. Establish Dharavi Business Promotion Group to support branding and promotion of Dharavi to wider markets in Mumbai, India and globally

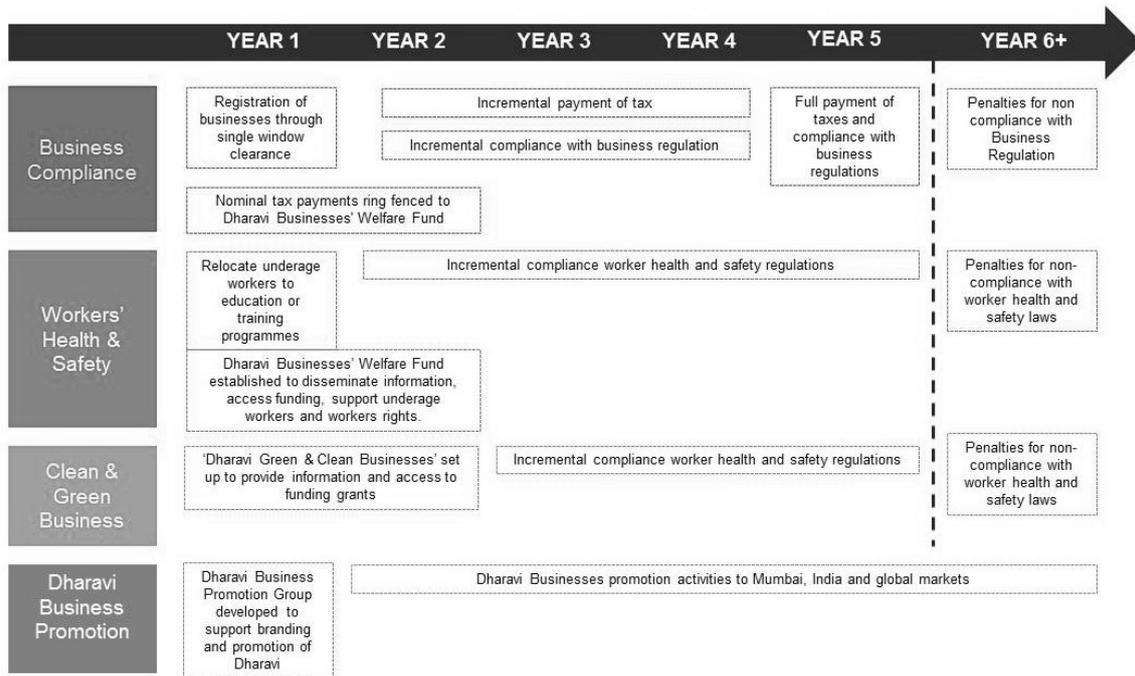


Figure 20 Incentive Mechanisms of the Community Economic Zone (CEZ)

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

Just a master plan is not enough to reinvent Dharavi. Our aim for Naya Dharavi can only be realized with the strategic vision, development strategy and master plan that can evolve over time, supported by the policy framework, institutional mechanism as well as the funding for capital development, operation and maintenance, offering education, awareness, community and social services over the years. We proposed Dharavi to be developed over an 86 year period, to be well integrated into Mumbai city by 2100. We envision Dharavi to become a model for a sensitive and place-making approach to urban regeneration.

Our Five Pillars can help Envision, Facilitate, Create, Build and Realize Naya Dharavi, truly enhancing the quality of life of the people of Dharavi without compromising the economic livelihood, social uplifting and environmental sustainability of Dharavi.

The total investment needed may range about US 3 billion. The investment can come from about 30% land equity from the public and the private sector and about 20% funding from the residents as well as the public, private sector and about 10% from the NGOs and community representatives. Working together with the residents and various stakeholders, Naya Dharavi will help build a cleaner, brighter and dignified future for all!

NOTES

1. Kamla Raheja Vidyandih Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies, Mumbai (KRIVA)
 2. Waila, Sherry (2015). From dingy slums to swank condos, this is where Mumbai lives– and how much it costs. Quartz India. <https://qz.com/391128/from-dingy-slums-to-swank-condos-this-is-where-mumbai-lives-and-how-much-it-pays/>
 3. Kamla Raheja Vidyandih Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies, Mumbai (KRIVA) Dharavi
- * UDP International as the Lead Consultant provided Strategic, Master Planning, Urban Design and Landscape Design Inputs while being supported with Architectural Inputs by Billion Bricks and Economic inputs by Waters Economics and Local Inputs by Slum Rehabilitation Society.

The Potential of Community Resilience in Unveiling Social-Economic Dynamics for Informal Settlement Up-Grading

Carmen Mendoza-Arroyo
Lorenzo Chelleri

School of Architecture,
Universitat Internacional de Catalunya UIC,
Spain

ABSTRACT

Urban informality is recognized as a major challenge to face within the current global urbanization pattern. Sprawling from global South to Northern cities, the increasing informal place-making could be framed as a socio-spatial assemblage, in which unpredictable patterns based on self-organization emerge through what is commonly defined as informal settlements. Those places are usually characterized from a social resistance to formal planning regimes, and productive informal economies lead through strong systems of mutual help and alliances. The aim of this paper is navigate these social networks and capacities, unveiling their potential in contributing to socio-economic urban functions. In this context, the emerging concept of community resilience seems to perfectly describe those hidden capacities. In this paper we explore the potential of community resilience as a descriptor of the social engine enabling long term sustainable socio-economic futures for urban informality. This hypothesis is illustrated through a case study in Medellín (Colombia). While exploring these cases the paper proposes an analytical method composed of 3 steps in order to leverage through the specific community resilience local capacities successful up-grading processes. In grounding community resilience theory on the field, our work attempts to create a seamless research approach that marries both the physical and social realms by eroding the “silo” approach to research and practices.

KEYWORDS

*Community Resilience, Upgrading,
Informality, Medellín*

INTRODUCTION: URBAN INFORMALITY AS A SOCIO-SPATIAL ASSEMBLAGE

Urban informality was usually conceived mainly as a housing issue in the past (De Soto, 2000; Hall & Pfeiffer, 2013) and only in the last decades emerging as a new modes of urbanization (Roy & AlSayyad, 2004) increasing in both global north and south cities (Ballard, Habib, Valodia, & Zuern, 2005; Watson, 2009). Indeed, any city embodies a mix of formal and informal processes (Dovey, 2012) challenging institutional planning in dealing with the increasing urbanization pressure and social exclusion (Watson, 2009). Characterized from a usually scarce access to water, electricity and sanitation, the poor structural quality of informal settlements confer to them fragmentary opportunities, outweighing the structural functionalism (Mendoza Arroyo, 2014). Planning paradigms have been unfortunately facilitating market forces interests (Tasan-Kok & Baeten, 2011) through the legitimization of specific rationalities and economic development patterns (Flyvbjerg, 1998), contributing to the fallacy of planning in addressing the global re-casting of that is urban and for whom.

Informal place-making could be therefore understood as an emerging socio-spatial assemblage, with unpredictable evolutionary patterns framed within self-organizing dynamics (Mendoza Arroyo, 2014). Those assemblages are expressed within urban “grey spaces”, situated “between the whiteness of legality/approval/safety, and the blackness of eviction/destruction/death” (Yiftachel, 2009) p. 89). The physical morphology of those spaces is deeply influenced from the socio-economic processes nested in dense social networks (Dovey, 2012), and are a key characteristic of informal residents. Since emerging informal places are shaped through the community and individuals behaves, needs and economies, the homogeneity of residents’ place of migratory origin, ethnic or religious group, contribute to generate a sense of belonging, facilitating relations of support and reciprocity (Mendoza Arroyo, 2014). Also, the collective defence against eviction strengthens wide social (horizontal and vertical) networks, bridging scales and hierarchies. Because of these features, it is worth understanding processes and functions better that forms and structures when addressing the study of informal settlements (Boonyabanha

& Mitlin, 2012; Feola & Nunes, 2014; Jiménez, 2014; Kyessi, 2005; Thorn, Thornton, & Helfgott, 2015)

The embedded economy of informal settlements is rooted within a dense and structured network of proximity relationships. Therefore, it is not unusual to find informal settlements filled with shops and commercial activity. However, this entrepreneurial activity is very much related to livelihood and not linked to a formal economic activity. As Dovey (2012) states, the concept of the informal sector originally comes from economics, as it describes that part of the economy that is not in line with economic measures, such as informal markets, domestic production, even non-monetary exchange of goods and trade. The regularization of this informal economy is very costly. Regularization programs cost up to three times more than new formal urban developments (Fernandes, 2011) (Abiko et. al., 2007). Likewise, the informal provision of services, such as water, electricity, etc. is also expensive to regularize. Although informality is seen as an inexpensive option for access to urban land and housing, in the long run, it generates costly urban management. In this line of thought, Smolka and De Cesare, (2006) argue that the limited tax base existing in informal settlements results in a loss of potential revenue for the public administrations, and therefore makes it even more difficult for public authorities to provide services. The ‘Dead capital,’ term coined by De Soto (1989), which is an economic term related to property which is informal and that is not legally recognized, and therefore, decreases its value as it has no ability to lend or borrow against; can be seen as ‘live capital’ due to diverse forms of property or tenure options which co-exist in informal settlements such as: community land trusts, temporary land rental, etc (Durand-Lasserve, 2006).

Therefore, we argue that the value of this informal economy is that of providing many informal inhabitants to live off their trade and provide them with services in all Latin American cities, where the state does not fulfil its duties due to an unequal distribution of wealth. Because of the economic processes nested within those socio-spatial assemblages we see ‘the creativity and productivity of informal settlements as a solution rather than a problem’ (Dovey and King, 2011: 26). Through our paper we build on the argument that community resilience attributes are the

backbone of the informal production of space

URBAN INFORMALITY AND EMBEDDED COMMUNITY RESILIENCE ATTRIBUTES

In informal settlements unpredictable patterns of development emerge from communities' self-organization, which is based on residents and networks continuous adaptations to changing (external and internal) conditions (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Dovey, 2010). Those adaptive capacities could be related to the emerging concept of community resilience (Chaskin, 2007; Maguire & Cartwright, 2008; Wilson, 2014). Indeed, resilience in this context could be either related to its disaster risk reduction tradition (Alexander, 2013) or emphasizing a system changes over time associated with community learning and the willingness to take responsibility and control of their development pathways' (Wilson 2014). From this last point of view, the emerging characteristics and capacities of communities and individuals determine and define the relationship between resilience and sustainability (Chelleri, Minucci, & Skrimizea, 2016). It is key to understand that while the concept of community resilience is gaining prominence within the scientific literature (Berkes & Ross, 2012; Chaskin, 2007), it poses critical issues to be addressed, as the tensions between continuity and change, resistance and transformation, and inclusion and exclusion (Mulligan, Steele, Rickards, & Fünfgeld, 2016).

For instance, while Dovey mentions that "the resilience of an informal spatial assemblage rests on its capacity to adapt to change without 'slipping into a new regime or identity'" (Dovey, 2012: 355), Chelleri highlighted how community resilience could be related to transitions and societal transformation (Chelleri et al, 2016). At the same time, community has to be related to a dynamic structure in which social and spatial boundaries are created and changed just as easily because of evictions or social conflicts. Therefore, the concept of community resilience poses also the issue of framing what a community is, who is part of it, in which moment, and who is excluded (Mulligan et al 2016).

Nested within all this flexibility, Burton already 20 years ago suggested that adaptive capacities not always are all aligned with communities' goals, framing the concept of "maladaptation" – when an

adaptation leads to gains for a part of the system (individual, family, group) while contributing to exacerbate the overall vulnerability of the system (Burton, 1997). Because of these limits, and emerging concerns about the not normative nor always positive meaning of community resilience, Eriksen et al. (2011) proposed the concept of positive adaptations, referring to adaptive strategies avoiding maladaptation (Barnett & O'Neill, 2010; Eriksen et al., 2011).

In the light of this emerging complexity in addressing community resilience, Maclean et al identifies key attributes of social resilience, in order to explore, measure and therefore un-pack this complex concept. The six social resilience attributes are: knowledge and skills, community networks, people attachment to places, community infrastructures, diverse and innovative economies and engaged governance (Maclean, Cuthill, & Ross, 2014). In the following section, we build on the understanding of social resilience through a methodological approach to upgrading from a social and physical perspective.

UPGRADING LIMITS AND CHALLENGES IN LATIN AMERICA

Over the past 50 years diverse strategies in regularisation, land tenure and housing policies have broadened the legal access to neighbourhoods and extended grassroots participation in the decision-making process. From a planning standpoint, in most informal settlements in Latin America, there is a predominance of private areas over public spaces because the pattern of each settlement is determined by housing needs and topography as a result of a lack of pre-designed street layouts (Healey, De Magalhaes, Madanipour, & Pendlebury, 2003). The settlements are not conceived in a systemic set of established parts, and therefore the 'assembled connections' between them are dynamic and in constant flux.

Since the early 1980s various countries of the region have been developing slum upgrading, regularisation, and legalisation programmes. In many cases, these strategies have gained from political decentralisation and the constitutionally protected autonomy of local governments, and differ from the traditional eviction and resettlement policies. As an example of regularisation strategies based on land titling,

Peru has been the leading practitioner of titling programmes since 1996 through the Commission for the Formalisation of Informal Property (COFOPRI), accomplishing the distribution of nearly 1,600,000 freehold titles between 1996 and 2006. Despite the numbers, land regularisation alone does not promote socio-spatially integrated urban improvement (Fernandes, 2011) or sustainable regularisation. We can find different approaches in regularisation and upgrading programmes in Brazil such as 'Favela-Barrio' and 'Morar Legal' in Río de Janeiro, which combine security of tenure with socio-spatial integration to jointly guarantee the permanence of communities. Particularly, they introduce the role of 'sensitive urban design projects in identifying and strengthening formal informal articulations' (Hernandez, Kellet and Allen, 2010: 15). However, in this article just as we build on the value of informal economies for providing livelihoods of residents, we believe upgrading design based programs must include a focus on creating places of social cohesion and incorporate them as a community resilient layer, to be the starting point to the neighbourhoods regeneration. This three step methodology which builds on informal social ties as the guiding force of their regeneration is what this article presents.

METHODOLOGICAL GUIDELINES LEVERAGING ON COMMUNITY RESILIENCE SLUMS UPGRADING

The regenerative potential of upgrading relies on being enmeshed in multi-scalar synergies, as the higher levels of assemblage and the understanding of the relations and dynamics between scales can produce emergent systemic effects. A larger scale implies working in the interface between the formal and informal city in which state and market forces tend to enforce a 'formal' regenerative approach with policy instruments and legal frameworks that usually neglect the dwellers' role in the design of the project and promote sporadic and ad hoc interventions. In this sense, the balance of morphological and social mapping as 'a socio-spatial cluster of interconnections' (Dovey, 2012: 353) converts the 'informal' system of spatial relations into an assembled framework which can ensure local engagement at the initial stage of the regeneration process and produce an initial plan of interventions

The process of obtaining the social cartography

of a settlement consists in a survey of the existing urban voids of the settlement, which

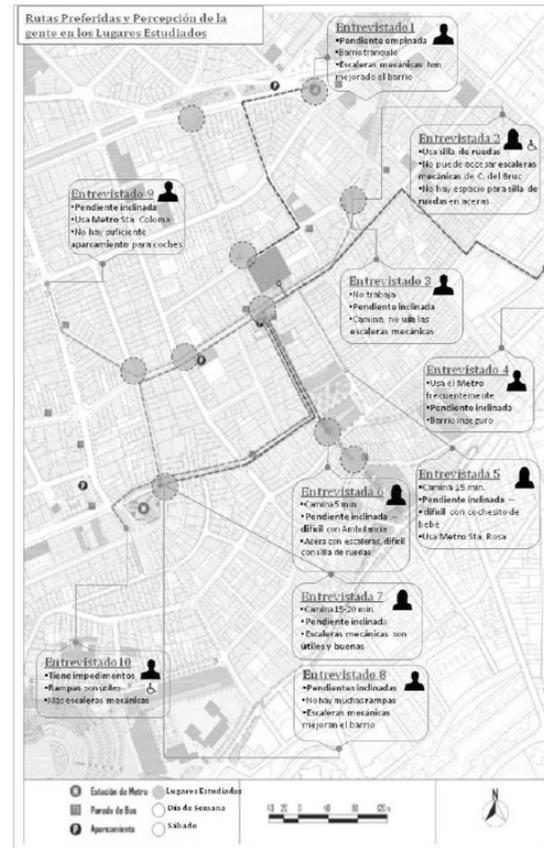


Figure 1 Example of Social cartography of Fondo, Barcelona

in a spontaneous and illegal manner have been appropriated by the community for social and cultural events (Fig. 1)

Therefore, the first step of this methodology incorporates the experience acquired by 'community-driven mapping' as a powerful tool to enhance community concerns around land tenure, housing, livelihoods, service provision and strengthening of community engagement in the regeneration process. Specifically, 'community-led enumerations (settlement profiles, household survey, and vacant land survey) has the objective of analyzing the residents as a community through data on their migration, occupation, eviction history, and access to services. The surveys provide quantitative data on how the dwellers view their settlement and enhance their cultural use of space as well as raise questions on the need for public space, services, etc. The mapping of these socio-spatial needs and lived

sites helps us experience the place from the 'producer' of the space's point of view and enables us to feel physically and mentally the particular context so we can understand and represent it (Tiwari, 2008). Thus, community involvement is mandatory in order to capture their use of space with a comprehensive view and transfer the socio-spatial dynamics of the settlement to physical mapping.

Open and green spaces. A simultaneous technical physical mapping of the ecological grid of the settlement is developed (Fig. 2). The objective is to complement the bottom-up mapping of the settlement with a technical structural reading of the territory, to offer a holistic understanding of the neighbourhood's open space system, which consists of the physical mapping which in many cases evidences the territorial division these natural elements generate, and enable us to incorporate them and transform them into a support structure by engaging them as part of a broader open space system including the surrounding built environment. The environmental improvement and flood mitigation of some of these natural elements such as a river or stream may bestow on it a collective use, as a safe public space with a place-based attachment to territory and culture (Vall-Casas, 2011).

A good example of this regenerative approach can be seen in the north-eastern comunas (districts) implemented by the Urban Integral Project in Medellin, Colombia

The plan was for a sustainable model of intervention with a social, physical and environmental approach. Therefore, an intervention in 'occupied urban ecosystems' took place, specifically in the Juan Bobo creek. The result was the improvement of high-risk landslide areas along with the construction of pathways, bridges and open linear public spaces, enabling connections between two neighbourhoods with a conflictive past of opposed gangs when the drug cartels operated.

Civic grid: the second step of the methodology consists on delving in the concept of 'civic network' as a system of connected urban references (parks, civic roads and activity nodes), which allow the comprehension, articulation, and revitalization of the settlement or sector (Fig.3).

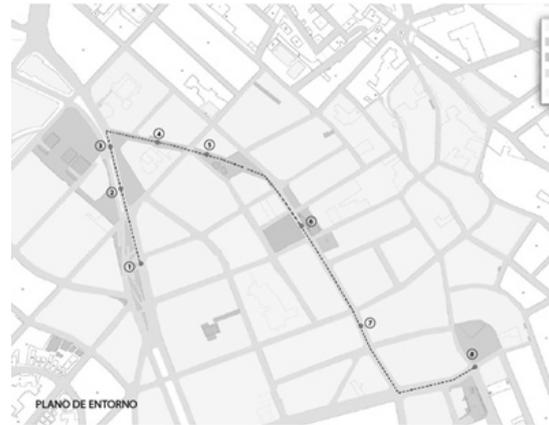


Figure 3 Example Civic Grid of Fondo, Barcelona

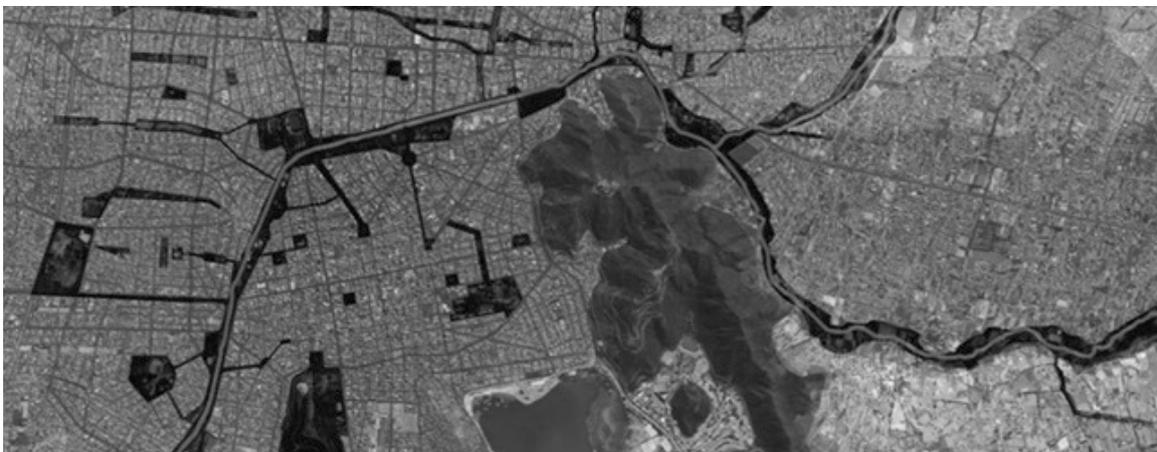


Figure 2 Example physical mapping of the ecological grid. Cochabamba Bolivia.

The civic grid of our methodology is structured on the spontaneous and singular spaces mapped in the first step and the identification of interstitial voids whose strategic position in the existing fabric means they have the possibility of becoming significant collective spaces. The 'civic network' of the informal city will not be the same as that of the formal city because of the lack of formal physical public spaces, roads, activities and amenities. The places with civic content in these settlements will be in the interstices of what the formal city defines as paths, edges and landmarks, this step strives to incorporate the analysis and identification of activities along the roads, in order to activate local places as the product of social relations with a view of space, and therefore emphasizes both the neighbourhood's social construction and spatial articulations as 'the juxtaposition of different narratives' (Massey, 1999: 18). Reinforcing existing mixed use and activities allows us to multiply the places of contact and understand the informal practices within public space.

Urban projects: Nevertheless, although the civic network and roadways are strong interconnected systems, shared space is not enough to create activity and collective involvement; consequently, it requires an alliance to strategic urban projects, which can generate and enable new physical bonds. With this understanding, the third step goes from the 'civic network's structural perspective to the architectural scale of urban projects moving once again to the field of traditional urban design implementing a synergic relationship to bottom-up approaches.

The three steps of the methodological approach explained: the bottom-up mapping of assemblages of the socio-spatial patterns, the technical strategies of the 'civic network', and the strategic urban projects, can lead to obtain territorial coherence. The goal that guides our method of vindicating the pre-existence of collective life as the real value of informal settlements through this upgrading approach aligns our work to the theory of 'subaltern urbanism' (Roy, 2011), which argues that 'informality must be understood as an idiom of urbanization, a logic through which differential spatial value is produced and managed' (Roy 2011:233).

The success of in situ upgrading programmes relies on the understanding of their visibility and

image (Dovey and King, 2011). In this perspective, the focus on the aesthetic considerations that the urban projects enhance can contribute benefits regarding the symbolic value which quality design promotes in terms of the community's local pride. In this respect, the case of Medellín's upgrading model, which we will analyse in the next section, is a good example of architectural quality as an asset in the transformation of place identity from a negative to a positive perception.

EXAMPLE OF UPGRADING AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP: THE CASE OF MEDELLIN, COLOMBIA.

Since 2004, the 'Urban Integral Projects' (UIP) in Medellín, Colombia contributed to the socio-spatial integration of informal settlements with innovative design and transport solutions, accompanied by the reconfiguration of the engagement between community and city authorities through a structured and comprehensive approach. UIP plans offer interesting feedback on our methodology thanks to their design-based, comprehensive approach, as well as the mechanisms they introduce to redesign the urban institutions that frame the formal-informal articulation. Medellín is famous for developing a new generation of municipal programmes combining physical upgrading of informal settlements while also integrating them socially in the city. The programmes have been highly publicised by the building of large modern buildings and infrastructure in informal neighbourhoods; however, architectural achievements such as the *Biblioteca España* and the *Metrocable* are only one component of a complex solution. We believe one of the great achievements is the continuity and consensus between local governments, civic society, and private sector during two different municipal administrations in addressing fundamental issues of inequality and violence in the interest of the city's overall improvement. Both city mayors and their governments used an appropriate mix of security and social policy, which is one of the reasons for Medellín's successful regeneration.

Development was conceived as part of collective thinking through programmes that enhanced real participation such as the Participatory Budget (*Presupuesto Participativo*) and Local Planning Development (LPD), which created a shift in

the municipal perception of planning from a technical matter to a political communitarian issue. The Participatory Budget consisted of open discussion on priorities and projects in each *Comuna* (district) with representatives of the community and the local assembly establishing solutions and needs and selecting the interventions for public funding by the administration. The local development plans were elaborated by the community of each *Comuna*, who identified their needs, and the plan of political projects for the construction of a fairer society. During the UIP design process, participatory tools like the 'Imaginary workshops' through which the community defined and designed the projects, enhancing the community's leadership, feeling of belonging, and commitment to the neighbourhood. Echeverri and Orsini (2011) state, that despite all the mechanisms for participation that were implemented the capacity of the community for decision-making was still limited, and in this respect, despite the policy tools, planning framework, and citizen engagement in the process, these new institutional arrangements did not necessarily result in greater inclusion or 'pro-poor policy change' (2011: 142). As Gaventa (2006: 23) explains, 'it rather depends on the nature of the power relations which surround and imbue these new, potentially more democratic, spaces'. Brand and Dávila (2011) raise the question of whether the social urbanism of Medellín was actually aiming to transform reality and reduce inequalities or if it was just interested in building an image and pacifying the *Comuna*. A primary conclusion of the UIP experience in Medellín is that these plans achieve good autonomy for urban planning, allowing the city to implement and design policies in accordance with the singularities of their territory and social conditions.

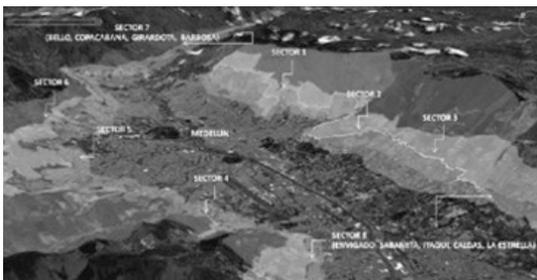


Figure 4 Medellín Green Belt proposal. Image: Municipality of Medellín.

The follow section looks into an example of how the initial Medellín approach which we described, has evolved and the 'green new agenda' of the city seems to be moving away from the 'social urbanism' approach which made it so famous. Through the case study we will also exemplify how the guidelines and methodology explained in the previous section was applied to an academic/ community based project in a *Comuna* (informal settlement) of Medellín.

FROM GREENBELT TO COMMUNITY FARMS IN THE COMUNA 8 OF MEDELLÍN

The Municipality of Medellín proposed a Metropolitan Greenbelt, or *Cinturón Verde Metropolitano*, as a way to address urban growth within the Aburrá Valley. The objectives of the Greenbelt Plan were: environmental and economic sustainability, citizen participation, improvement of housing, mobility and connectivity, and increasing security and coexistence. It meant to contain the city's growth while protecting the surrounding rural area with a garden that would encircle the valley. The Greenbelt, would stretch a length of roughly 72 kilometers and affect Medellín and ten neighboring municipalities. It was a regional attempt to tackle the largely uncontrolled and informal urban expansion that the Aburrá metropolitan region is experiencing (Fig.4).

According to the city's plans, the Greenbelt would have four bands, with different uses and activities permitted and prohibited , the highest and outermost exterior band, known as the buffer strip, would be dedicated to rural and environmental protection. This area would be wehere projects including ecosystem restoration, ecological tourism, sustainable food production, rural housing improvement, and removal and regularization of informal settlements would be developed. The mayor, Anibal Gaviria 's green belt set to provide new public facilities and transport systems, restrict the growth of informal settlements and protect natural reserves. Costing 283 billion US dollars, the project has received a few good reviews in the midst of harsh criticism for its generic nature and above all, for its failure as of yet to consult and involve the residents who will be affected by the plan. Few specifics, if any, have been revealed about how funds will be distributed, what the environmental conservation model is, how it will curb exploitative new

development, and what they plan to do with the residents who will be forcefully displaced by the project

With this background, in Spring 2013, a bottom-up case study was developed where through the socio-spatial methodology described, and with the community of the Comuna 8, an alternative strategy was developed to contest the original Green Belt in the defense of the community and the socio-economic value of their informal settlement. In order to tackle this, an international Planning Studio, *'Rethinking Urban Fringes in Medellín: An Alternative Intervention Model'* hosted a community-higher education partnership with students and faculty of the National University of Colombia, Medellín and Bogotá; Columbia University, NY; and the *Universitat Internacional de Catalunya* (UIC) Barcelona, along with the Planning Council of the informal settlement *Comuna 8*. The partnership debated on the Metropolitan Green Belt proposal. The organized, low-income community in *Comuna 8* in Medellín acted as the 'client,' demanding analysis and proposals that offered potential solutions for their urban sustainability challenges, such as significant environmental risks and threats of evictions due to the Green Belt Plan, as it passed over their informal settlement (Irazábal, Mendoza-Arroyo, Arciniegas, Sánchez, & Maya, 2015).

As a reaction to the Greenbelt Plan, *Comuna 8's* Planning and Local Development Council published a Declaration of 'Desires and Needs' asking the city to address. This included eight priorities: housing and permanence; risk management; integral neighborhood rehabilitation; a food corridor around the Pan de Azúcar mountain; health centers, schools and other public facilities; improvement of access ways and mobility around *Comuna 8*; generation of income; and community involvement. Therefore, the site became a fertile scenario for unveiling the clashes and potentials between bottom up and top down planning initiatives at work. With this in mind, the university-community partnership sought to (1) provide students and community leaders with a space to exchange insider and outsider views and proposals about the official Green Belt schemes; 2) innovate in planning praxis by contrasting bottom up and top down approaches; and, 3) enhance the role of social responsibility in planning practice when working

in context based proposals (Irazábal et al., 2015). The primary interventions of the proposal were focused on *Comuna 8's* top four of their eight priorities, integral neighborhood rehabilitation, risk management, permanence, and food security. Groups addressing each theme were mixed, including students from each university and a community member of the *Comuna 8*. *Comuna 8* is largely an informal settlement, made up of self-built housing and pathways. Although *Comuna 8* is close to the city center, it is not easily accessible. Its location along steep slopes makes access difficult. According to a door-to-door survey done in 2010, over 155,000 people live in *Comuna 8*. The 40% of this population has been displaced from rural areas by violent conflict, and 1-4 families continue to arrive every day.

FOOD SECURITY

The proposal we will explain has an entrepreneurial perspective and is born from the community's claim to maintain an economic activity through their local farms. Some people living in the highest parts of *Comuna 8* have gardens and cultivate some of their own food (Fig 5).

The community wanted to develop these small gardens into an urban agriculture program. The Greenbelt plans to transform the Pan de Azúcar Mountain into a protected green space. Therefore, the Greenbelt Plan threatens the existing community farms, which *Comuna 8* argues should be kept in productive use. This would not only improve the access to food in the *Comuna*, but also provide a form of livelihood and income for the families and help strengthen the neighborhood fabric. Currently food is brought in and distributed to the community via shops and supermarkets. However, this way of purchasing is more expensive because it is retail.

Therefore, the group working on this strategy mapped the existing risk areas and offered alternative solutions. An alternative was community stores or co-operative grocery stores, where residents could get a discount from the government when buying basic food products. As the community leader Carlos Velasquez commented, "Agriculture, more than anything is for survival." The proposal continued in the areas where the farming was already being done

which was along the community's northern border as well as the network hub. The objective was to facilitate partnerships with rural farms to supplement agricultural network and promote



Figure 5 Community orchards. Comuna 8 Medellín.

growth of agricultural markets in rural areas. The mapping of these spontaneous places of exchange and open space usage as farms, was done through the first step of the methodology exposed methodology (Fig.6). The 'civic grid' or step two of the methodology was including the natural elements of the green spaces with these diverse kinds of green and community usage.

Finally the third step of strategies and projects was to develop an agricultural network to be serviced by community members. The network would include a cooperative grocery store for community members (network hub), small farmers markets, and planting areas for food to be sold in co-op. The cooperative grocery store facility would act as a food storage and distribution point for small farmers markets and existing grocery stores as well as an education center. Therefore, the strategic projects would be part of the new 'civic network'.

From a participatory approach, the proposal

complemented the physical strategies with a social perspective in which the strategy consisted on appointing a community member to manage and promote the food cooperative. Likewise it was advised to develop a community group interesting in contributing to the co-op and develop funding structures and partnerships with NGOs , institutions and rural farmers. Likewise, it would be necessary to develop leasing structures for temporary acquisition of farmable land for areas to be developed in the future. Finally, it was important to propose possible sponsors involved which could be the Medellín municipality, the farmer markets and local stockholders such as local supermarkets. As this project was born as a community higher-education partnership, it was important to also propose possible partnerships such as the National University of Colombia, the agriculture school of Medellín, elementary and secondary schools and restaurants.

The most successful projects are often those the community initiated, and in this case the community members were part of the discussion and proposal in the groups. When directives come from within the community

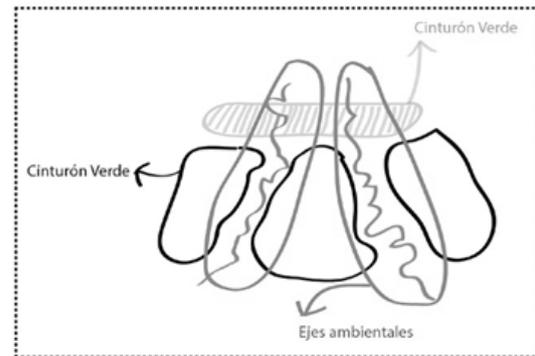


Figure 6 A new greenbelt scheme

and are delivered by trusted leadership, the message is better received than when it comes from the outside. Therefore, the proposals were developed and given to the community in order for them to use them as technical documents to take with them to their meetings with the municipal government and be able to defend their settlement's continuity.

CONCLUSION REMARKS

It seems reasonable to affirm that the effectiveness

of the interventions and urban projects generated through this upgrading process, depends on our ability to involve the community in the process of identifying and preserving the existing social values. The communities of informal settlements understand the importance of social ties, and advocate that the betterment of a settlement not only lies in developing public services, accessibility and transport systems, but in the consolidation of their social networks. The dwellers believe the settlement is a portion of the urban space that has been obtained by the communities struggle for its betterment and formalization. There exists a strong need for these integrated approaches for upgrading which could be leveraged through the concept of community resilience, enabling the necessary linkage among the social capacities, places of significance and proposed upgrading projects.

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Urban Village of Start-ups: The Case of Sungei Road Market

Keng Hua Chong
Tongchaoran Gao

Singapore University of
Technology and Design,
Singapore

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the value of a long-established informal ground-up market place in Singapore, Sungei Road Market (1930s-2017), which recently gave way to urban development. To better understand its urban-village nature, this paper traces the history of Sungei Road Market and studies the social aspects of the market and its stakeholders. Interviews with the stall owners, patrons, and public were conducted to acquire different perspectives of its history and future. In addition, field observations and asset mapping retrieve further insights of the market's operations. Based on this study, we reveal that the true value of Sungei Road Market lies in the intangible ones – in the form of *vendor-vendor network* and *vendor-visitor network*, showing a case of resilience throughout the decades. It also formed a special case of cohesive community and public facility for the lower-income empty nesters. The complex micro-ecosystem developed, in which symbiotic relationships and competition coexisted, presented a case of unique business model and a ground-up entrepreneur culture in the early days. While the issues of heritage or conservation are beyond the scope of this paper, the study nevertheless present the intangible values of Sungei Road Market.

KEYWORDS

*Urban Village, Informal Entrepreneur,
Social Resilience, Network, Ground-up
Public Space*

INTRODUCTION

Before its closure, the Sungei Road Market was the go-to place for members of the public looking for cheap antiques and vintage artifacts. It had been around before World War II, and was closed to make way for mixed use development on 10 July 2017. In contrast to its highly organized urban surroundings, the market possessed a unique urban village character especially the way it hosted informal enterprises.

This paper traces the history of Sungei Road Market and studies the social aspects of the market and its stakeholders. Interviews with the stall owners, patrons, and public were conducted to acquire different perspectives of its history and future. In addition, field observations and asset mapping retrieve further insights of the market's operations. Through deeper understanding of the *vendor-vendor network* as well as *visitor-vendor network*, the paper also attempts to uncover the micro-ecosystem in which symbiotic relationships and competitions coexist, leading to a unique culture and business model.

Past urban policies had actively shaped the condition of Sungei Road Market in terms of its scale, physical setting, business model, type of merchandise and vendor, density of stalls, and potential customers. On the other hand, generations of vendors had also shown their resilience and vitality in overcoming constraints faced by the shrinking market. This paper discusses the dynamics between these two forces and highlights the intangible values of the market.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Situated besides Rochor Canal, the commercial activities around Sungei Road (“sungei” means “river” in Malay language) started in 1930s during the British colonial period. The main customers at first were the workers from Singapore Ice Work factory located at the junction of Sungei Road and Pitt Street, a significant landmark in this area¹. Commercial activities then were mix of shophouses and peddlers on the street. According to our interview of an 85-year-old vendor in Sungei Road Market, the cool mist from the ice factory effectively cooled down the hot weather in the surrounding area, offering an enjoyable public space for both vendors and visitors. (Figure 1)

Throughout its history, the market enjoyed two times of heydays and endured two declines. The first boom was during Japanese occupation (1942-1945), when it gained the name “Evening Robinsons” – “a cheeky reference to the Robinsons Departmental Store”², by offering various affordable household supplies for poor people. Rochor Canal at that time was part of the major transportation system for shipping goods. As a result, the peddlers were largely aggregating along the bank of canal. Because the goods sold there were either stolen or acquired by other illegal means, it soon gained its reputation as “Thieves Market”³.

The second heyday was during 1960s before the British Army withdrew from Singapore. The popular merchandise were various army surplus goods, such as “parachutes, raincoats, knapsacks, billycans and boots, due to the proximity to British military bases”². It was also famous for electrical appliances that were “either stolen, smuggled or were factory rejects”². Due to the low price and culture of bargaining, the market significantly attracted many low-income customers.

Singaporeans and Malaysians were drawn to visit the market not just for buying items but also for a taste of its bustling atmosphere. But Thieves Market was more than just a popular market



Figure 1 Marketplace along Rochor Canal and Sungei Road (Source: Collection of National Museum of Singapore)



Figure 2 Sungei Road Market in 1987 (Source: National Archives)

place. Shopkeepers living in the second floor above their shops viewed this place as intimate neighborhood and residential community. The main demographic was Chinese. One of our interviewees, “Auntie H”, is the daughter of a Chinese shopkeeper in Sungei Road Market. Born in 1943, She had since lived and worked in the shophouse until it was torn down in 1991. According to her there were two signs of community’s existence. The first one is an ancestor hall hedging in the gaps of two unattached shophouses, where residents held ceremonies during traditional festivals (unfortunately we have yet to find evidence to validate the existence of this ancestor hall). Secondly, there was an unofficial union of vendors, inclusive of both shopowners and street peddlers, which held regular weekly meetings in a coffeeshop next to the market. Due to the unstable environment during WWII, the will to form cohesive community was strong. The existence of such vendors’ union was confirmed by two other two elderly vendors who had been peddling in Sungei Road Market for more than 30 years.

The market’s popularity began to wane in 1980s⁴. Since Singapore’s independence, the authority had pointed out that the hawkers were the cause of “disamenity” for neighbors and pollution for urban environment, impeding pedestrian flow and creating hygiene issues on the streets. Illegal transactions such as smuggling drugs and stolen items was another crux of the problem. In addition, its location in the peripheral of CBD rendered it a prime commercial area. These led to the subsequent policy to relocate hawkers to “designated locations where they could be better controlled”⁵.

The relocation policy did not affected Sungei Road Market initially, until 1982 when the authority decided to remove all temporary shelters built by peddlers. Within less than a year many peddlers returned to the original site, took over the vacant land again and began the game of hide-and-seek with enforcement officers⁶. Without an effective solution for the flea market, the authority in the end agreed to issue free temporary permit for regular peddlers, under one condition: only second-hand goods could be traded in

this market, food or brand new items were not allowed⁷.

The scale of the market continued to shrink in the 1990s. Frequent fires⁸ and drug infestation⁹ in the area led to the demolition of most of the shophouses and attap huts along Sungei Road. Shop owners who owned land lease were relocated to new residential developments, while the peddlers were disbanded without compensation. Yet the vendor community persisted. Some of the previous shop owners came back as peddlers, displaying wares on the blue-and-red canvas sheet or foldable tables along the street. Aforementioned Auntie H was one of them. She returned to the market in 1994 as a peddler, selling hand-made bags, second-hand trinkets, old records, toys, antique coins, and electronic

appliances (Figure 3). All those items could be easily found at Sungei Road Market. The market gradually evolved into a bazaar for second-hand and vintage goods, as well as a public gathering place for the local elderly and migrant workers.

By 1994, all shophouses in this area had been demolished. The only vendors were street peddlers. Foreign peddlers were expelled since only Singapore citizens were granted with selling permits. Their sites were taken over by newcomers. Community bonding slowly eroded due to lack of trust between newcomers and long-established vendors, and the vendors' union eventually became non-functional. Meanwhile, various urban projects such as the river clean-up project and the subsequent Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) project further reduced the scale of the market to half of its original size. (Figure 4)

In February 2017 a statement on the official closure of Sungei Road Market was jointly announced by the National Environment Agency (NEA), Ministry of National Development, Ministry of Social and Family Development, Workforce Singapore, National Heritage Board (NHB) and the Singapore Police Force¹⁰. For the last time the vendor community tried to fight for their place. An union was rebuilt with the name *Association of the Recycling of Second Hand Goods*. It formed alliance with a non-profit volunteer group, *Save Sungei Road Market Campaign*, which organized tours to raise public awareness of the market's history and cultural heritage. All strategies including collecting signatures from vendors and visitors, submitting a petition to the authority, asking for an alternative site in the vicinity were to no avail¹¹. The last day of Sungei Road Market finally took place on 10th July 2017.

THE VALUE OF SUNGEI ROAD MARKET

Whereas the petitioners argued that the government should preserve the historical heritage and unique branding of this flea market, to the authority the value of Sungei Road Market was less defined. The public was urged to differentiate nostalgia from cultural heritage, and that heritage can be preserved and transmitted in other forms.

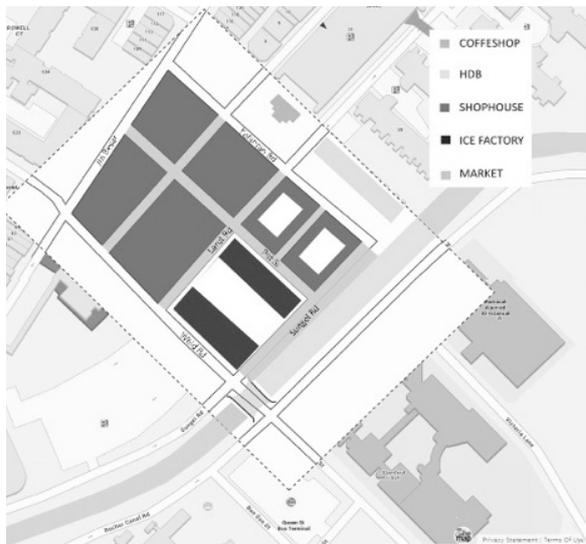
In the case of Sungei Road Market, the original vendor community had mostly been replaced over the years. Once reputable leaders of the



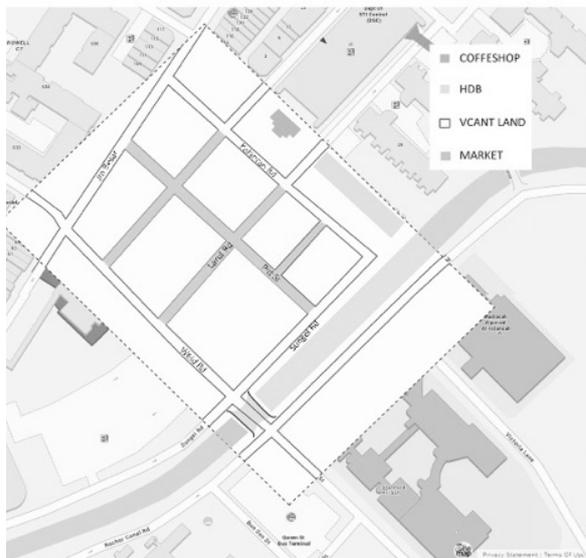
Figure 3 Diverse merchandise on display in one of the stalls (Photo: Gao Tongchaoran)



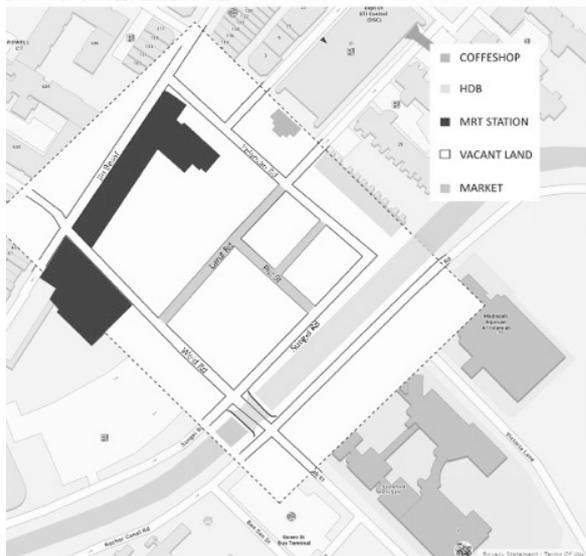
Figure 5 Bird View of Sungei Road Market during its pick hours in weekend (Photo: Gao Tongchaoran)



STAGE 1:
1930s - 1994
 Original scale of market
 with shophouses along
 the streets.



STAGE 2:
1994-2011
 Clean-up Singapore
 River program led to
 the removal of vendors
 along the bank of Rochor
 Canal.

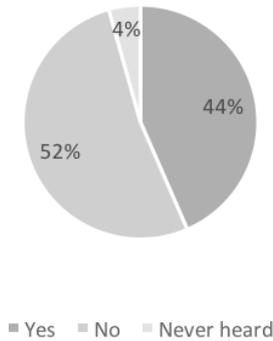


STAGE 3:
2011 - 2017
 Further reduce to half
 the original size due to
 construction of MRT
 station.

Figure 4 Three stages of Sungei Road Market's transformation

Table 1 Vendors' attitude towards newly formed association

ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION?



community had either retired or passed away, while half of existing vendors started their business after 1991. The new association was formed much later in the hope of saving the market, it is thus questionable whether it truly represented the vendor community, as shown in the survey conducted by the authors (Table 1)¹². The social bonding and cultural value of the market was naturally in doubt.

On the other hand, as the operation of flea market is more dynamic and spontaneous, rather than systematic and planned, we could look beyond the association and explore the everyday relationships among the vendors while searching for the true value of such market. Our survey shows that mutual-help frequently happened between vendors, especially between neighboring vendors (Table 2).

Such mutual-help was clearly profit driven, which includes preventing shoplifting, exchanging goods, reserving stall location, sharing shelter structure, etc. Yet such informal network could contribute to the overall eco-system of this unique market. In this paper we hypothesize that it was these loosely formed, informal network that gave rise to the characters and true values of Sungei Road Market: one that required no cost or low cost in operation, one that optimized the symbiotic relationships between the vendors towards common benefits and coexisted with competitions (which led to a cohesive entrepreneur community), and one that displayed resilience against changes in the past decades, all of which exemplifies a successful start-up ecosystem.

In the following sections we explore two kind of networks, namely *vendor-vendor network* and

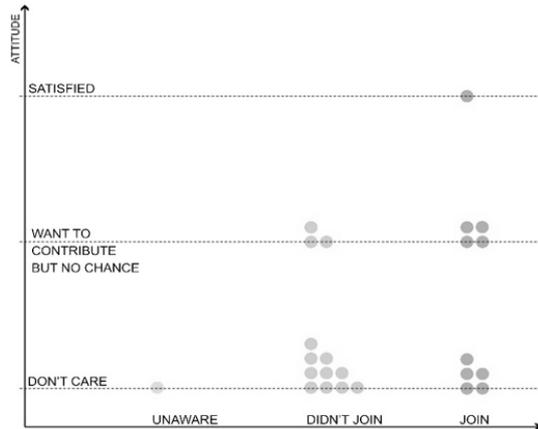


Table 2 Persons to seek help from

WHO DO YOU GO FOR HELP?

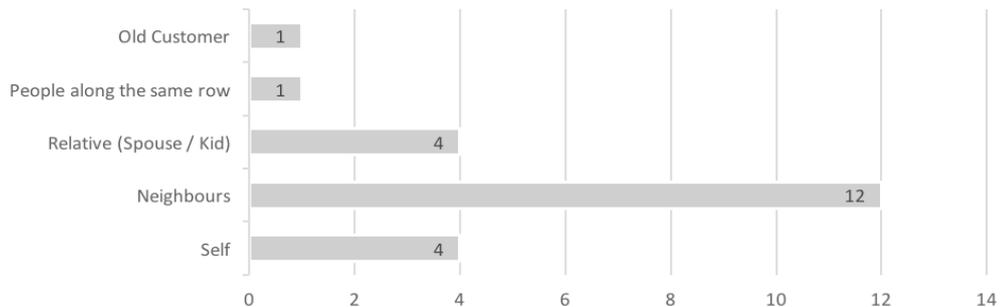


DIAGRAM OF MERCHANDISE FLOW

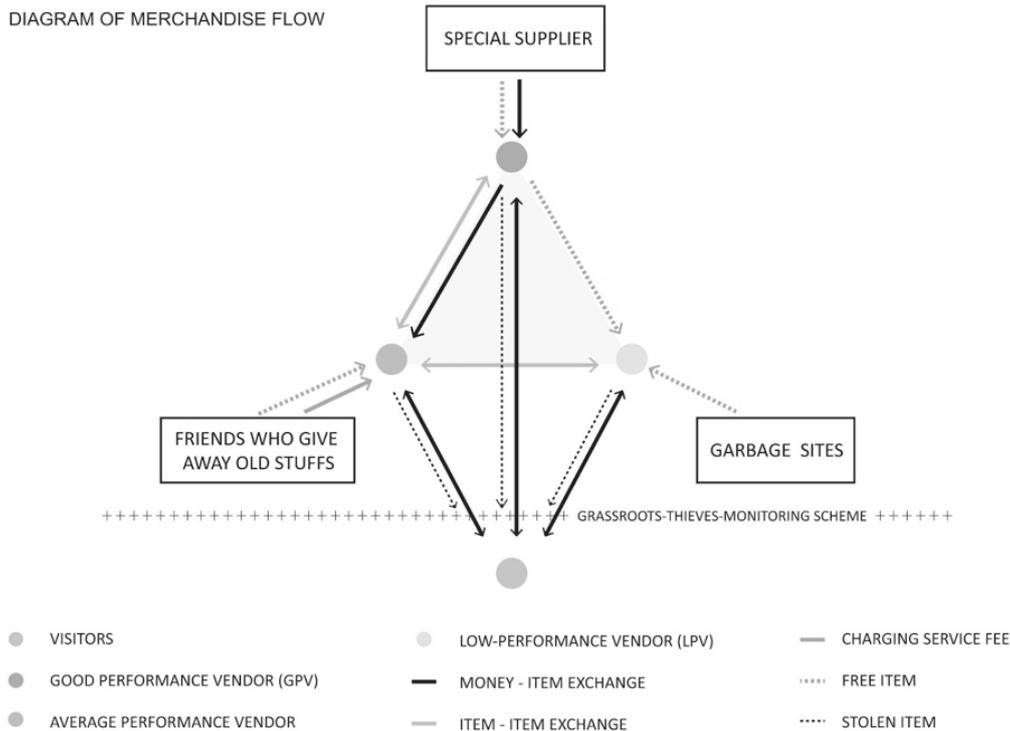


Figure 6 Merchandise flow

visitor-vendor network, followed by a social-spatial study of the significance of market as public space. Qualitative methodology employed include field observations, shadowing of selected visitors and vendors, and interviews.

VENDOR-VENDOR NETWORK

Merchandise

Vendors at Sungei Road Market had multiple sources of collecting second-hand goods. The most common source is actually their neighbors or friends who helped to clean up old unused stuff such as clothes, handicrafts, foldable chairs given by people who were moving to new places. If it was an electronic product, or other high-value commodity, the owner might consign it to the vendor to sell in the market. In this case, vendor would charge 30% to 50% of service fee when a transaction was successful. Residents living nearby sometimes would also bring their stuffs to the market and try to sell to the vendors. Some desperate vendors would also resort to picking up disposed items from garbage sites in residential estates, and then sold them after cleaning and repairing.

Another source was defective goods from nearby stores. For example, Uncle G used to make good profits from selling defective game cartridge. “What you need is a car to ship the goods away. I don’t pay a penny because they thought I was helping them throw garbage.” He said proudly, “This kind of stuff have no chance to sell in a proper store because their customers are expecting good quality goods. But here (in Sungei Road) is a different story”.

Goods distributed within vendor community was common too. Good-performance vendors (GPV) like Uncle G always had special suppliers of various kinds of popular items, which guaranteed the diversity of their merchandise. Other average-performance vendors (APV) would buy these popular items from GPV, but the transaction was more of barter trade. This process eventually shaped the landscape of Sungei Road Market vendors into selling mixed items rather than specialized items. Some GPV were also generous, giving away popular items to other low-performance vendors (LPV), helping them get minimum earning. In this case, maintaining a good relationship with GPV became important.

Merchandise network in Sungei Road Market thus went beyond the standard retail business model, ensuring the dynamic flows within the market. The dynamic flows helped to diversify the goods of each vendor, making them more resilient in case certain items were not allowed to be sold in the market. The collective efforts among neighboring vendors also formed a grassroots thieves-monitoring scheme to protecting against shoplifting.

Location

Space to set up stall is crucial for street peddler. Therefore, it would not be surprising that vendors fought over land 'ownership'. Some vendors even traded their space. Uncle L (81 years old), for instance, bought his current location from his friend, a Malaysian vendor, for \$300, after Sungei Road Market was restricted to only Singaporean vendors.

Good relationship with neighboring vendors would mean securing the location. According to authority, the vendors' locations were fixed in order to avoid conflicts. But the same location might be shared by different vendors at different time. For example, Uncle G set up stall from Monday to Friday, 1pm to 5pm, which allowed other vendors to operate at the same location from Monday to Friday, 5pm. to 7pm, and throughout the weekend. Sometimes newcomers who were not familiar with the rule might occupy a seemingly empty spot. This would easily lead to quarrel if the newcomer refused to leave after the original vendor showed up. Our interview reveals two ways to secure vending spots: by making friends with neighboring vendors so that they

could help to pre-occupy the spot on behalf; and by arriving at the spot much earlier before the market opened.

Shelter

Each vendor had their own method of sheltering to protect themselves from the tropical sun and rain, according to their skills, resources, and the surrounding environment. Often the vendors made use of the surrounding fences to attach their canvas sheet at both ends to form shelters. To prevent the canvas shelter from flapping in the wind, the shelter ends were tied down onto the ground, attached to a concrete footing or a weight (Figure 8). Alternatively, the canvas shelter can be made taut by tension cables stretched across the market (Figure 9).

However, some part of the market has limited attachment points. In this case, vendors leveraged on vendor-vendor relationship to set up their shelter. As seen from Figure 10, the vendor in the middle allowed his neighbours to attach their canvas shelter to share his umbrella stand. From the interview, we better understood that the neighbouring vendors were his close friends. During break time, the three of them would take shifts to look after each other stalls and they would have frequent casual chats. Naturally, the boundaries between the vendor friends were loosely defined and they were willing to assist in the shelter connection.

Business model

Table 2 shows that *vendor-vendor* relationship is more likely happened between neighboring vendors. From aforementioned analysis, such network helped to facilitate item exchange, thief-monitoring, securing vending spots, and sharing shelter structure. Furthermore, creative and effective business strategy could be built on *vendor - vendor* network. To illustrate, Uncle C's business was to repair fan, which relied largely on LPV who would pay him to repair the broken discarded fans. Another uncle would repair watches and clocks. Antique clock is one of the most sought-after items, after repair it could be sold in much higher price.

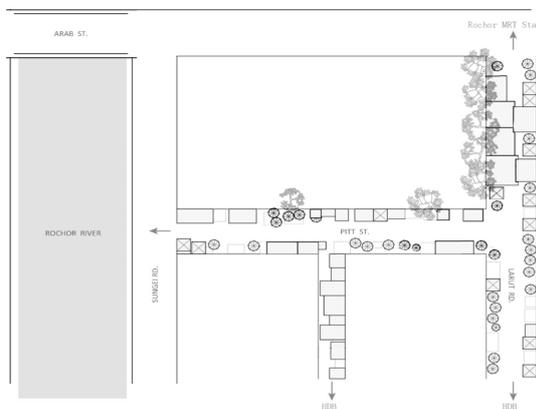


Figure 7 Location of vendors on typical weekday afternoon

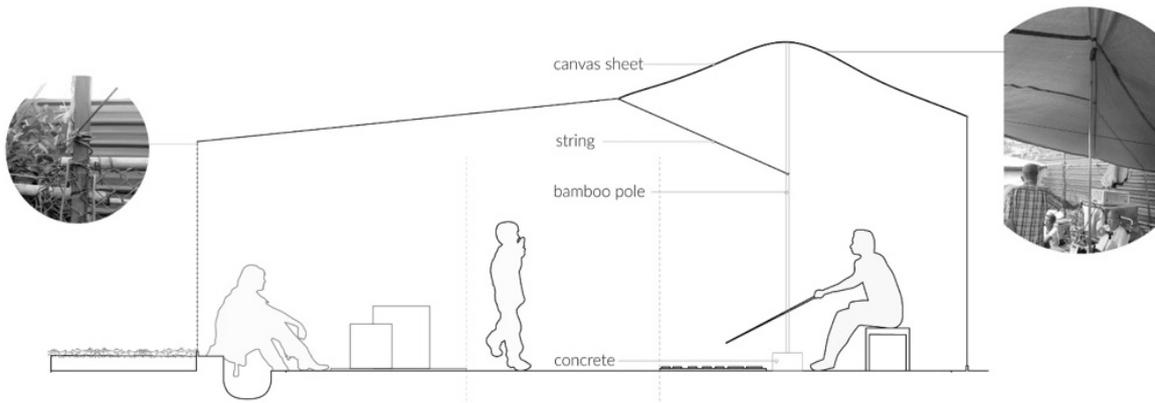


Figure 8 Section drawing – Shelter structure Type 1 (Illustration: Liaw Su Xin)

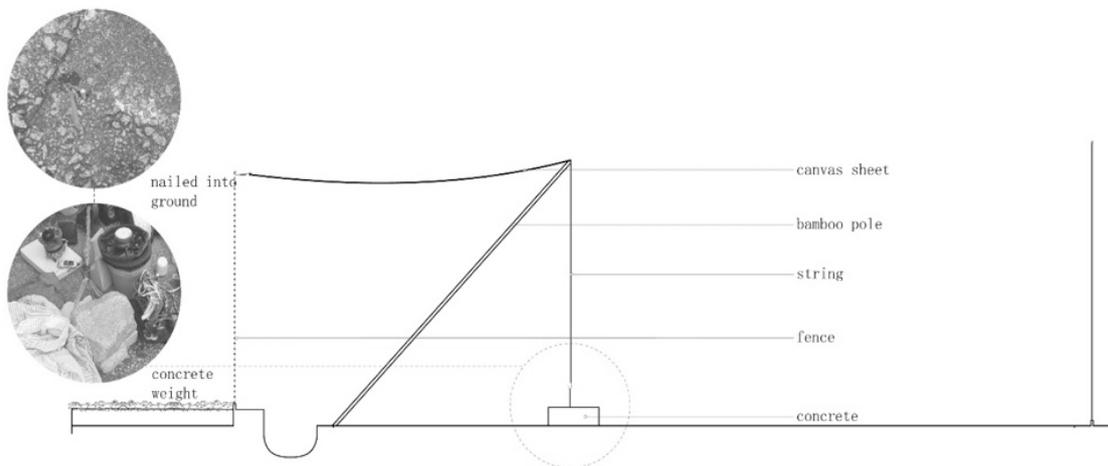


Figure 9 Section drawing – Shelter structure Type 2 (Illustration: Liaw Su Xin)

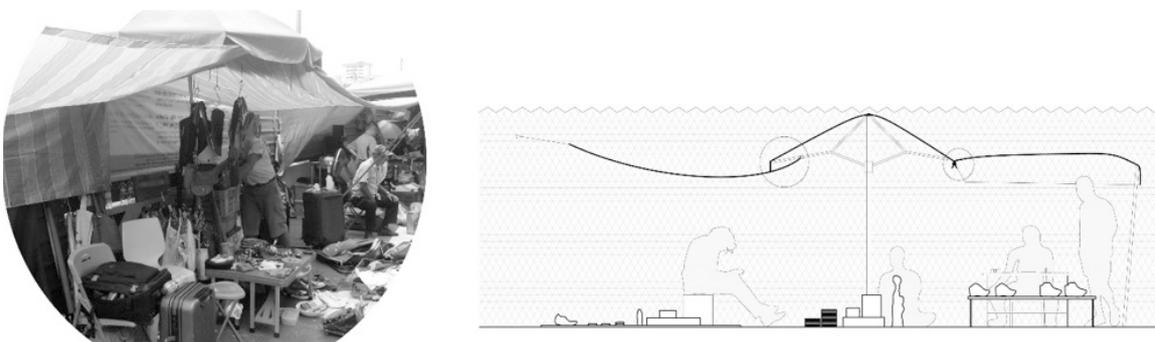


Figure 10 Section drawing – Mutual-help in shelter structure Type 3 (Illustration: Liaw Su Xin)

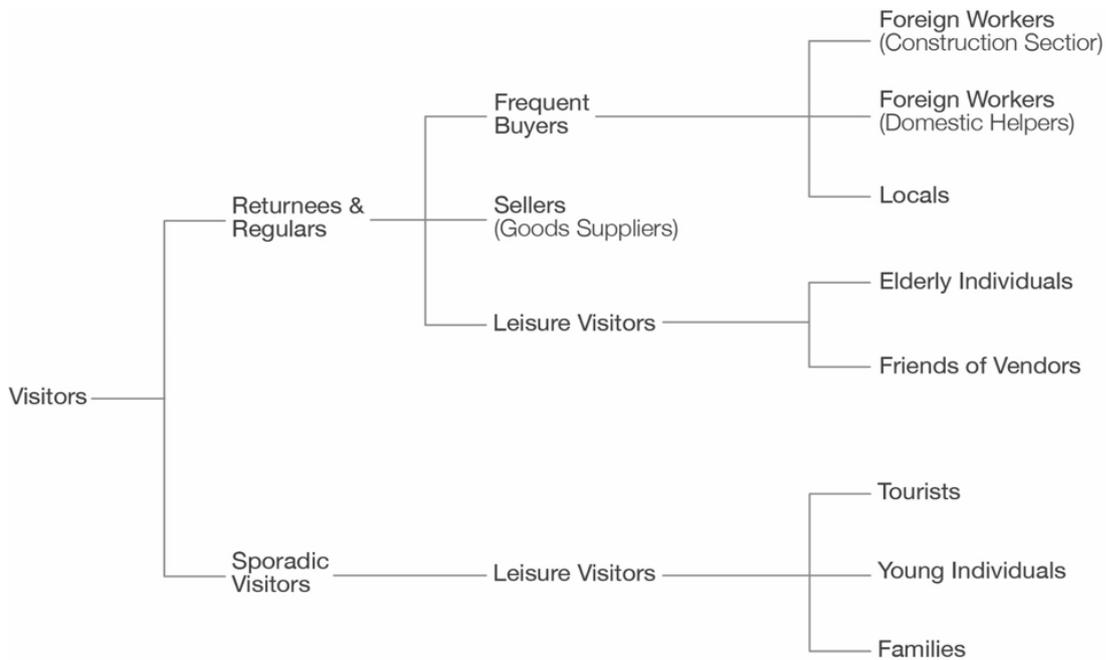


Figure 11 Visitor types

VENDOR-VISITOR NETWORK

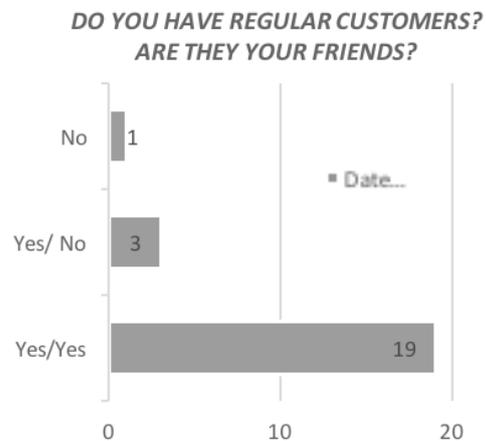
Sungei Road Market had a diversity of visitors (Figure 11). However, only the regular returnees were crucial for vendors' profit. The friendships developed between them through years made these visitors loyal customers (Table 3). Through shadowing several visitors, we discovered that regular returnees were generally clustered and targeted at just certain parts of the markets where their friends have set up their stalls. Therefore, their routes were consistently thread through the stalls of their vendor friends.

Figure 12 shows the route of two domestic workers visited a clothing stall owned by Grandma L without patronizing any other stalls. They came from the nearest access point and left promptly after purchasing several pieces of clothing. Figure 13 shows the path of a regular visitor, Mr G, a friend of several vendors. Mr G stopped at several stalls for short chats and even tended the stall with one of the stall owners for a while, and left from an access point different from where he entered.

Close relations between the vendors and the visitors was indicated by the casual conversations held. Occasionally, vendors might invite the visitors into their stall territory

to find a comfortable seat to hold a longer conversation. Represented in figure 14, after a short conversation with the vendor, the female visitor was invited into the stall to sit on a box to continue their conversation. Eventually, the neighbor of the vendor joined in the conversation too. The only time that the vendor took their attention away from the conversation was when interested visitors asked for the price of his goods. Visitors lingering at a stall was not an uncommon sight, especially for certain vendors who were seemingly more friendly and outgoing. From our

Table 3 Friendship with regular customers



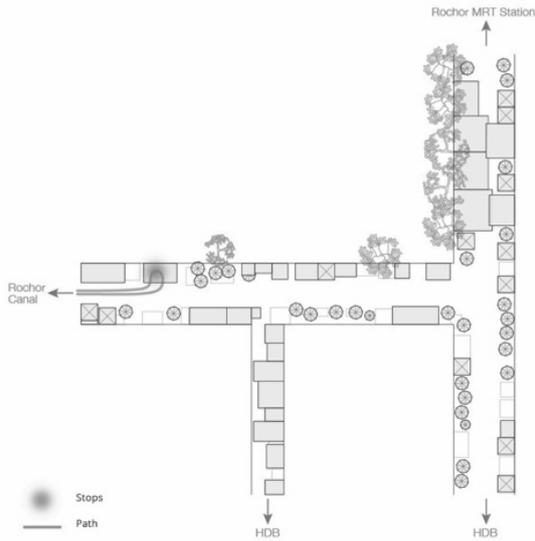


Figure 12 Route of two domestic workers
(Illustration: Tan Chiew Yu, Audrey)

observations, friendly exchanges included “Have you eaten?” or “What do you have for me today?”. Due to the issue of market closure, concerns were expressed in the forms of “Have you gotten a place to move to?” or “Are you going to continue your business?”.

However, the friendly relationship between the vendors and the visitors was not universal to all the vendors. Compared with figure 16, which show how eye-contact would be made in a usual store setting, figure 15 reveals that not all vendors are welcoming to the patrons. This vendor was

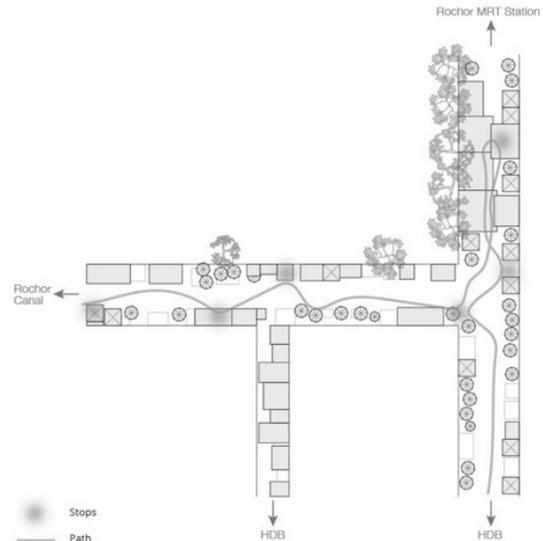


Figure 13 Route of a regular visitor
(Illustration: Tan Chiew Yu, Audrey)

selling items such as headphones and watches. To isolate his stall from the main circulation, he hung a piece of canvas in front of this stall to limit the visual connection to the gap below the canvas. Besides of providing a shade against the sun, it portrayed a more hostile nature by the vendor which deterred customers.

The tendency of grouping in cluster of symbiotic relationship fostered the holistic culture and unique business model. As a result, it formed an intimate community in this market place and public gathering space.

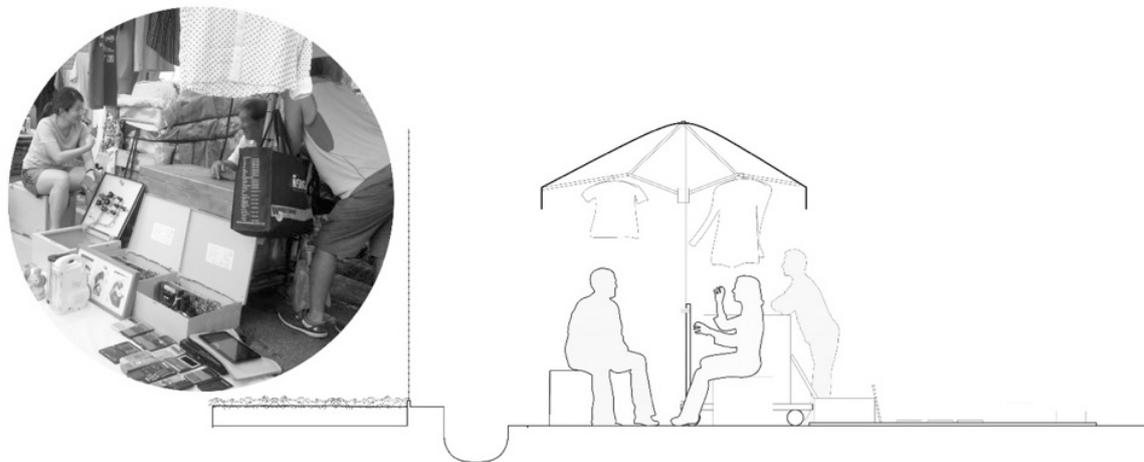


Figure 14 Section drawing - Visitor was invited into the stall to chat with vendor (Illustration: Liaw Su Xin)

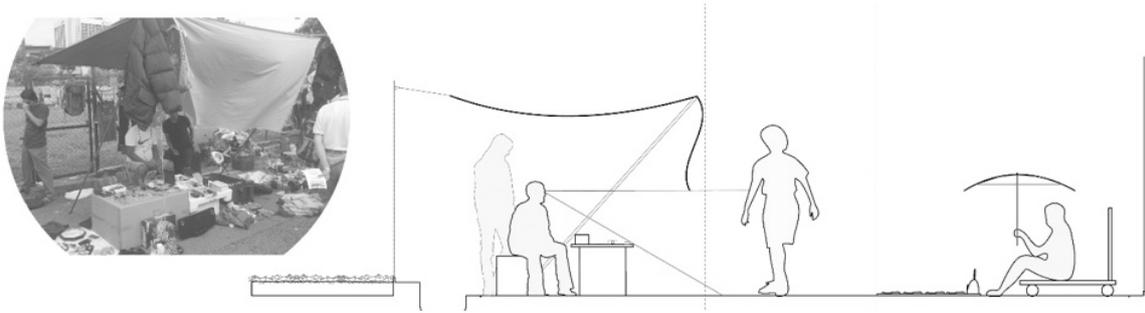


Figure 15 Section drawing – Vendor intentionally block eye-contact with visitors (Illustration: Liaw Su Xin)

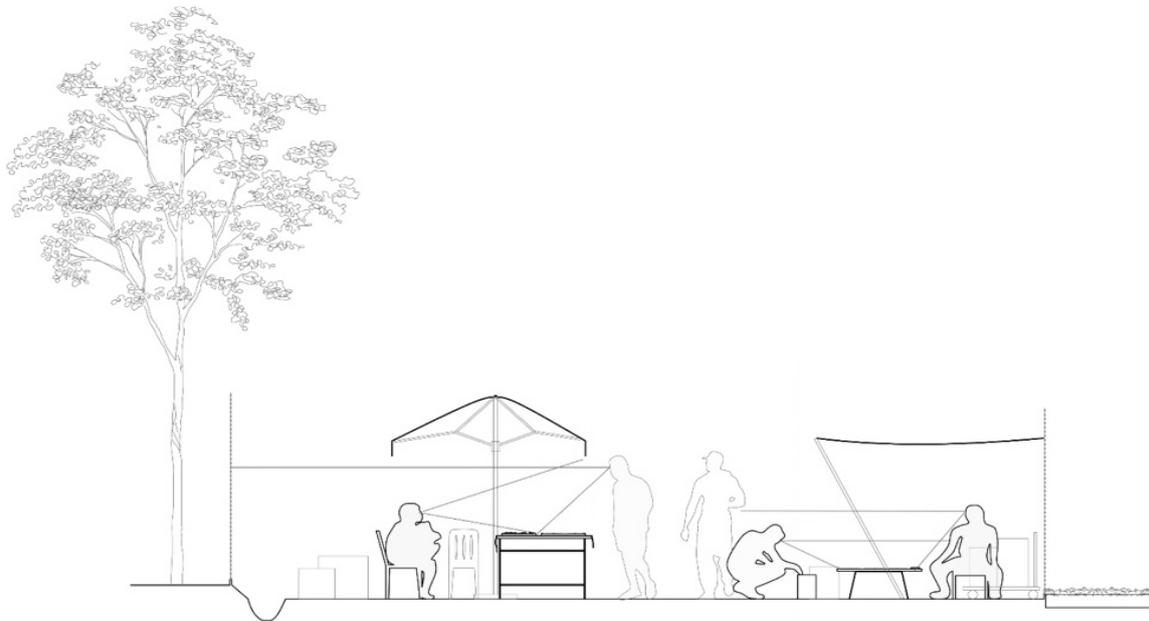


Figure 16 Section drawing - Eye-contacts between vendors and visitors (Illustration: Liaw Su Xin)

PUBLIC FACILITY FOR LOWER-INCOME EMPTY NESTERS

The market represented a unique lifestyle for a particular group of elderly. Our survey shows that 74% of vendors' age is above 70, 18% of them is above 60, and only 13% of them are ranging from 40 to 60 (Table 4). Sungei Road Market could mean different things for different vendors. Besides earning income, some of them viewed it as a productive way of spending retirement life. Our survey also shows that 65% of the vendors are empty-nesters, i.e. living alone (Table 5). To them Sungei Road Market offered a place to

get away from their lonely house. A 70 year-old uncle shared that he started selling second-hand accessories and clothes after his retirement in 2012, partially to cover the high expense of his wife's hospital bills. But after her passing, he continued selling just to keep himself occupied.

Auntie T even saw the market as a community hospice care. "I come to market if I'm feeling not well, so that my friend can keep an eye on me. "said Auntie T, "I don't need him (referring to her friend, an uncle selling amulets next to her stall) to take care of me... I only expect him to call 999, if I suddenly faint or (am) dying. Otherwise I will die in my apartment alone."

Table 4 Age groups of interviewed vendors

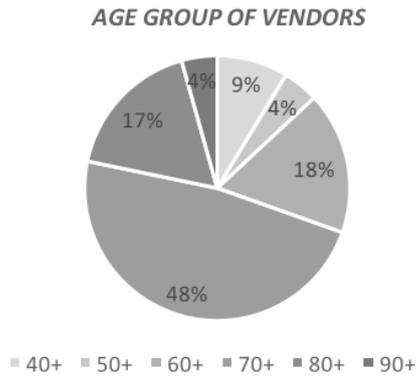


Table 5 Empty Nester

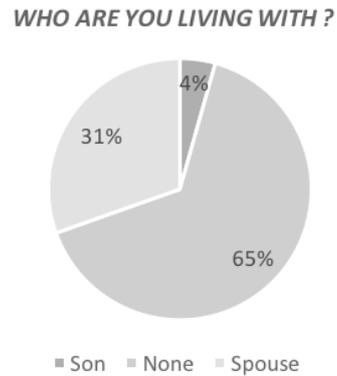
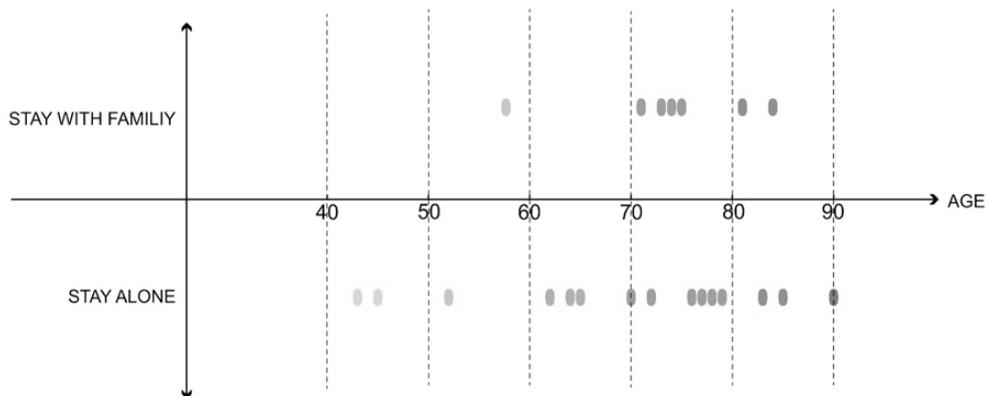


Table 6 Distribution of empty nester in different age group



The age group in regular visitors was more diverse, as the main customer base was then foreign workers. But if we only look at local visitors, almost all of them are retired seniors. Compared to young generations, seniors would prefer old places like coffeshop, hawker center, and flea market, where they felt more relaxed and comfortable. Sungei Road Market certainly had a place in both elderly vendors and elderly visitors.

CONCLUSION

Based on this study, as we look beyond the tangible values of the Sungei Road Market, we reveal that its true value lies in the intangible ones – in the form of vendor-vendor network and vendor-visitor network, showing a case of resilience throughout the decades. It also formed a special case of cohesive community and public facility for the lower-income empty nesters. The complex ecosystem developed, in which symbiotic

relationships and competition coexisted, presented a case of unique business model and a ground-up entrepreneur culture that might even become a good case study material for future start-ups. Whether or not the market should be regarded as heritage or to be retained is a matter beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, the intangible values of the Sungei Road Market should not be discarded.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to thank Liaw Su Xin, Audrey Tan Chiew Yu, Chiang Yan Yan, and Benjamin Yong, for assisting and contributing to the background studies and illustrations of this paper.

NOTES

1. Singapore Ice Work was later demolished in 1984. See Tyers, R. K. (1993). *Ray Tyers' Singapore: Then and now*. Singapore: Landmark Books, p. 76.
2. Gopalakrishnan, V., & Perera, A. (Eds.). (1983). *Singapore changing landscapes: Geylang, Chinatown, Serangoon*. Singapore: FEP International, pp. 99–100.
3. Victor R Savage, Brenda S A Yeoh (2004). *Toponymics—A Study of Singapore Street Names* (2nd Ed). Singapore: Eastern Universities Press. pp. 363–364.
4. Tyers, R. K. (1993). *Ray Tyers' Singapore: Then and now*. Singapore: Landmark Books, p. 76.
5. Since 1965, the government actively carry out policies and programs to legalize local peddlers through an island-wide hawkers' registration, coupled with construction of hawker centers between 1971 to 1986. See Kong, L. (2007). *Singapore hawker centres: People, places, food*. Singapore: National Environment Agency, p. 27. (Call no.: RSING 381.18095957 KON)
6. "Sungei Road Flea Market", *Root*, National Heritage Board: <https://roots.sg/learn/resources/virtual-tours/sungei-road-flea-market>
7. Ho, Michelle (12 October 2001). "How much for that broken phone?". *The Straits Times*.
8. Serious of fire accident destroyed 20 shophouses along Sungei Road, render 1 people injured and 60 people homeless. "Third fire in two months hits the Sungei Road area". *The Straits Times*. 10 February 1991. Home section.
9. Drugs were popular with workers looking for a cheap way to ease the hardship of the day's toil. The opium addicts were mainly poor, elderly people from working-class groups. Chua, Chin Hon (12 April 1999). "Busted—1990s' largest opium syndicate". *The Straits Times*.
10. For compensation, NEA offered financial aids for vendors who were willing to sign up for a lock-up stall in government-built hawker center as alternative. But eventually only 44 (out of more than 200) vendors took the offer. "Sungei Road Flea Market to make way for future homes." (15 Feb. 2017). *The Straits Times*; "Sungei Road stalwarts eye future beyond flea market's closure" (12 May 2017) Channel News Asia.
11. "Govt's response to Sungei Road Market petition 'deeply disappointing': Petitioners" (4 July 2017) *Channel News Asia*.
12. 52% of vendors responded that they did not join the association due to the 10 dollars compulsory membership fee per month. A follow-up question on how the chairman was elected shows that there was no election at all. In spite of 67% of vendors showing indifference towards the association, 4 out of 10 association members, and 3 out of 13 non-member vendors, wanted to contribute to the "Save Sungei Road Market Campaign", but felt that their voice was never heard.

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The Phenomenon of Urban Informality in a Developing Country Case Study: Street Vendors in the Proximity of Padjajaran University, Bandung, Indonesia

***Asri Fatmasari Septarizky
Natasha Indah Rahmani
Seruni Fauzia Lestari***

Bandung Institute of Technology,
Indonesia

ABSTRACT

The constant battle for balance over urban spaces in cities of developing countries between the formal and informal sector has been a dilemma for local governments in not only accommodating the need for space, but also in hopes of eliminating unresolved socioeconomic issues. Even with codified regulation, the street vendors nearby a major university in the heart of Bandung still persist to grow. It is hypothesized that the planning over space has not accommodated the needs of the street vendors as the main subject of spatial conflicts, through unclear provision and implementation of street vendor regulations by the local government itself. Rather, much focus has been to create an ideal space and image of Bandung as a 'tourist city'. Adopting the just city concept, stakeholders involved in the street vendor spatial conflict was mapped and analyzed through in-depth interviews over a series of weeks targeting representatives from the local government, consumers, street vendor coordinators, civilians, and university. It was found that as the prime subject of the spatial conflict, street vendors were most prone to become the victim as they lacked the spatial and political power over land. Moreover, in terms of coordination for the urban space itself, both local government and university had unclear and overlapping jurisdictions indicating flaws within the street vendor regulation itself, its inability to inclusively adopt the interests of street vendors and other significant nearby stakeholders and provision of zoning, informal and formal land use and its externalities.

KEYWORDS

*Bandung, Land, Informal Sector,
Regulation, Street Vendors*

INTRODUCTION

Land is one of main resources for urban development and plays an important role in economic activities. However, its increasing demand cannot be balanced by the remaining land. The inability of land to fulfil demands is susceptible to raise conflicts.

A spatial conflict which is often seen in Indonesia is urban informality such as illegal settlements and street vendors or otherwise known as *Pedagang Kaki Lima* (PKL). PKL are consequences of market failure. The market increased the land price, making it expensive and unaffordable for micro or small business owner to buy, rent, or use it formally. At the same time, they still need to sell something and earn money for living, thus PKL owners use public space.

In spite of its role in economic sector, PKL are seen as troublemakers in public space (Rochini, 1994; Deguchi, 2005; Bhowmik, 2008) as PKL lead to the decrease of function/usage and physical and environment quality, and spatial visual quality. The number of street vendors is growing due to its also growing demand. PKL tend to be located in a place which fits a particular characteristic of an activity called 'activity support' (Shirvani, 1986). PKL cannot be abandoned as they act as a source of income for lower-class citizen. They also take part in providing space for people who have creativity which needs to be facilitated (Chapman, 1994). An aforementioned facility could be a provision of open spaces and circulation spaces in urban area. However, some planners rarely consider PKL when they plan. There are still a lot of PKL who use public space excessively, thus the other users cannot freely use those public spaces.

The establishment of street vendors in Indonesia was first caused by government inability to firmly stop such a deviant behavior. The government basically considered the existence of street vendors as their inability to control the market and improving citizen's quality of life.

Street vendors' existence raised a dilemma for government. They often use sidewalk as a stall, causing discomfort for pedestrian. They also make cities look slum and creates such a negative image for the city. Moreover, they increase roadside disturbances or obstacles because buy-and-sell activity requires parking lots for buyers. Since

the land is not enough, they will park on the road, disturbing vehicle circulation on the road which ends up as a traffic jam. PKL also has a negative impact for government because they do not contribute any profit for government. Yet, on the other side, the consumers need PKL as they are cheap and easy-to-get. Besides, it is a job which, if diminished, will cause an increase of unemployment rate in the city.

Based on ILO Report no V(1), informal economy refers to all economic activities that are not covered by law or other form of formal arrangements. Informality can emerge in many forms such as street vendors, illegal labour, street performances and squatter housing.

Characteristics of informal sector in the ILO report on Kenya (1972,p.6) include ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operation, labour-intensive and adapted technology and skill acquired outside the formal school system unregulated and competitive markets. Informal sector activities have no exact number of working hours, they may be self-employed or unskilled labour who are hired by an owner (Gary, 1990). Informality in the form of PKL has been a dilemma both for government and the society. Informal PKL usually self-claim and utilize public space to their own benefit thus diminishing other people rights in using that public space. On the other hand, it also drives economic activities for the city and helps the poor to have an income. Most low income families depend on the informal sector as their main income (Brata, 2008). The complexity of informality has to be government concern to minimize bad impacts that may arise.

According to aforementioned problems, this research aims to identify a phenomenon of urban informality with PKL in the proximity of Padjadjaran University, Bandung as a case study. Padjadjaran University is located in Lebakgede, Coblong Area, Bandung.

Strategically situated in the heart of Bandung, as also one of the top ranking universities in Indonesia, the university attracts many students from all over Indonesia thus making it a hot spot for mushrooming small-to-medium enterprises and PKL. Padjadjaran University is located on Dipatiukur Road along side Teuku Umar Road and Hasanuddin Road. The vast land use

surrounding the university includes housing, education and commercial land uses. By the local government law, PKL are to not open and sell in the proximity of Padjadjaran University as is it deemed as a red zone, a forbidden zone for PKL activities. Whilst Teuku Umar dan Hasanuddin Road are both considered as a yellow zone which enables PKL activities for specific goods and services for a given amount of time. Below (Figure 1) shows an orientation of the study area.

This study uses qualitative method to uncover urban informality phenomenon in a form of street vendors, selecting street vendors around Padjadjaran University, Bandung as a case study.

Primary data gathering were conducted through observation and in-depth interviews. In this case, we observed to gain insight about characteristics of the location and PKL in the study area. In-depth interviews were aimed at PKL owners, leaders of PKL, consumers, a key person from Padjadjaran University, local stakeholders, and local government.

Data analysis method used for this study are descriptive analysis, content analysis, and stakeholder analysis. Descriptive analysis was conducted to describe the overview and characteristic of area and PKL in the proximity of Padjadjaran University, Bandung. Content

analysis is a method to identify themes, concepts, and meaning by studying numbers or reading between the lines. This method was used to get insight about actors, social interactions, and spatial conflicts regarding street vendors in Padjadjaran University area.

Stakeholder analysis was conducted to discover how actors in a system could influence current policy and institutions, and vice versa. The analysis was done by mapping roles, importance, and influences of each stakeholders related to street vendors phenomenon around Padjadjaran University, Bandung.

RESULTS

The issue for public space in regards to the flourishing street vendor or *Pedagang Kaki Lima* (PKL) phenomenon in the proximity of Padjadjaran University serves as unique as it is complex. As many food stalls in developed nations are run and owned by the same individuals, what is found in this phenomenon is that those who run PKL on a daily basis aren't always those who own the business. Many of the PKL business in the proximity of Padjadjaran University are run by those who work for individuals who invest in the operation thus marginalizing those who run the PKL and giving a higher influence for those who own and invest in the business. Moreover, it is found that the day-to-day workers of PKL come from less privileged backgrounds and are less financially capable whilst the owners are more financially well-off and much more mobile, some even controlling the business from a different city. What must also be noted is the presence of the thugs or street mafia namely *preman*. These *preman* are individuals and groups of people, usually coming from the same family and are ironically more often than not affiliated with individuals in the local government or police force, known for self-proclaiming public spaces all over Bandung. Their business is to grant slots and protection over public space to those who need space to set up their own business in return for a hefty amount of money. When such news of relocation of PKL comes around the corner, the *preman* would usually intervene as some are also affiliated with the officials from the local government. In some cases, most *preman* would trick PKL owners into giving them money but giving no protection in return. With such depiction it can be seen that while PKL can



Figure 1 Study area

be a lucrative and mushrooming business, the complexity of the orientation of each stakeholders involved and how interactions are forged in playing politics over urban public space in Lebakgede, Dipatiukur, Bandung can prove to be a very uncertain business.

The actors involved in such phenomenon can be differentiated into 5 categories as follows (Table 1).

Based on the actors identified in the PKL phenomenon, the descriptions of the roles of each actors are as follows (Tabel 2).

With such identification we are able to map the conflicts of public space in relation to the behaviors of the actors involved to better understand how the actors interact, how power is dispersed among the actors, and identify the balance of the activities of PKL in the proximity of Padjadjaran University. It is shown that there is a positive relation between the parking officers, consumers and Go-Food availability. Mr AA is identified as a mediator for Padjadjaran University

in coordination with the head of PKL in regards to issues concerning to environmental hygiene. The information is then passed onto the other PKL owners through the head of PKL. A command line is identified between Satgasus members (Dinas Tata Ruang, Satpol PP, Dinas Koperasi dan UMKM, and local government body of Lebakgede) and PKL owners. Even though each of the local government bodies serve the function of cultivating PKL skills, in reality such activities are yet to fruitfully develop the PKL into more formal institutions. It is also found that there is a negative influence of the thugs towards PKL owners due to the existence of illegal retributions that the thugs set upon the PKL for selling in the area.

Such conflict mapping can be seen in the figure below (Figure 2).

An analysis on the importance and influence of each identified actors clearly shows the varying positions each actor possesses in relation to the spatial conflict in the Lebakgede area. Some important findings are as follow.

Table 1 Identified stakeholders in the PKL phenomenon in Lebakgede, Bandung

Category	Description	Stakeholders
Involved in financial transactions	Consists of actors that conduct and are directly involved in financial transactions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PKL Teuku Umar Street • PKL Hasanuddin Street • PKL Monumen Perjuangan • Buyers • Head of PKL
Regulators of financial transactions	Consists of actors that regulate how financial transactions are conducted by PKL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lebakgede District government • Dinas Koperasi dan UMKM • Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja
Impacted by financial transactions	Consists of actors who are not involved in the transactions but are impacted in a positive and negative manner by such activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Padjadjaran University
Involved indirectly in financial transactions	Consists of actors who are not involved in the transactions but support the existence of street vendors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parking officers • Go-Food
Influential towards PKL	Consists of actors who are not involved in transactions, do not regulate or support PKL however are influential towards how PKL behave.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mr AA • Street mafia/thugs

Table 2 Roles of stakeholders in the PKL phenomenon in Lebakgede, Bandung

Stakeholder	Role(s)
PKL Teuku Umar	Sells street food as an alternative place to eat on Teuku Umar Street
PKL Hasanuddin	Sells street food as an alternative place to eat on Hasanuddin Street. Some also sells various goods and services
PKL Monju	Sells street food as an alternative place to eat in front of Monumen Perjuangan and is especially crowded during night time.
Costumers	Buys food, goods and services offered by PKL thus drives the demand for PKL
Head of PKL	Upholds the cleanliness of UNPAD area, sets a premium for communal PKL needs (fixing broken tents, pays for cleaning services), coordinates with stakeholders such as the local government, Padjadjaran University and other PKLs
Lebakgede Local Government	Watches over PKL transactions, extention of the local government body within Lebakgede for administrative purposes (data collection of PKL)
Dinas Koperasi dan UMKM Kta Bandung	Cultivating PKL's skills through trainings on online businesses, equity management, and promotion of products in the eventual goal of formalizing PKL
Dinas Tata Ruang Kota Bandung	Arranging PKL though revitalization of PKL zones with thematic concepts, relocation of PKL within the red zone, and works with third party stakeholders for PKL relocations
Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja Kota Bandung	Disciplining all offences related to PKL based on commands and reports
Padjadjaran University	Enforcing the environment policies around Padjadjaran University
Parking officers	Maintaining order for the vehicles in front of PKL tents
Go-Food	Providing online food delivery services
Local thugs	Collecting illegal retribution from PKL
Mr AA	A mediator for Padjadjaran University in coordination with PKL to upkeep the cleanliness of Padjadjaran University's grounds

- It is found that PKL and Padjadjaran University are the two central actors that planners must focus on in order to uphold the interests of both the stakeholders--the opportunity to sell their products and keep the environment clean.
- It is found that the behavior and interactions of consumers, Satpol PP, Go-Food, thugs, PKL owners, and Mr AA are to be intervened in order to prevent any risks and negative externalities. Such intervention is needed considering that these actors do not have

high interests on the PKL phenomenon itself but have the power to highly influence how PKL can serve to be near Padjadjaran University

- Head of PKL and Dinas Tata Ruang needs to engage in better coordination as both serve critical purposes in managing and disciplining PKL and the public space.

Based on such analysis, it can be concluded that there persists various spatial conflict issues as a result of this informal phenomenon.

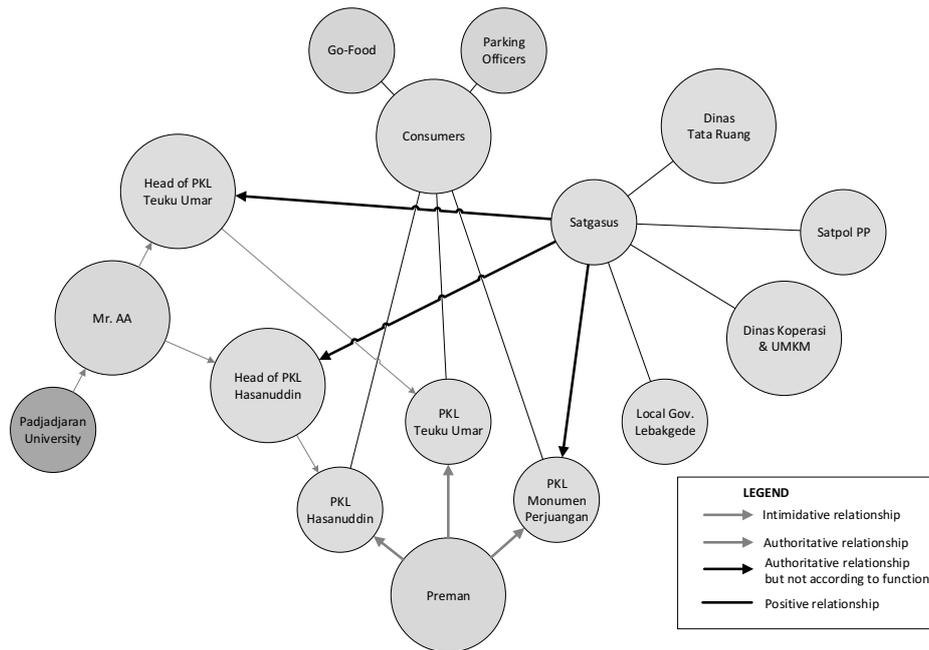


Figure 2 Stakeholder mapping

These include:

- The uncertain and unclear stakeholder coordination between those involved in the spatial conflict
- Nonexistence of PKL identity
- Poor environment upkeeping in the proximity of Padjadjaran University
- Decreasing demand of consumers for PKL goods and services
- Poor implantation and monitoring of PKL regulation in yellow zones

These issues arise from various factors that lead up to the informality and conflicts for public space in Lebakgede, Bandung. Through semi-structured interviews, it is identified that the urban informality found have been caused by the following phenomenon.

- 1998 financial crisis. As the Indonesian economy collapsed in 1998, instability of prices for basic goods caused many cuts in the workforce, alternately increasing the numbers of unemployment and poor families. As many struggle to find jobs in the formal sector, many resolved to working informally by setting up PKL stalls, as many did and started the sprawl of PKL in Lebakgede, Bandung.
- Increasing demand from consumers. With

minimal options inside the university canteen, students opt for food sold outside campus. This creates bigger demand for the diversification of PKL food as competitors in the business are high.

- Unclear and overlapping functions of stakeholders. It is identified that there is an unclear boundary for authority over PKL and who is much more responsible for the mushrooming growth of PKL at Lebakgede. This concerns the roles of Mr AA, Padjadjaran University and the local government in Lebakgede.
- Lack of sufficient accommodation of PKL aspiration. It is found that PKL relocations are often one-way dialogs as PKL owners are not involved in discussions for such matter. As a consequence, conflicts and sentiments arise between PKL and the local government, condemning acts of relocations of PKL in the name of protecting the public space. Also, this also hampers the trust between PKL and the local government, affecting also the local governments aim to formalize the PKL into formal food stalls.

CONCLUSIONS

Urban informality has been an issue for governments of developing countries for decades. Lack of access to job opportunities and the need to make a stable living urges the poor to live by dwelling in the informal sector. In this case, it is proven that some stakeholders take advantage of that situation thus creating a complex stakeholder's network that shapes the PKL activity. PKL owners and workers are found to be central actors in this phenomenon yet are also the most vulnerable considering the lack of spatial regulations that protect PKL activities and the complex network of stakeholder that PKL

must face in the streets. The existence of the Head of PKL, Mr AA and *preman* prove to belittle the power and influence of PKL and Padjadjaran University as a whole. Even if such regulation has been implemented, it is found that the local government bodies such as Dinas Tata Ruang and Dinas Koperasi & UMKM are yet to effectively implement and monitor such regulation on the streets thus still putting PKL in a vulnerable position as the security of their job is still at risk from shady businesses happening in public spaces involving *preman* and even some local government workers.

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The Shanghai *Lilong* in the 21st Century: Can Informal Commercial Activity Save this Threatened Urban Space?

Gregory Bracken

Faculty of Architecture and
the Built Environment,
Delft University of Technology,
Netherlands

ABSTRACT

Lilong were gated, hierarchically organized residential compounds built in Shanghai during the colonial era. Stylistically influenced by the West, they also saw China's concept of the home (*jia*) change into something more modern (and Western): the family home, while still a home, could also be seen as a commodity. Once covering 80% of the city, *lilong* are being replaced by denser urban development. This is bad for the preservation of Shanghai's unique vernacular architectural heritage, but we may also be losing potentially useful lessons from the past on ways of generating vibrant community life. This paper will examine four recent redevelopments to look at the role of different entrepreneurs, from large, top-down private developers to small, bottom-up individual owners, to determine which, if any, comes closest to best preserving the spirit of the *lilong*. Jianyeli is a residential gentrification which not only subverts the typology (by being for the rich) but has killed off any street life; Xintiandi is a hugely successful commercial development, but one in which there is no provision for residents; Tianzifang is a more bottom-up commercial redevelopment but is too touristic (it does, however, preserve a lively mix of commercial and residential life); finally, there is Jing'an Villa, where earlier this decade there was a temporary but fascinating efflorescence of bottom-up informal commercial activity instigated by the returning descendant of emigrants in one of the best preserved residential *lilong* in the city. No one redevelopment will point the way to a vibrant future for this threatened typology, but bottom-up informal commercial activity certainly seems a promising way of attempting to preserve it. Combined with lessons from the other redevelopments, we may be able to suggest a better balanced approach to preserving this fascinating and unique urban space for the future.

KEYWORDS

*Lilong, Gentrification, Informal
Commercial Activity*

INTRODUCTION

China was forced to open itself to trade by the Western powers in the 19th century. At a time when the country was still dominated by Confucianism, Chinese society was divided into four classes: scholars, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants (in descending order of importance). Whereas the Western powers believed that ‘trade was as natural a human function as breathing and assumed the right to trade with whomsoever they pleased. China did not share this view’ (Nield 2015: 1), ‘the mandarins who ruled China perceived commerce as an activity undertaken by people of a lower, unrefined kind – be they Chinese or foreign’ (Nield 2015: 1). China at this time produced top-quality luxury goods, such as tea, silk, and porcelain, and ‘gradually was absorbing a substantial portion of the world’s silver supply’ (Downs 2014: 108). The British, wanting to redress this imbalance, sought to import their own goods into China, the most lucrative of which was opium, and they waged two wars to do so. The First Opium War (1839-1842) and the Second Opium War (1856-1860) led to a series of treaties, beginning with the Treaty of Nanking on 29 August 1842. Known as the ‘unequal treaties’, they were foisted onto an unwilling China and are rightly seen as a low point in that country’s history.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Nanking China had to pay Britain an indemnity of \$21 million, it also had to cede the island of Hong Kong to Britain in perpetuity, and five ports were opened to foreign trade: Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy (Xiamen), Foochow (Fuzhou), Ningpo (Ningbo), and Shanghai. Henceforth known as the ‘treaty ports’, they were the first in an ever-increasing series of settlements that spread themselves across China until 11 January 1943, when the Sino-British Treaty for the Relinquishment of Extra-Territorial Rights in China ending the system after 101 years.

On 8 November 1858 opium was legalized in China (Nield 2015: xvi); it remained legal until 1917 (and in Hong Kong until 1945). ‘To China the opium trade was an unmixed evil’ (Downs 2014: 131), corrupting, demoralizing, and draining specie. The more the authorities tried to stop it, the more it took hold because ‘[t]he more vigorous the enforcement, the higher were the bribes and the greater the incentive to subvert the

law’ (Downs 2014: 119). The British government had always acknowledged the right of the Chinese to prohibit the drug traffic’ (Downs 2014: 135), but as Jacques M. Downs says (quoting John King Fairbank) ‘the opium trade’s “economic value outweighed its moral turpitude:” and Western military and naval superiority enabled Britain to get away with it’ (Downs 2014: 135).

But bad and all as this was, it was not the main point of the drug trade because ‘[w]here opium went, other goods followed. By the 1830s, smuggling involved more than drugs’ (Downs 2014: 128). ‘Without opium it is difficult to see how the legitimate China trade could have developed’ (Downs 2014: 112). One unintended consequence of the opening of China to international trade was modernization; even missionaries played a role in this because it was thanks to their ‘schools and other activities that foreign ideas were being introduced to an increasingly politically aware student population’ (Nield 2015: 204).

Robert Nield also identifies ‘[o]ne of the principal and longest-lasting agents of modernization derived from the treaty port system was the complete reorganization of the collection of duty on imports and exports’ (Nield 2015: 9). He thinks that ‘Chinese commercial ideas and trade practices would have developed without Western input, although perhaps on different lines, but the presence of an alien culture accelerated change’ (Nield 2015: 11). Certainly there would be few who would argue with his statement (quoted from Frank Dikötter) that the Treaty Ports represented ‘the largest cultural transfer in human history’ (Nield 2015: 11).

SHANGHAI

‘More than 250 places can be identified as having foreign non-missionary presence or jurisdiction in China before the end of the Treaty Port system in 1943’ (Nield 2015: 9), but Shanghai was, without doubt, the biggest success story of them all. From a small circular walled town it grew into the world’s sixth-largest port by 1863 (Nield 2015: 202). It was the Treaty Port par excellence. So rich and important had it become that ‘[i]n 1862 the leaders of Shanghai’s foreign commercial community had suggested making the settlements an independent republic’ (Nield 2015: 201). The proposal was considered unrealistic, however,

and, besides, it contravened the treaties on which the system was built.

From the moment it became a Treaty Port Shanghai experienced remarkable growth, quickly supplanting Canton as China's leading entrepôt. Every part of the city grew at a staggering pace. The cost of an acre went from around 50 pounds in 1850 to around 20,000 in 1862 (Dong 2000: 16). Shanghai was dominated by an International Settlement, which was a self-governing entity; there was also a French Concession, an old Chinese city, and the rest of city, which was Chinese administered. A tiny colonial elite had little interest in mixing with the vast majority of the city's native population. They saw themselves as separate, even identifying themselves as 'Shanghailanders' as opposed to the native 'Shanghaiense'. By the 1920s and 1930s Shanghai was synonymous with modernity: the city had China's first trams, first stock exchange, first nightclub. Not only did it have the largest population in Asia (three million in 1930), it also had the region's tallest buildings, freest press, most scintillating social life; it also had Asia's most notorious gangsters, drugs, and gambling dens.

Then on 8 December 1941 the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and annexed Shanghai's foreign concessions; the city found itself under one jurisdiction for the first time in a century, but this was Japanese. 1943 saw the revocation of the Treaty Port system and after the war Shanghai went through a brief boom followed by a cataclysmic period of corruption and economic mismanagement. Then, on 24 April 1949, Shanghai was liberated by the People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China was declared on 1 October, ending once and for all any foreign incursions.

LILONG¹

Treaty Ports proved a magnet for Chinese looking for work or refuge from the upheavals that convulsed the country in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Most of them lived in a type of house that developed in Shanghai and was unique to the city. Known as *lilong*, these were gated, hierarchically organized residential compounds organized in large blocks and subdivided by alleyways. The name means 'neighbourhood alleyway' and they are sometimes called *lilongtang*, which refers to a cluster of houses



FIGURE 1 Aerial view of lilong³



FIGURE 2 Gate into lilong

(*tang* means 'sitting room'), while *longtang* is the alleyway-house itself (i.e. 'alleyway-sitting room'). This is the term most often used in Shanghai itself².

The alleyways themselves were differentiated between a main one, which was four to five metres wide and ran perpendicular to the access street, and smaller ones, which crossed the main alleyway at right angles. Access to the compound was via a gate, which was closed at night. There was often more than one gate, but these tended to close at different times meaning that shortcuts could only be used by those who knew the *lilong* well.

The houses themselves were two to four storeys in height and varied in size and decoration. They were invariably small, the basic unit being 60 to 105 square metres, with two rooms per floor. Commercial activity was confined to the



FIGURE 3 Typical *lilong*

houses facing onto boundary streets, although some informal commercial activity occurred on the main alleyway. The smaller alleyways were used for household chores, informal work, or recreation. The chief factor in their flexibility was a hierarchical system of 'graduated privacy'. This term was originated by Nelson I. Wu in his analysis of traditional Chinese courtyard homes (*siheyuen*) (Wu 1968: 32). It explains the series of spatial progressions within the home, where certain visitors would be allowed as far as the entry vestibule, but friends and family would come into the courtyard and adjacent halls. The deeper recesses of the house were reserved for the family.

The *lilong* formed a village-style neighbourhood (not unlike the *lifang* residential wards of ancient Chinese cities), and a graduated privacy

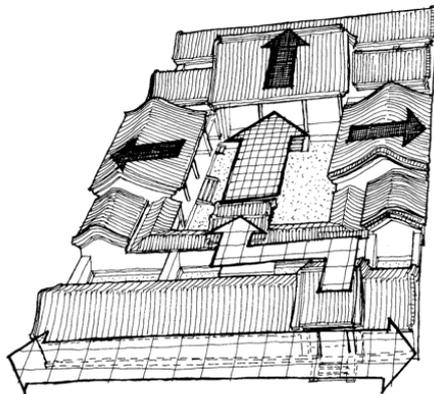


FIGURE 5 'Graduated privacy' in a traditional Chinese courtyard house

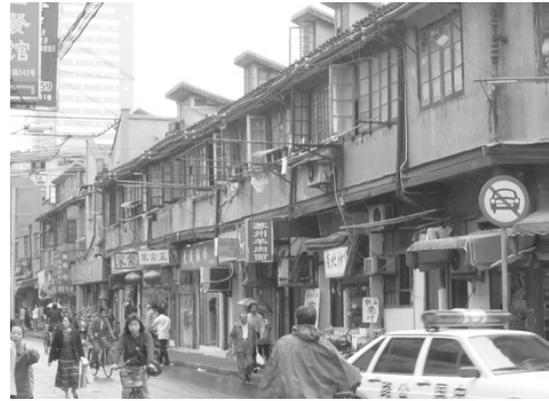


FIGURE 4 Commercial activity on boundary of *lilong*

obtained here as well, governing activities and their location. The sequence of spaces found in the traditional Chinese house was echoed in the *lilong*. Inhabitants (and/or strangers) could move from the main street (which was fully public) through the main alleyway (semi-public) to the smaller alleyways (semi-private), before finally entering the privacy of the individual home. This graduated sequence of spaces determined the activities that took place in the *lilong*, particularly on its different types of alleyways. The main alleyway would see vendors setting up stalls, whereas residents would sit on the smaller side alleyways and watch the street activity. This is where they would also socialize, do household chores, or conduct hobbies. At first glance these activities can seem random but they follow a rigid and logical system of hierarchy governed by graduated privacy.

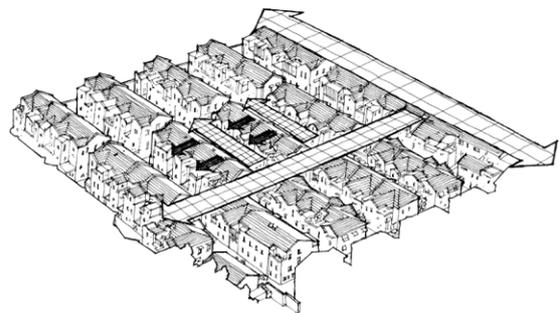


FIGURE 6 'Graduated privacy' in *lilong*



FIGURE 7 Commercial activity on main alleyway



FIGURE 8 Residential activity on side alleyway.

Distinctions between public and private are less sharply drawn than in Asia than in the West. Peter G. Rowe sees this ‘blurring of public, semi-public, semi-private and private spatial realms [leading to] a stronger social emphasis on communality, propriety and conformance’ (Rowe 2005: 27). Chinese people do seem to live and do more on their streets than Westerners, and it is the subtle progression from public through semi-public/semi-private to private that the *lilong* facilitates that enables them to do so. It is a generator of this lifestyle, because of its built form, but also generated by it, because it reflects a deep-seated Chinese attitude to the use of space. The spaces of the *lilong* have, therefore, a perfectly balanced relationship with the life that is lived in them. Or they had, as we shall see below. But first, a note on how these spaces were used, and why.

NEW MODE OF LIVING

Samuel Y. Liang identifies the earliest Chinese residents of Shanghai as gentry fleeing civil wars and upheavals. The ‘hovels, brothels, and opium dens so objectionable to the Western elite provided crucial business opportunities for foreign landowners, as wealth shifted from the declining and displaced landed gentry to new urban capitalists’ (Liang 2010: 90). These activities provided business opportunities, something that foreign landowners were quick to capitalize on. They did this through their compradors (Chinese or mixed-race middlemen who conducted business interests). Slowly, wealth began to shift from the displaced and declining landed gentry to a new class of wealthy urban capitalists.

Liang also notes that most Chinese residents of *lilong* saw themselves (much like the Westerners) as sojourners. Both groups saw the city as an opportunity to get rich before retiring to their native lands or provinces. The word ‘home’ in Chinese is *jia*. This also denotes ‘house’ and ‘family’, concepts that cannot be separated as they are in the West. The ideograph for *jia* is an apt symbol as its ten strokes are said to represent a pig under a roof, meaning the family can be seen as ‘a related group of people who “eat out of one pot”’ (Jervis 2005: 223). This can be literally, as in the daily meal, or figuratively, by the sharing of income (traditionally earned from raising pigs). The family was not only a group that consumed pork, it was also the basic economic unit of

society (by producing that commodity).

Liang sees the *lilong* (or as he calls it, *li*) as radically reconfiguring traditional residential and commercial spaces, with visibility and openness replacing walls and containment. He sees this as subverting the traditional spatial order and hierarchy, with the borderline between elites and lower classes being transgressed and redefined (Liang 2008: 482). He also argues that the social spaces of the *lilong* were demonstrating an analogous transformation, with walls and traditionally self-contained residential spaces being similarly breached. It is important to note that this spatial transformation was not simply a passive response to Western influence, it was actually a reflection of Shanghai's dynamism.

One vitally important point that Liang makes about the *lilong* is the fact that they were no longer regarded as something that a family would hand down through the generations, and this made them radically different from the traditional courtyard house. The *lilong's* very lack of flexibility (in terms of expansion or contraction) was of course one of the courtyard house's most useful feature. This was not possible in the tighter confines of the *lilong* and must have been a contributory factor to their being seen as 'transferable "commodities" rather than permanent homes to which generations of residents had a strong sense of belonging' (Liang 2008: 493). This 'one size fits all' mentality may also explain how the *lilong* came to be used for such a variety of purposes, from the most common, the family home, to the shophouse on the periphery, and even to other 'house' types that Liang investigated in such details: the brothel, which straddled the commercial and the homely. This polyvalence might seem to point to a bright future for the typology but, as we shall see in the next section, it might not be quite so simple, and for a variety of reasons.

Lilong under threat

By the time of the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 approximately 50% of the total built area of Shanghai was *lilong* (Warr 2007: 251). They accounted for almost three-quarters of the city's residential dwellings, with 70 to 80% of the city's population living in them (Lu 1995: 94). As late as 1990, Zheng Shiling estimates that there were well over 9,000 clusters of them

in the city⁴, but since that time they have been rapidly disappearing. Why?

Shanghai before 1949 was a paragon of capitalist accumulation. Under the Communists it became a paragon of state control. Yet despite its importance to the Chinese economy, and its willingness to accede to Beijing's wishes, the city suffered badly between 1949 and 1990. The central government was, according to the old Chinese proverb, 'draining the pond to catch the fish'. When Deng Xiaoping introduced the Open Door policy in 1978 he set up four new Special Economic Zones (SEZs), but he decided to do so along China's south-east coast. He had toured Asia's 'tiger economies' (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) and was convinced that capitalism was the way to go, yet was wary of importing yet another Western ideology, since Communism had so conspicuously failed to deliver. He was also wary of introducing anything that might damage Shanghai. Well into the 1980s the city's leaders were side-lined from national decision-making processes. Shanghai was, as a result, unable to lobby for more favourable policies and it saw its only period of (relative) recession in a century-and-a-half of otherwise stellar economic growth.

Eventually in 1984, Beijing allowed Shanghai to have foreign investment. The Yangtze River Delta was opened the following year and by 1986 Shanghai was able to set up three small economic zones. But it was not enough because much of southern China was beginning to boom, leaving Shanghai behind. Shanghai's Mayor, Wang Daohan, launched a Special Economic Zone in Pudong in April 1990 and finally Shanghai was able to reassert itself. The city is now home to



FIGURE 9 *Lilong* under threat from denser urban fabric.

more skyscrapers than Manhattan, and they are not all to be found in Pudong. Ironically, this revitalization of the city is posing an even greater threat to the city's stock of old buildings than anything that happened under the Communists.

Cities are extraordinarily resilient, they can, and do, recover from fire, flood, and warfare. They one thing that cannot withstand is the sudden and catastrophic influx of money. Streams of new money will scour away old buildings and streets and places, not to mention the lifestyles associated with them. All the old well-established networks and ways of life that took generations to build can disappear in a few years, a few days, even, and this is what has been happening to Shanghai since it reopened to the world in the 1990s.

REHABILITATION AND REUSE

The stock of *lilong* had become severely dilapidated during the three-decades-long Communist era. They had survived, but neglect and overcrowding meant that many of them were beyond repair. Peter G. Rowe points out that the squalid, run-down condition of these houses was because they were seen as a reminder of a way of life the Chinese would sooner forget: the Treaty Port era (Rowe 2005: 40). He also reminds us that historic preservation in East-Asian cities is weak (Rowe 2005: 40). It is only in the 21st century that Shanghai has begun to see the tourist potential for its dwindling stock of *lilong*.

One other aspect of Chinese life that has had a big effect in eroding the *lilong*'s attractiveness (while simultaneously increasing that of the Western-style apartment or the suburban house) is the One Child Policy (1979-2015). Forcing people to have small families has been compounded by the fact '[t]he traditional practice of housing extended families, including the elderly, [has] also eroded substantially in East Asia' (Rowe 2005: 40). Many people now prefer to live in newer, cleaner, more comfortable and spacious apartments, even if they are located outside the city centre.

Yet, since the beginning of the 21st century a number of old *lilong* areas have been redeveloped. This section will examine four such redevelopments, looking at the role different entrepreneurs have played, from large, top-down private developers to small, bottom-up



FIGURE 10 Jianyeli (Source: Bart Kuipers)

individuals, to determine which approach (if any) comes closest to preserving the spirit of the *lilong*.

Jianyeli

We begin by looking at Jianyeli, a residential redevelopment by John Portman and Associates. This project, near the corner of Taiyuan and Jianguo West Roads, includes 51 houses and 62 serviced apartments and is aimed at the luxury end of the housing market. Most of the original 1920s' buildings have been dismantled (only one third of them were restored rather than rebuilt). This has been done so that they can be more conveniently modernized (with amenities such as plumbing, electricity, and heating – most of which were absent from the originals) as well as allow for other modern requirements, such as parking and better fire safety. What is interesting is that the luxury market has now begun to take note of the *lilong*. Clearly there is a demand for this type of housing, something which might seem to bode well for its future. Jianyeli could, at first glance, be seen as a healthy sign for the future of the *lilong*, at least it is residential, but in fact this sort of gentrification actually subverts the typology by being for the rich, and has killed off the sort of street life that was the typology's main contribution to city life. As a potential future direction for rehabilitation and reuse it is like one of those *lilong* gateways we saw earlier, which seem to offer a handy shortcut but are in fact a dead end.

Xintiandi

Xintiandi (which means 'new world' in Chinese) is a hugely successful commercial redevelopment

designed by American architects Wood and Zapata. Consisting of two city blocks bordered by Taicang, Zizhong, Madang, and Huangpi South Roads, it forms part of the larger Taipingqiao redevelopment which includes hotels, office towers, and residential facilities. Opened in 2001, it quickly became one of Shanghai's most popular shopping and entertainment hubs. One of the reasons Xintiandi proved so popular was that foreigners thought they were seeing the 'real' Shanghai, while Chinese saw it as exotically foreign (misperceptions that worked in the area's favour).

The *lilong* that house the area's glittering new outlets were newly built using bricks recycled from demolished *lilong* in an attempt to lend an air of authenticity. (There is, in fact, a long tradition of reusing building materials in Shanghai, Samuel Y. Liang says that the Sassoon family frequently employed materials from demolished houses in real-estate developments (Liang 2008: 486).) The concept of authenticity is somewhat different in China than the West. Li Shiqiao says that newly built buildings can be seen as authentically old because they are a continuation of the past, and this is a very ancient tradition in China. Westerners may be tempted to think of Xintiandi as a Disneyland-like reconstruction, but the Chinese do not because the conception of memory that these buildings contain is not the result of confusing the real and the imitated, and this is because they possess what Li calls 'immaterial authenticity' in a collective memory, something that is maintained through (not in spite of) spatial and temporal relocations –

even if this seems odd to Westerners.

Ackbar Abbas makes the point that preservation is not memory. 'Preservation is selective and tends to exclude the dirt and pain' (Abbas 2002: 66), and this, he says, results in a form of kitsch. Xintiandi, too, is a form of kitsch, but we must not let ourselves be blinded by its kitschiness and lose sight of the fact that these buildings, which were once homes, are now shops and restaurants. Any hope of recapturing the lively street life of the *lilong* is gone. The streets are lively, but not lived in; the poor are excluded (supposedly by security guards watching out for beggars) but in reality by the high prices. What made these buildings, and the alleyways between them, interesting is gone: the people who called them home. Cities are not buildings and streets, cities are people and their networks of interaction. It is not the buildings, no matter how superficially pretty they are, that are interesting, it is the way of life they engendered. Xintiandi, while a charming piece of urban regeneration, and a successful one, is preserving nothing more than a shell – an interesting and attractive one, but a shell nonetheless.

Tianzifang

Tianzifang is a bottom-up commercial redevelopment a few blocks southwest of Xintiandi. Also known as Laotiandi (Old World), in clear reference to nearby Xintiandi, it is a nebulous redevelopment of *lilong*, warehouses, and former factories that begun between Sinan and Ruijin No. 2 Roads (just south of Jianguo Road Central) and has spread to adjoining areas as it grows in popularity. Consisting of a confusing



FIGURE 11 Xintiandi



FIGURE 12 Tianzifang

warren of twisting passageways, with buildings of different sizes and scale, and sudden changes in ground level, it gives the impression of being more natural than the more rigorously planned Xintiandi. Originally home to studios, galleries, boutiques, and bars, it rapidly became something of a tourist trap, although it does preserve a mix of commercial and residential life. Without the earlier Xintiandi, Tianzifang would never have happened, certainly not in the way it did. There had long been galleries and bookshops here, but they would have been unlikely to coalesce into this Xintiandi-like development had they not had such an example so close by. But it is also thanks to Xintiandi's influence that these long-established cultural outlets have steadily been overtaken by shops catering to a more generic tourist trade.

Jing'an villa

Jing'an Villa is one of the best preserved *lilong* in the city. It saw a brief but fascinating efflorescence of bottom-up informal commercial activity in recent years initiated by *haigui* ('sea turtles', or returning descendants of Shanghai emigrants). Ying Zhou sees this redevelopment, with its echoes of international trend quarters such as Berlin's Prenzlauerberg and New York's Williamsburg, as an interesting variant in the way creative linkages can be spatially manifested. In this case by utilizing the specific spatial characteristics of this particular *lilong* to facilitate entrepreneurial innovation that led to what she rather neatly calls 'gentrification with Chinese characteristics' (Zhou 2015). This she sees as a potentially viable alternative to the demolition-reconstruction cycle of urban redevelopment in Shanghai.

The *haigui* are what she calls 'localized cosmopolitans'. Their access to local culture helps them introduce international products and services while adapting them in situ. Their connections to transnational *and* local networks allows them to operate between the global and the local, and their small-scale creative enterprises had begun to transform Jing'an Villa in a way that was more flexible than by imposing heritage status. In other words, it was diversifying rather than homogenizing. *Haigui* know-how enabled them to cultivate the spatial qualities of the area in a way that seemed to be following on from the bottom-up development at Tianzifang.

Jing'an Villa was traditionally a middle-class *lilong* located between Nanjing and Weihai Roads. Zhou identifies the urban structure of the *lilong*, with its semi-permeable block hierarchy and fine-grained ownership patterns, as being well suited to the commercial realization of new consumption, as well as creating an urban value-chain of living and working that allows for encounters both local and global. What distinguished the area from the more usual processes of residents simply renting out ground-floor space for commercial use, is the clustering of transnational creative activities that this *lilong* attracted. Its cafés, boutiques, designer showrooms, and exhibition-cum-studio spaces all epitomized the lifestyle of these localized cosmopolitans who not only operated them, but who linked an international value chain to locally situated spaces and producers.

The informality of these commercial conversions was indicated by the fact that signage advertising the enterprises appeared only when the venues were open. Without knowing about them, passers-by could easily miss them, a fact that increased their allure, especially for those in search of interesting and authentic-seeming local colour. Visitors who managed to find the area usually had access to selected networks thanks to top-end



FIGURE 13 Jing'an Villa (Source: Li Lü)

design magazines, or who are part of a particular type of expatriate circle whose patronage of the area relished its 'under-the-radar' feel.

Zhou highlighted the *lilong's* young entrepreneurs' concern over the danger of over-commercialization; her research indicated a ratio of 30:70 commercial to residential (in contrast to Tianzifang's 70:30), but even this ratio seems to have been too high for local residents who felt increasingly harassed by visitors (and who may have been jealous of being excluded from the profits generated by their activities). Whatever was the cause, this informal commercial activity has been shut down. The catalyst for this may have been the closing down of the adjacent Weihai 696 in 2010 which led to an influx of young designers into Jing'an Villa and may have been the tipping point for local residents.

However short-lived an experiment Jing'an Villa was, its combination of local agility and international perspective led to something quite interesting, even if only for a while. That skill-set is still there, especially among the *haigui*, so too are a number of potentially appropriate *lilong*, perhaps we may once again see such a bottom-up flowering of informal commercial activity in Shanghai? And it may point the way to a more appropriate reuse for this threatened typology.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, developers now see the benefit of reusing *lilong*. Xintiandi is as popular as ever, while the trail it blazed enabled places like Tianzifang and Jianyeli to develop. These different approaches to urban rehabilitation are not really sustainable if we want to see the spirit of the place preserved. Jing'an Villa was an interesting (if short-lived) experiment. Whether it can be a viable alternative to Xintiandi, Tianzifang, or Jianyeli remains to be seen; we may hope so. One thing is certain, it is now increasingly unlikely that a developer would suggest knocking such a place down to make way for a shopping mall or high-rise apartment complex (at least we may hope so).

The main point is that it is not the *lilong* per se that we should be trying to preserve but the rich and vibrant use of space it engendered. Turning them into pretty outlets for international chains (while it does retain some of the buildings) does

nothing to preserve their street life (neither does turning them into homes for the rich, or preserving them as some sort of decorative museum pieces in a heritage enclave). Blind nostalgia for old architectural forms is not going to help these buildings adapt to life in the 21st century, and preserving a shell is missing the point of these buildings. If we are going to preserve anything at all it should be their spirit, then they may be safer for the future (as well as more interesting to visit). It is this we should be seeking to understand, so that urban designers can use lessons learnt from the *lilong* in the future.

Ironically, it seems as if capitalism might be pointing the way to a brighter future for the typology. This is appropriate in Shanghai because it was capitalism that allowed the *lilong* to develop in the first place. It is also ironic, however, because it is capitalism that has been threatening them since the 1990s.

No one redevelopment outlined above will point the way to a vibrant future for the *lilong*. Bottom-up informal commercial activity may seem a promising way of preserving them, but combining lessons from *all* these cases (including, perhaps, what *not to do*, in the case of Jianyeli) may suggest a better-balanced approach for preserving this fascinating, unique, and threatened typology.

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NOTES

1. For a detailed description and analysis of *lilong* see Bracken 2013.
2. For this paper, *lilong* denotes an alleyway-house compound.
3. All photos and drawings are by the author unless otherwise stated.
4. Figure recorded in conversation in 2006.

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The Space, Power and Everyday Life on Local Business Street Through the Lens of Informal Urbanism—Taking Fangjia Hutong in Beijing as an Example

***Xinyue Gan
Lanchun Bian***

The School of Architecture,
Tsinghua University,
China

ABSTRACT

Based on the dimension of informal urbanism, this paper illuminates how the power of state and everyday life of shopkeepers shape and change the built environment and public life in local business streets in the center of Chinese megacities and Base on the street, what the spatial features and the social process of informal urbanism? Taking Fangjia Hutong which is in Beijing historical district as case study, using the method of spatial ethnography, the results are as follows: the shopkeepers put more emphasis on place-making, such as facade and seating areas design, doodling on the wall. The chat and drinking between shopkeepers and customers happen on the street. Under the context that the large amount of shops on the streets are being demolished according to the related policies in Beijing recently, the shopkeepers express their resistance on the alternative ways. This paper reflects the scene of everyday life and the social and cultural form on the local business streets through describing creative class in the center of megacities shape and change informally the built environment of streets under the power of state. Because of this, this paper illustrates the social and cultural significance of local business streets in addition to the physical spaces. Finally, the paper tries to construct relational model between the regulation of power and the resistance of individual under the context of the everyday life on local business streets.

KEYWORDS

Local Business Street, Informal Urbanism, Built Environment, Everyday Life, Power and Resistance

INTRODUCTION: THE LIFE AND DEATH ON THE LOCAL BUSINESS STREET IN THE CENTER OF MEGACITY

The creative class, which is mainly composed of knowledgeable employees, has appeared in Chinese mega cities in the post-reform era, followed by the new business formats, such as small-scale cultural activities, concerts, art galleries and bars, have appeared to cater to the life-style of creative class. The streets and historical buildings with authenticity in inner-city always become the site selections of these business formats (Florida,2001). For example, the café, bars and studios are commonly found in the historical districts in Beijing and Shanghai concession. However, recently, from the prohibition of “open the door of the street (kai qiang da dong)” in Beijing and the landscape regulation of in historical districts in Shanghai, under the agenda of urban regeneration and the power of the state, these business spaces, which assemble on the street in the center of mega cities, are confronting with the increasingly severe challenges.

Under this background, the study in this paper focus on “Fang Jia Hutong” in Beijing historical districts. Fang Jia Hutong, one of the local business streets with the similar features in Beijing historical districts, is assembled by creative class spontaneously. The paper uses the concept of local business street to distinguish from other business streets, which are planned by the state or real estate. Local business street is derived from the flow of the people and the cargo, the interchange of the culture. It is composed of the various social and cultural spaces in everyday life. It usually only need the less investment and only serve the basic utilities (佐金 etc., 2016).

The paper firstly summarizes the research advances of urban business streets as well as informal urbanism, and then constructs the theoretical relationship between urban business street and informal urbanism. Secondly, the paper proceeds the case study in Fangjia Hutong. Finally, based on the informal urbanism, the theoretical model of the space, the power and everyday life on local business streets will be constructed.

THE RESEARCH ADVANCES OF URBAN BUSINESS STREETS

The research about urban streets was derived from Jane Jacobs, who proposed the mixed-use streets have positive impact on the urban safety and community vitality. She called for the return of humanistic streets through criticizing the modern city planning (Jane Jacobs, 1961). After that, the majority researches about urban street focused on the streets’ physical spaces (Kostof Spiro, 1992; Jacobs Allan B. 1993; Marshall Stephen. 2005), the public life and people’s behavior on the streets (Whyte, 1980; Jan Gehl, 1992, 1996). However, the related researches had overlooked one of the important questions in the study field of urban streets: As the urban places of public life, what the internal mechanism of shaping and changing the built environment of urban streets?

Sharon Zukin criticized that Jane Jacobs focused on the texture of blocks, the building shape, functional variety, and the mixed use. She over-emphasized the physical space so that ignored how the people use the capital and culture to shape the urban spaces where they live (佐金, 2010). Nowadays, the urban streets, especially the local business streets are shaped by the globalization, migration and gentrification (佐金 etc., 2016). For this reason, local business streets have become the important places where people with different races, nationalities and culture show status, socialize and accomplish themselves (刘佳燕, 2016). In China, the power of state are always the core of regulating the fate of streets. On the contrary, the local neighborhoods practice various resistance through collective forces (刘佳燕, 2014). Taking this conclusion as the basic assumption, in the real context, how the state and the local neighborhoods shape and change the built environment of the local business streets through the up-down power and the bottom-up resistance?

The related researches have showed that, as the presentation window(Mian Zi) of the city, on the one hand, taking the urban events, such as Olympic games, as the opportunities, the state always beautifies the streets’ landscape and eliminates the lower business formats on the streets (杨宇振, 2010; 曲蕾, 2004). The power positively participates the recreation of streets’ image, impelling the creative destruction of streets. In this process, however, the public has

barely rights of resistance (杨宇振, 2010). On the other hand, as the spatial containers of the street vendors and the young migrants seeking for life, streets have provided the employment shelters for those business which only need the low skills and costs. On these kind of streets, because of the deficiency of urban planning or the loophole of management, the above-mention people occupy the streets and run the shops illegally or through going against the city ordinances. In this way, the shopkeepers change the built environment and social life on the streets (陈焯, 魏小春, 2013). There has huge conflicts between these business street, which are shaped by personal behavior from bottom to up, and authoritative planning as well as the system of management, which are continually affected by the value of “growth” in post-reform era in China. the conflicts battle in the spaces of everyday life, showing that the state always adopts the compulsory policies to regulate the personal behavior, even demolish forcibly (Qiang Chai) or expel to prevent the future trouble permanently (叶丹, 张京祥, 2014). According to this, the appreciation of the beauty in modern city will be accomplished. The change of built environment on the streets which is caused by the regulation of the power and the personal resistance has responded the related theories about informal urbanism.

THE RESEARCH ADVANCES OF INFORMAL URBANISM

informal urbanism is the as the concept that is the branch of the study field of urban informality. As the concept which is associated with the slums, the informality has appeared in developing countries in recent several decades, to response to the economic liberalization in the world. At present, the informality is also seen as the mode of urbanization in the megacities of developing countries, and emerged as a new paradigm to understand the city culture (Nezar AlSayyad, 2004; Ananya Roy,2005).

Among various study perspectives about urban informality, informal urbanism always studies the urban informality from bottom to up. The study lens are more grounded, and emphasize everyday life (Arabindoo, 2011). Therefore, the method of ethnography is always used to represent the informal places and activities in special geographical and historical environment, constructing the model from bottom to top.

Comparing with standard statistical methods, ‘grey’ or ‘underground’ informal activities bring ethical, as well as practical, difficulties for would-be ethnographic researchers. Nonetheless, it is only through such approaches that the voices of people involved in informal activities may be heard and their aspirations understood (Tim Bunnell and Andrew Harris, 2012). The significance of the research is city authorities become increasingly concerned that their cities be seen in ways that are attractive to potential investors and tourists, for this reason, sites and sights of informality are often rendered out of place in the city landscape. Confronting this situation, the researchers wish to give voice to marginalized people and bring their plight into the popular domain through policy documents and reports (Scott, 1998, Swanson, 2007; Ghertner, 2011; Aguilar, 2012) . The basic value of informal urbanism is that they define themselves in opposition to more dominant forms of the production of urban space or to officially-sanctioned, long-term design executed by professionals usually backed by significant capital (Daniel Campo, 2016) . Instead, informal urbanism more advocates the flexible personal use and transformation towards the urban built environment, which is based on the useful value.

The theoretical basis of informal urbanism is derived from the De Certeau’s (De Certeau, 1984) and Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991) and Lefebvre’s research about everyday life. They considered that inequality is understood as integral to the maintenance of capitalist societies, and resistance is therefore an inevitable part of everyday life (Suzanne M Hall, 2015). Inspired by De Certeau’s and Lefebvre’s research, scholars found the huge potentialities of informal activities in personal everyday life and resistance. They held the view that everyday life can offer profound insights into the informal modes of socio-spatial practices in a modern city (Su-Jan Yeo and Chye Kiang Heng, 2014). “everyday” reflects the personal experience of everyday life, such as trading, parking, hawking, begging and advertising (Dovey and King, 2011). This kind of experience has intensively impact on the landscape of streets and public spaces. The landscape is called the “everyday spaces”, which can be found in the majority of public spaces in modern cities. This kind of space is the opposite of those spaces that has been planned carefully (Chase, Crawford, and kaliski, 2008; kamel, 2014), and always appears

as the form of informal activities such as street vendors, food truck, the spontaneous façade in communities, which are beyond the state's regulation.

Under the background of globalization, deregulation, the increasing immigration flows and cuts in social welfare spending (Portes and Sassen-Koob, 1987; Portes, Castells, and Benton, 1989; Sassen-Koob, 1989; Sassen, 1991; Hopper, 2003, Roy, 2005; Bernhardt et al. 2008), in recent years, the scholars who focus on the informality in developed countries have broadened the narrow sense of informality, which was once considered only can be applied in the slums in developing countries. These scholars focused on the informality in middle and low-income communities in developed countries especially in American cities (Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, 2016), and realized that the possible role transition of migrants and other groups of people in the process of reshaping the traditional places (Chase, Crawford, and Kaliski, 2008; Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009).

From above all, firstly, in terms of physical spaces, informal urbanism focuses on the informal practice in everyday life shape and change the built environment in the city. Second, in terms of broader social significance, informal urbanism focuses on the regulations of state's power in local communities, as well as the personal resistance, the guarantee of the rights in this process and the. Therefore, studying the local business streets through the lens of informal urbanism can not only describe the informal practice in built environment of the street, but also can explain the relationship between regulation of power and personal resistance.

Based on above-mentioned theoretical perspective, the foreign empirical researches about urban streets mainly focused on the following aspects: Su-Jan Yeo has studied the informal practices of night-time economy in immigrant communities in Singapore. This informal practice has the positive impact on the social sustainability (Su-Jan Yeo, 2013). In the context of unequal capitalistic city, the migrants from developing countries shape the local business streets through various cultural expression, economic exchange and the resistance of everyday life (Suzanne M Hall, 2015). Besides, scholars described the informal activities in the corner of the streets in

the low-income immigrant communities in Dubai (Yasser Elsheshtawy, 2013), and described the streets' mixed-use in Ho Chi Minh City from the view of property rights (Annette M. Kim, 2012). About Chinese related studies, the empirical researches mainly focus on those urban spaces in mega cities, which have become the informal employment spaces of floating people from rural areas to the city. For example, through the research about motorcycle taxis on the streets in Guangzhou, Qian Junxi considered that the state has reconstructed the social relationship and the power of local government through the standard management on the level of street (Junxi Qian, 2015). Through the research about the use and construction of informal spaces of Han Zheng street in Wuhan, Long Yuan explored the close relationship between the transformation of urban spaces and everyday life (龙元, 2006).

The deficiency of above-mentioned researches are as follows: first, the scholars in study field of architecture and urban planning are more expert in describing the physical spaces of the streets, even though some of them tried to construct the relationship between physical and social spaces. Second, the scholars in study field of sociology and anthropology are more expert in constructing the theory, but the method towards the built environment of the streets is also deficient.

Therefore, based on the context the dimension of informal urbanism, through the case study in Fangjia Hutong, this paper attempts to answer the following questions: How do the power of state and the resistance of shopkeepers shape and change the built environment and everyday life in local business street? Base on the street, what the spatial features and the social process of informal urbanism?

THE STUDY METHOD

The paper use the spatial ethnography as the study method. Spatial ethnography is the study method that through this method, the investigation of physical spaces and ethnography which is based on the anthropology, including participate observation and interview, will be integrated (Annette M. Kim, 2012). In the paper, the investigation of physical spaces includes the photo records about the landscape and public life on the streets at different time periods in 18 days. Then conducting statistics towards the

numbers and the types of personal behavior both shopkeepers, consumers and residents on the street. The participate observation and interview include observing the shopkeepers, consumers' and residents' everyday life, proceeding the non-structural interview casually, and some questionnaires.

The field study in Fangjia Hutong was from April,2017 to July, 2017. During this period, the first field study was before the prohibition of "Open the wall of the street (kai qiang da dong)", 25 questionnaires for shopkeepers and 28 questionnaires for residents were collected. The interviews were proceeded at the same time. The second field study was after the prohibition of "Open the wall of the street", including photo records and interviews. Besides, the some of the shopkeepers in Fangjia Hutong has we media, and many reports about Fangjia Hutong were on the Internet after "Open the wall of the street". These all have become one of the study materials, as the useful supplement for the field study.

THE CASE STUDY - FANGJIA HUTONG IN BEIJING HISTORICAL DISTRICTS

The Introduction about the Commercial Development in Hutong in Beijing Historical Districts

"Hutong" in Beijing old city was derived from Yuan dynasty. It refers to urban secondary roads, which were perpendicular to north-south truck roads in parallel rows (侯仁之, 1979). Beijing old city refers to Dong district and Xi district at present, the area is 62.5KM2. After experiencing the transition of urban commercial spaces in Yuan, Ming, Qing dynasty and republic of China, the commercial centers along Hutong in historical districts came into being in Dongsu, Xidan and Qianmen after liberation (杨吾扬, 1994). In post-reform era, the industries in Beijing old city were

gradually centered on the culture&art, art dealer, and cultural tourism (黄鹤, 2009). The supporting industries started to agglomerate around them. The creative class clustered spontaneously in Hutong that was residence before then because of its special culture atmosphere, the good location and the lower rent. They had their shops or studios through renting the residential houses. At the beginning, the practices that happened in Hutong were approved by the state. In 2001, the related plan indicated that in urban neighborhoods and historical districts, the commercial service could be improved through exchanging the housing use, which was used as residence before then (the official website of the Beijing, 2001).

However, from 2016, the local governments of Beijing old city introduced policies that the housing managed by the housing bureau(Zhi Guan Gong Fang) was prohibited to change the housing use from residence to business (西政发(2016)1号). After that, from 2017, under the background of proceeding synergetic development of Jing Jin Ji (Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei Province), moving "non-capital industries" outside, improving the core industries of capital and constructing rapidly the world-class city, the municipal government began to regulate the built environment of the streets through prohibiting "open the door of the street (kai qiang da dong)",cleaning the illegal street business (京政发, 2017年8号).The power from up to down is reshaping the built environment in Hutong.

The Overview of Fangjia Hutong

Fangjia Hutong is belonged to Guo Zi Jian community, An Ding Men Sub-District Office, Dong Cheng District, the total length is 700m. The No.46 courtyard in Fangjia Hutong is creative

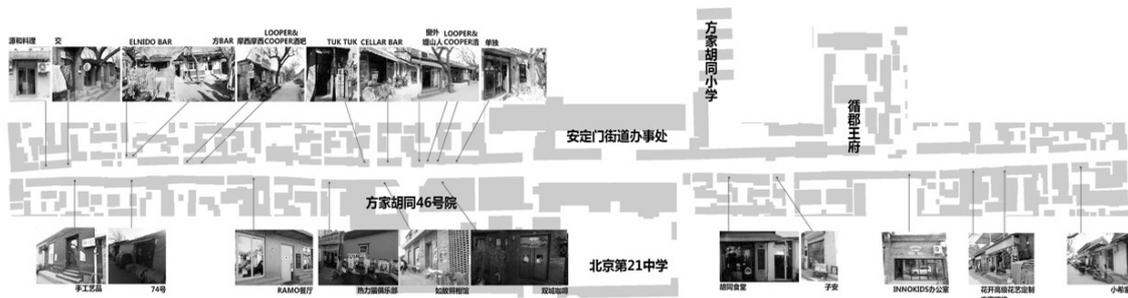


Figure 1 The business distribution in Fangjia Hutong



Figure 2 The Public Life in Fangjia Hutong

industry park, which was the factory previously, and was regenerated in 2009. After that, the development of creative industry in Hutong simulated the surrounding business, changed the built environment in Fangjia Hutong, which was predominantly residential area. At present, there are 25 businesses and studios in Fangjia, including 12 bars and restaurants, 9 clothing stores, 4 design and photography studios (Figure1).

THE INFORMAL PRACTICE AND PUBLIC LIFE IN EVERYDAY LIFE IN FANGJIA HUTONG

From the questionnaires and interviews towards 19 shopkeepers, the time period of shops is mainly below 5 years, the shopkeepers mainly

come from Beijing, shopkeepers who are outside the mainland of China are from Taiwan, Turkey, the UK and Israel. The shopkeepers generally have the high educational level. Before coming in Fangjia Hutong, the shopkeepers' types of career were various, and concentrated on creative industries (Table 1).

Various hometown and types of career of shopkeepers, and non-government-dominated business development have led to the diversity of culture in Fangjia Hutong. The shopkeepers considered that they choose this place to keep a shop was because they approve the atmosphere in Fangjia Hutong, which is different from Nanluogu Lane and WuDaoying Hutong. For this reason, the consumers are not the public and tourists, instead, the consumers are "at the same circle" with the shopkeepers, who understand the culture that the shopkeepers want to express.

The diversity of culture has influence on the built environment in Fangjia Hutong. The shopkeepers design elaborately the façade, the windowsill and seating areas and the entry of the shop. This kind of informal practice has also influence on the public life on the streets. The consumers sit on the footstep outside the door, drinking beer and talking with the shopkeepers. The foreigners sit on the street and have the dinner, enjoy the street. The young couple say hello to the people who

Table 1 The overview of shopkeepers

the Time Period of Shops(year)	No.	Registered Residence	No.	Educational Level	No.	Previous Occupation	No.		No.
<1	3	Beijing	11	Below undergraduate	1	Student	1	Journalism	1
1-5	9	Outside Beijing	4	undergraduate	14	Self-employment	2	Lawyer / Doctor	1
5-10	6	outside the mainland of	4	Graduate or above	4	Service/commerce	2	Art	4
>10	1	China				Institution	3	Education	1
						Foreign-funded enterprises	4		



Figure 3 The regions belong to shopkeepers and residents

come across the street with dog in hand. In the evening, consumers prefer to enjoy the food and drink in the sitting areas on the street (Figure 2).

What the totally different from the above context is the residents who live in Fangjia Hutong. Through questionnaires towards the residents who have public life on the street, few residents are connected with shopkeepers, and never consume in the shops in Fangjia Hutong. The residents and shopkeepers repel one another on the aspect of culture, leading to their differences of public life, forming the region for public interaction respectively. These regions are not only separated each other on the spaces, but also some of them are on the same spaces at different time in a day (Figure 3).

The Change of Built Environment on the Street in Process of Power Intervention and Personal Resistance

In April, 2017, when the author entered Fangjia Hutong to have the field study, slogan was posted on the wall of the street. The content was about “prohibiting ‘open the door on the street’, regulating constructions which were illegal”, “forbidding the roadside stall business, creating the image of civilized city”. “industrial upgrading, moving ‘non-capital industries’ outside, constructing rapidly the world-class city and recovering the traditional landscape in Beijing” were as the discourse background of “prohibiting ‘open the door on the street’”. Based

on the policy, the shopkeepers had no rights to disagree. Then they express indirectly their love to Fangjia Hutong and dissatisfaction towards the policy through media (Figure 4).

In May 25th, 2017, the Sub-District Office combined with the city administration sector, business sector and construction team to started to “cover the wall and caulk the hole(Feng Qiang Du Dong)”, which was just covering the façade on the street. For those shopkeepers with business license, the sectors had no rights to prevent to run the shop continually.

Confronting with the facts, shopkeepers resisted indirectly through we media, art exhibition and graffiti (Figure 5). After covering the wall and caulking the hole, the public life in Fangjia Hutong didn’t disappeared. The shopkeepers conducted business through opening windows or side door along the street because of the loophole of the policy. The consumers still sit beside the wall which has been covered on the street to have dinner and conversation. The shopkeepers and consumers reshape the built environment of the street through informal practice (Figure 6).

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Some scholars hold the view that, the built environment of cities is regulated by city planning and design standards (Ben-Joseph and Szold 2005; Talen, 2011). However, through case study,



Figure 4 The Process of covering the wall and caulking the hole (Feng Qiang Du Dong)



Figure 5 The types of shopkeepers' resistance



Figure 6 Shopkeepers conducted business through opening windows or side door along the street

this paper found that under the regulation of the power, the social feature and the relevant behaviors of the shopkeepers have essential influence on the built environment of the streets.

On the one hand, the shopkeepers in Fangjia Hutong have shaped the built environment of the streets through informal practices in everyday life. They more focus on the broadcast of culture and the expression of Personality. This has showed in built environment of the streets is the façade of the store design independently, graffiti, bars outside the door. On the other hand, under the policy of prohibiting “open the door of the street”, the previous spaces of streets have completely transformed under the power. After that, the shopkeepers expressed their resistance through we media or art exhibition, even continually conducted business through opening windows or side door along the street because of the loophole of the policy. the flexible resistance has reconstructed the local business streets. Even so, the personal forces are faint when confronting with the power, the “resistance of collective forces

in local neighbors”, which has been mentioned in related references, never happened in case study. The description of the process firstly responds the result of the physical spaces of informal urbanism, at the same time, presents the social process of informal urbanism - the regulation of the power and the personal resistance.

Furthermore, the paper has broadened the representation of the cultural spaces. The landscape in Fangjia Hutong is not only totally different from those Hutong with Beijing traditional business. More importantly, the rise of the cultural creative industry in No.46 courtyard of Fangjia Hutong and the surrounding relevant commercial development has fostered the new culture in Hutong, which is mainly composed of the foreign and niche culture. The built environment and the public life on the streets, which are shaped by this kind of culture, are completely separated from the everyday life of the local residents both in space and time, and formed the region respectively. The kind of culture is different from the local traditional culture,

although it is rooted in the local communities. Therefore, it presents the features of “cultural enclave”, which has been strengthened under the discourse background of “industrial upgrading, moving ‘non-capital industries’ outside, and constructing rapidly the world-class city”.

Some potential issues are worth studying

continually. First, based on the lens of informal urbanism, the “cultural enclave” in megacities can be explored deeply. Second, the strategies of urban governance towards the streets’ informality should be offered. Finally, the conclusion of this research can make comparisons with related researches about other megacities in developing countries.

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SPATIAL MODELS

Mapping Wuhan: a Historical Morphological Research

Henco Bekkering

Faculty of Architecture
and the Built Environment,
Department of Urbanism,
Delft University of Technology,
Netherlands

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION

Historical morphological analysis, applying the method of the Delft School, was conducted by the author and others for Detroit, Michigan in the United States of America, and for Wuhan, Hubei Province in the People's Republic of China, respectively in 2009 and in 2015-16. Both researches uncover relevant facts for urban design and spatial planning in these cities, regeneration as well as extension. The research for Wuhan was commissioned by the Wuhan Land Use and Urban Spatial Planning Research Centre (WLSP), the research institute of the municipal Planning Bureau of the city of Wuhan, as a pilot project for research cooperation with the Department of Urbanism of the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology. It is presented in the scientific report *Mapping Wuhan. A Morphological Analysis of the Spatial Structure and the Urban Transformation of Wuhan*, by Henco Bekkering and CAI Jiaxiu in both English and Chinese; publication as an atlas is forthcoming, first in English, later also in Chinese. CAI Jiaxiu is PhD candidate in the chair of Urban Design in Delft. The research was done in cooperation with a larger group of people: Joran Kuijper (who drew most of the maps), and WLSP staff: CHEN Wei, HUANG Huan, ZANG Ke, CHEN Wei, XU Zhenmin, HE Lei, JIN Mengyi, and DU Xingyu.

For a long time, the spatial configuration of the three original towns, that later combined to form the city of Wuhan, did not change much. Then, quite suddenly, and as a result of China's national industrialization policies, Wuhan came up after 1990 with a slower start in the 1950s, first as a rather mono-functional city. Its growth was mainly based on the manufacturing

of steel, interwoven with the local production of locomotives. Wuhan now has over twelve million inhabitants and is growing—fast—based on a much more diverse economy with an ever increasing service industry, though the biggest steel factory is still functioning (and polluting the city’s air and soil). Car industry has been successfully introduced, as has ICT and other forms of high-tech production. A specific condition for Wuhan is that about 40% of its area is water: the over a kilometer-wide Yangtze River with its tributaries, and a great many lakes.

METHOD OF THE DELFT SCHOOL OF MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The method of the Delft School of morphological analysis consist of mainly six steps:

1. Finding and selecting relevant historical maps
2. Geo-referencing: fitting historical maps to the contemporary map
3. Setting a timeline
4. Determining levels of scale
5. Reducing map information to homogeneous areas
6. Deducing spatial structuring elements of the urban form.

MAPPING TECHNIQUE: HISTORY FIXED IN PLACE

The selected historical maps are redrawn in GIS, to the same scale, with a consistent, strongly reduced legend. Of the historical map information, the correct (or most probable) topographical position is determined in relation to the contemporary map. The mapping is done working backwards in time, like reverse engineering. There are two main reasons for this: first, we are looking for traces of historical patterns in the contemporary city; and second, the map projection technique of our times is the most accurate (or the one we are most used to). Older maps then have to be deformed to fit to the contemporary map. The resulting maps resemble figure-ground drawings, the usual format for morphological drawings, which in fact they are not, or they are but on a higher level of scale: the border of the black areas is the frontline of the buildings in the aggregated homogeneous area, and the white is the open space between these, consisting of front gardens and public space taken together. Thus they are rather street pattern maps.

By necessity, the series of maps produced holds interpretations and knowledgeable guesses by the author/draftsman.

MAPPING WUHAN

Contrary to many Chinese cities, of which most historical material has disappeared or has been consciously destroyed in the Cultural Revolution, for Wuhan a large number of historical maps has been saved. Most of these have been published in three atlases: The Historical Atlas of Wuhan, of 1996; Planning Wuhan - 100 Years, of 2009; Atlas of Wuhan, of 2015. The combined collections allow the making of a meaningful selection of historical maps that document the major changes in the morphology of the city. Out of this comes a timeline with shortening intervals in accordance with the increasing growth rate of the city through time towards the present:

1870	1910	1950	1970	1990	2000	2006	2013
	40	40	20	20	10	6	7

We used 1870 as the starting point for the mapping. This relatively late date is the first for which we found more or less reliable maps. Early Chinese maps, in our eyes, are more like drawings. They are oftentimes beautiful, but have no topographical accuracy and are thus hard to relate to the contemporary map. (See Figure 1)

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE URBAN FORM

By 1870, the urban form of Wuhan was still completely based on the three towns that had been settled long before around the confluence of the Yangtze River and its main tributary, the Han River: Hanyang, Wuchang and Hankou. The first two, on opposing banks of the Yangtze River south of the Han River, are walled towns. Hanyang, on the western bank, dates back to 621; Wuchang, on the eastern bank, is much older: 223. Hankou came into existence when between 1465 and 1487 the Han River was diverted from its course south of Hanyang to the north, cutting off early extensions outside the town wall. Contrary to Hanyang and Wuchang, two ancient Chinese towns enclosed by defense walls, Hankou as a port town was only partly walled, and open to both of its rivers to facilitate trade by shipping. For safety, the main orientation was originally to the smaller side river. (See Figure 2) This reconstruction map is considerably more accurate than existing ones,



FIGURE 1 Bird's-eye view of Wuhan, 1876 (Source: The Historical Atlas of Wuhan 1996)

as it is not only based on the geo-referencing (see below) of four historical maps—checked against many others, more like drawings—but also on remaining meaningful names of streets and squares in the contemporary city, for instance indicating gates that have disappeared.

As said, the three towns are the origin of the city of Wuhan. In 1910 there was only sparse development outside the two walled towns, based on the establishment of new industrial complexes, while Hankou had extended along the Yangtze River. It was possible for seafaring ships to sail up the river up to this point. Because of that, Wuhan is the city furthest inland in China that has Foreign Concessions, established on the Hankou bank of the Yangtze River between 1861

and the beginning of the twentieth century. From south to north, and in historical order, these are British, Russian, French, German and Japanese. Up to the 1950s, growth in all three parts of the city was modest. Between 1950 and 1970 serious expansion began, continuing till 1990. After that, the city exploded like so many Chinese cities did around that time, as a result of the Opening-Up policy of Deng Xiaoping and the position granted to the city in the national Five Year Plans. (See Figure 3)

MAPPING METHOD

Of Wuhan in 2013 we had GIS-data, detailed land use data for all of the Metropolitan area. These are aggregated into one combined legend unit of all urban land use. The resulting map shows in white the space that is publicly managed. (All urban land in China is state owned.) Because of the large scale of the city and the area analyzed, which includes the Metropolitan area outside the municipal boundaries, the so-called homogeneous areas that are central to the Delft analytical technique are chosen on a relatively large scale. Criteria for determining the homogeneous areas are three: internal spatial consistency, strong difference from neighboring areas, and strong borders (that are often hard to cross). The resulting maps, drawn in Q-GIS (that in its present version allows for vectored line drawings)



FIGURE 2 Reconstruction map of the three constituent towns of modern Wuhan: Hanyang (southwest), Wuchang (southeast) and Hankou (north); left: geo-referencing of relevant historical maps (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

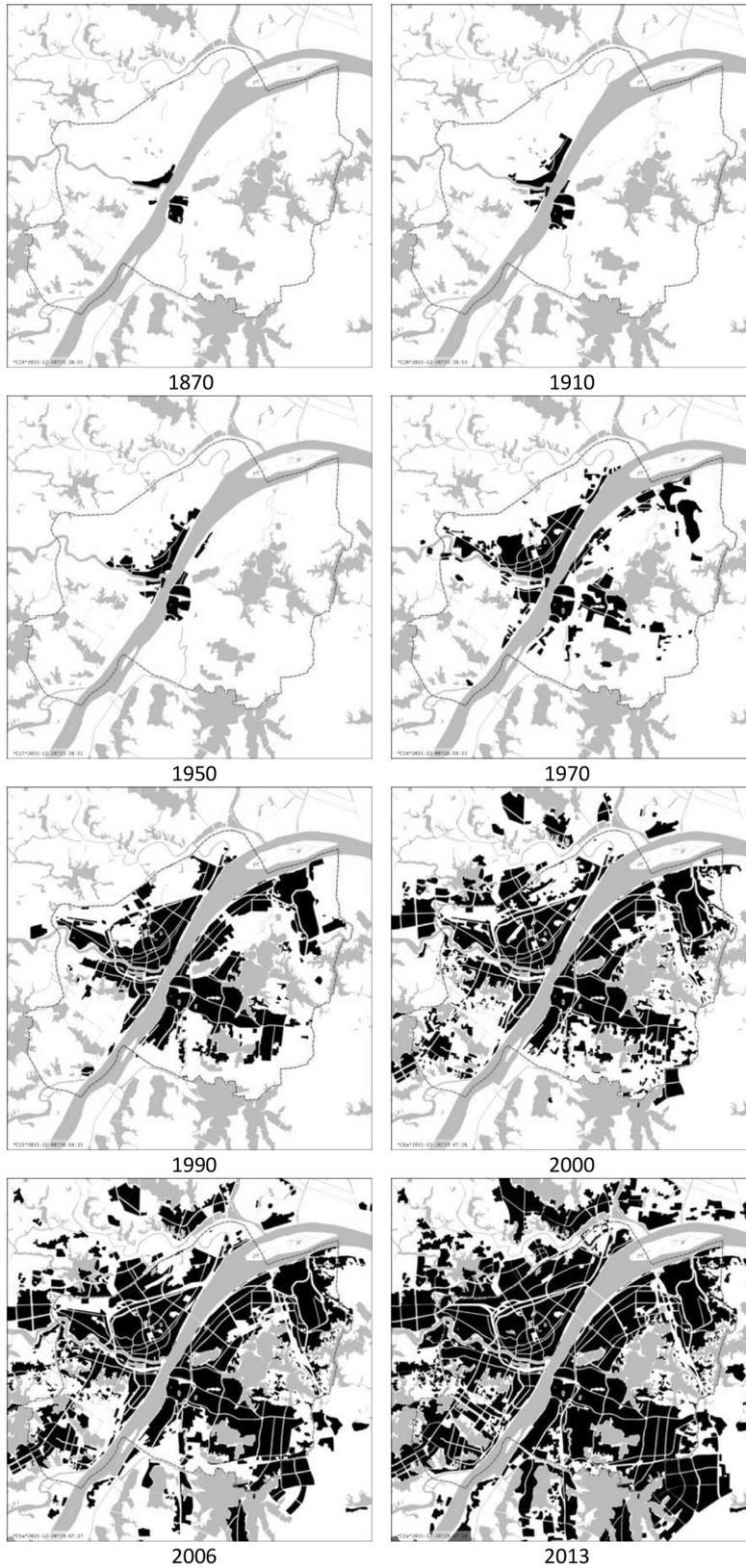


FIGURE 3 Growth on the scale of the Inner city (Henco Bekker-ing, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)



FIGURE 4 1950 map (Source: Historical Atlas of Wuhan, 1998)

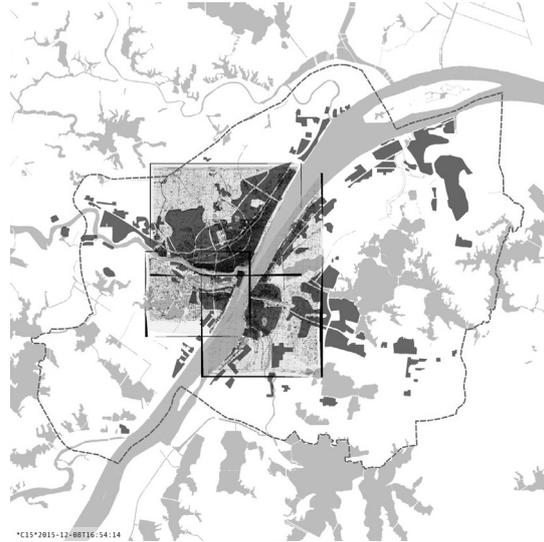


FIGURE 5 Geo-referencing the 1950 map on the map of 1970 in three parts (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)



FIGURE 6 Inner city with homogeneous areas in 2013 (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)



FIGURE 7 Inner city with homogeneous areas and secondary connections in 2013 (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

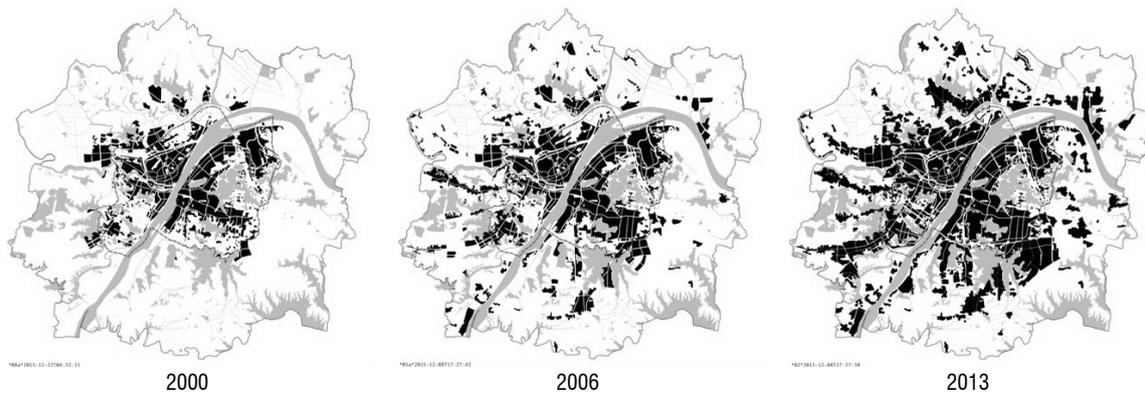


FIGURE 8 Growth on the scale of the Metropolitan area, from 2000-2013. (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

show that there are no clear spatial structuring elements on the scale of the city beyond the landscape elements of hills and water, and the networks of railroads and highways. The maps also show that many of the historical spatial structuring elements have disappeared, though fortunately by no means all. Nevertheless, on an even higher level of abstraction the spatial structures of the constituting parts of the contemporary city, that grew out of the original three towns separated from each other by big rivers, are very different from each other (as shown in Figure 9).

As an example of the application of georeferencing, Figures 4 and 5 show how the Georeferencer plugin software deforms the historical map of 1950 to fit the contemporary one. In this case we had to also cut the original map over the rivers, to prevent it from getting too much deformed and thus become unreliable.

On lower levels of scale, the resulting maps depict the spatial structure of the urban environment. So on the middle level of scale of the three we employed, that of the Inner city, we added a new category: secondary connections. These do two things at the same time: they show the internal spatial structure of the homogeneous areas—if they have any—and they show the connections between adjacent homogeneous areas. We have called this the middle level of scale of the city, which is generally neglected or even absent in Chinese cities, resulting in all kinds of trouble for orientation and the flow of traffic. (See Figures 6 and 7)

A second series of maps was made for the larger scale of the Metropolitan area. This starts in 2000, when the city really jumped across its Inner city boundaries. It shows how the city exploded not only outwards, but also densified inside. (See Figure 8)

It is now possible to sketch the development of the basic spatial structure of the entire Metropolitan area. (See Figure 9, next page) Strikingly, the areas of and around the original three towns have now also distinctly different basic spatial structures, though not the same as their original structures nor continuous through history. The Hanyang side has become a finger city of linear developments. The Wuchang side has formed a horseshoe around the lakes with far out linear developments into the countryside. The Hankou side now is a compact city between rivers, also with linear developments extending into the landscape.

Looking for the spatial structuring systems at the scale of the Metropolitan area, as mentioned these are: the landscape elements of hills and water, the highways and the railroads, overlaid with the urban land use. (See Figure 11)

On the middle scale of the Inner city, the spatial structuring elements of the city are augmented with the secondary connections. (See Figure 12)

Figure 12 shows that the secondary connections indicate the internal spatial structure of homogeneous areas as well as the connections between adjacent homogeneous areas. The map on the right displays the isolated systems of secondary connections, the middle level of scale

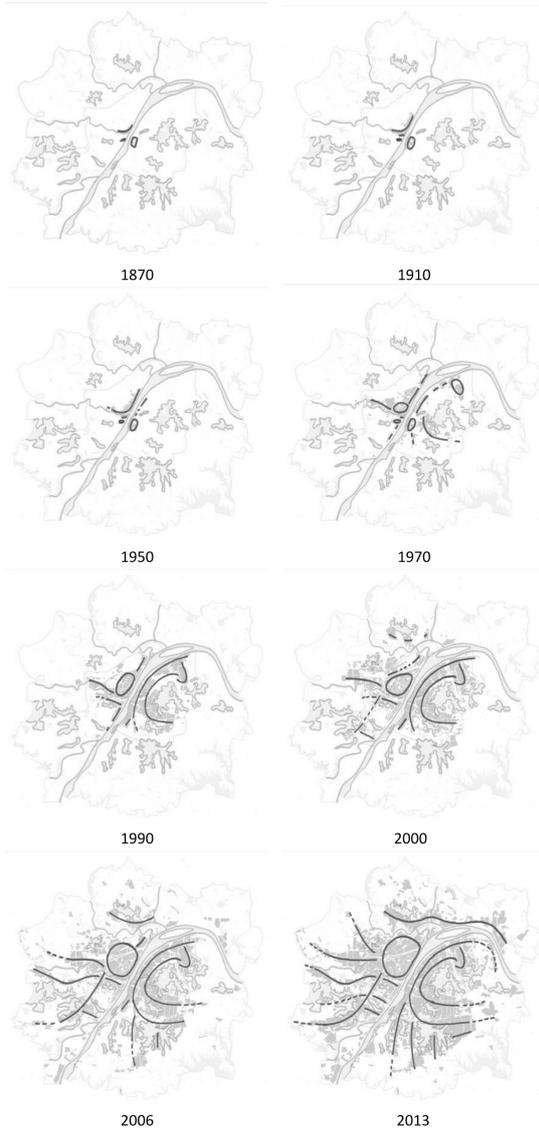


FIGURE 9 Development of the urban spatial structure of Wuhan (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)



FIGURE 10 Growth and transformation of Hankou riverside in Wuhan (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

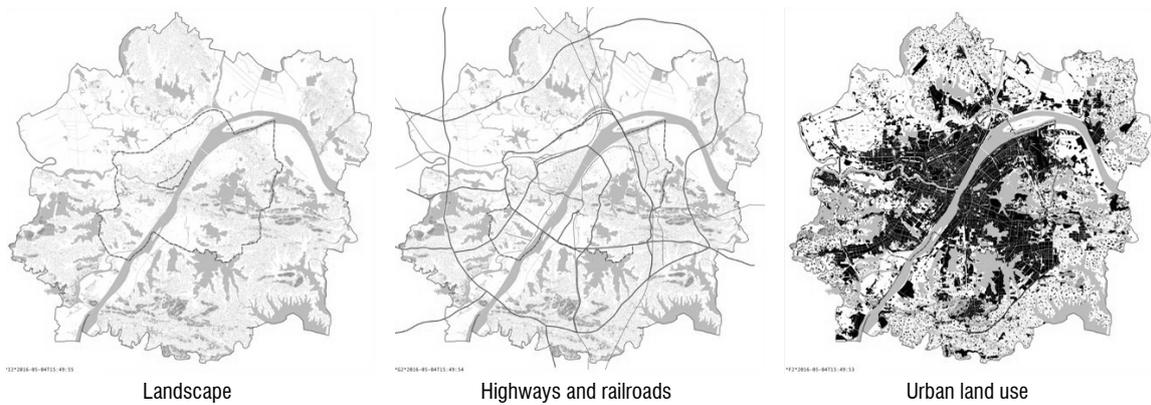


FIGURE 11 Spatial structuring systems of Wuhan on the scale of the Metropolitan area (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)



FIGURE 12 The role of the secondary connections in the middle scale of Wuhan: left, indicating the internal spatial structure of homogeneous areas; middle, indicating connections between adjacent homogeneous areas; right, the secondary connections isolated (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

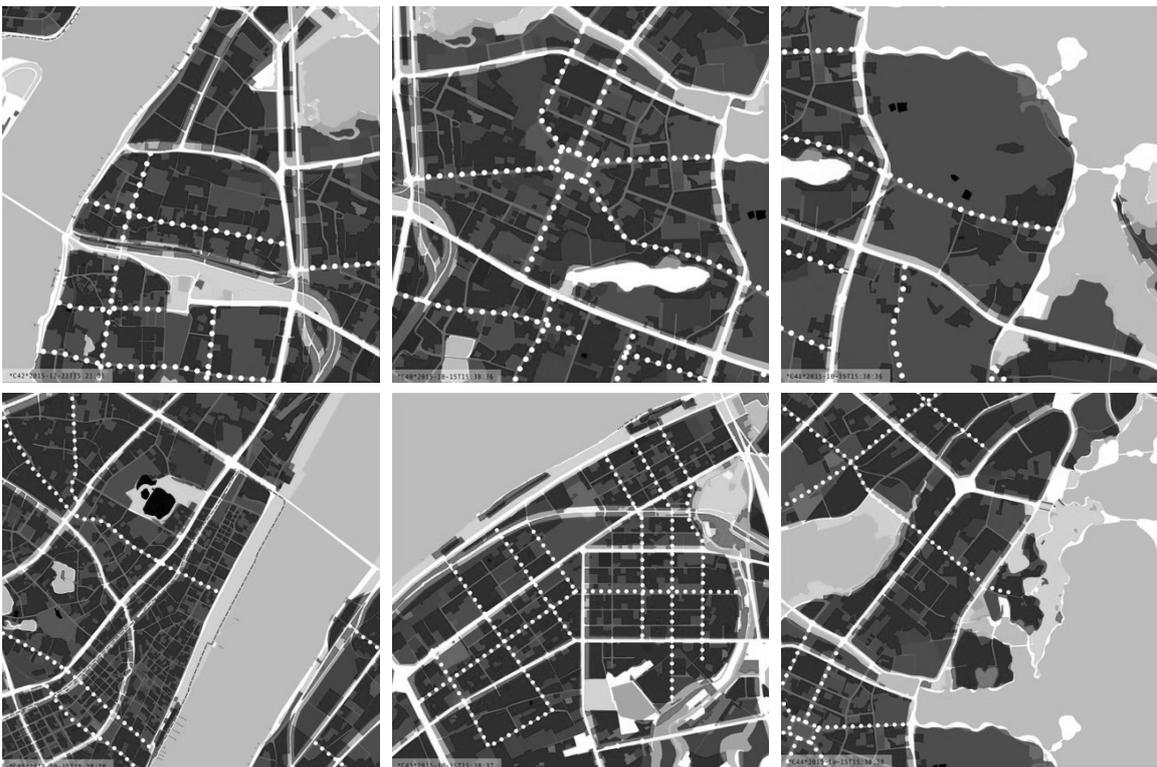


FIGURE 13 The three types of homogeneous areas in Wuhan: left, compact tissue; middle, strong internal consistency; right, crossroad (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)



FIGURE 14 Dispersion of the three types of homogeneous areas in the city: middle gray, compact tissue; dark gray, strong internal consistency; light gray, crossroad(Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

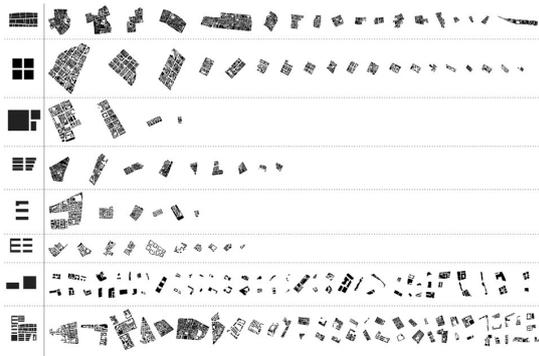


FIGURE 15 The different types of homogeneous areas in Hankou riverside grouped by type: top to bottom Earliest tissue, Concession grid, Later grid, Lifen, Danwei, Compound, Big building, Mixed tissue(Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

of the city. It is easy to imagine that this structure, that is very important for orientation when moving through the city—with cars as well as with slower forms of transport like walking or biking—can be strengthened.

Somewhat to the surprise of the researchers, we found that basically there are only three types of homogeneous areas in the city as a whole: compact urban tissues; areas with a strong internal consistency, or a strong design; and areas that are crossed in more or less straight lines by one or two of the secondary connections. (See Figures 13 and 14)

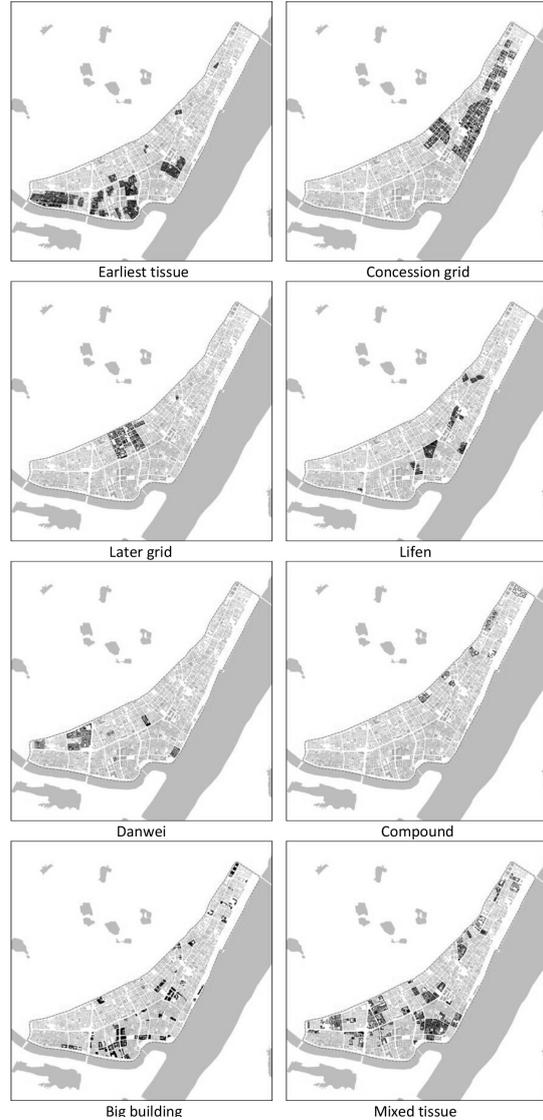


FIGURE 16 The locations of the different types of homogenous areas in Hankou riverside (Henco Bekkering, CAI Jiaxiu, Joran Kuijper)

When looking at the more detailed maps of Hankou riverside, eight different types of homogeneous areas are distinguished: Earliest tissue, Concession grid, Later grid, Lifen (the local version of early twentieth century housing), Danwei (the areas combining industries or institutions with housing for their workers), Compounds (gated communities), Big buildings, and a mixed category. Grouping these in different ways is very telling of the kinds of transformations that are going on in the area at the moment. (See Figures 15 and 16)

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Synchromeshed Urbanism

Prof. Manoj Parmar

Dean, Post Graduate Program,
KRVIA Mumbai,
India

Dr. Binti Singh

Independent Researcher
and Author

ABSTRACT

“Cities are like electrical transformers: they increase tension, accelerate, exchanges, and are endlessly churning human lives”
Fernando Braudel, (1967), *Civilization Matérielleet Capitalisme*
(cited in Paquout, 2000, 83).

Cities often manifest, distilled and condensed activities experienced in sudden jerks and revelation. Such phenomenon often remains incomprehensible at large, especially for the academic purpose. The formal and informal market streets across the city of Mumbai are examples of such phenomenon characterized by sudden splurge of activities juxtaposed in sharp contrast to its surrounding context. These sudden bursts of activity are what this study understands as “synchromesh” giving rise to synchromesh urbanism that could be read as a quintessential feature of an entrepreneurial city. Synchromesh is a characteristic of few elements in a given situation whereby each element is always in mesh and in propelling state or state of being free or independent. The constant meshed condition that evolves as a generator or armature, constantly corresponding or adjusting all the time to its surrounding context. The sites representing such characteristics in various locations in Mumbai have been selected as cases for study as they symbolize this phenomenon an analogous to a working meshed condition, whose parts are networked and constantly adjusting to external pressures similar to the pressures a city exerts on its diverse geographies. This analogy is drawn in order to understand the networks of several activities and spatial forms so produced in the market streets of the selected sites in Mumbai, an entrepreneurial city in its own right.

Using a diverse range of mixed methods including quantitative surveys, secondary literature, qualitative narratives, on site observations, photographs and spatial mapping; this study aims to examine the phenomenon of synchromesh urbanism as a feature of the entrepreneurial city with detailed case studies in three sites that represent street market economy in Mumbai. There is presence in equal measure of both formal and informal networks of activities marked by the long, seamless stretch of shopping, array of parked vehicles and bursting activities of people of myriad socio- economic groups and cohorts. These

KEYWORDS

*Synchromesh Urbanism, Everyday
Urbanism, Urban Experience,
Informality, Street Market*

percolate through the soft facade of private houses into the main street, adding to the splinter character of the public realm. The complexities of this spontaneous everyday urbanism contribute to the place specific urban experience that eventually emerges.

INTRODUCTION

Cities often manifest, distilled and condensed activities experienced in sudden jerks and revelation. Such phenomenon often remains incomprehensible and therefore dismissed as chaotic with no positive contribution to the urban experience. Cities in India are largely characterized and governed by organic patterns that result from palimpsests of historicism, entangled within the discourse of daily rituals, beliefs, customs, practices and indiscipline motivation. Recent scholarly attention to cities of the global South and the impossible heterogeneity of Asian cities has brought about what many describe as the Southern turn in urban theory. Reading cities as ordinary cities (Robinson, 2006) has opened up possibilities of understanding cities beyond the global cities paradigm, breaking away from the clutches of hierarchy and the projects of developmentalism and modernity itself. Cities, especially those of the global South that do not traditionally classify as command and control centers (Sassen, 2001) or as cultural capitals in the global cities paradigm, are generating new interest among urban scholars. Cities that have been off the intellectual maps are now being increasingly included, celebrated, analyzed and examined. Scholarly literature based on such investigations has enriched urban theory greatly and informed myriad theoretical perspectives ranging from place and place making and urban cultures (Friedman, 2010; Zukin, 1995; Massey, 2010), urban economies as spaces of informal enterprise, informal habitation, political agency, deep democracy (Benjamin, 2000, Appadurai, 2001, Patel, et al, 2015) subaltern urbanism (Roy, 2011), and the worlding of cities (Ong and Roy, 2011). This study is particularly motivated to understand and examine the urban experience brought about with the coming together of formal and informal spaces, and activities in the street economies of markets in the megacity of Mumbai, geographically located in the Western state of Maharashtra in India- that we consider as emblematic of entrepreneurial urbanism. Entrepreneurial urbanism is essentially

brought about with the complex interplay of disparate actors, spontaneous situations and diverse activities in the spatial context of the city. This interplay results in optimization of available resources for greater productivity and profitability. In this sense, entrepreneurial urbanism follows the neo liberal logic.

The neoliberal is a logic of optimization refers not to a space or a form of state, but a set of maximizing rationalities(Rose 1999), The proliferation of neoliberal techniques thus contributes to the blossoming of an urban terrain of unanticipated borrowings, appropriations, and alliances that cut across class, ideological, and national lines (Ong, 2006).

It could apply to a wide range of actors, stakeholders and situations- state, corporate, civil society, non-government organizations/NGOs, communities, residents, working class, migrants, middle class, urban poor, marginalized citizens and the like. The theoretical motivation of this study comes from the entrepreneurial situations that crop up in form of the sudden bursts of activities, peoples and spatial practices by locals in the street economies. The chosen sites are the best representative of such endeavor in the megacity of Mumbai.

The sudden, spontaneous bursts of economic activity on the streets are what this study understands as “synchronesh” giving rise to synchronesh urbanism that could be read as a quintessential feature of an entrepreneurial city. Synchronesh is an automotive terminology whereby its elements are always in mesh and propelling state or free, the constant mesh with its generator as armature, corresponding or adjusting all the time. The street markets of Lokhandwala complex, Andheri Station area and Bandra Linking Road in Mumbai have been selected as cases for study as they represent this phenomenon analogous to a working automotive whose parts are networked and constantly adjusting to external pressures similar to the pressures a city exerts on its diverse geographies. This analogy is drawn in order to understand the networks of several activities that are completely in discordance to the historical and cultural fabric of the larger context beyond the streets. For instance, the entire stretch of various market precincts across the Mumbai, which houses food plazas and eating joints, high end shopping centers for

electronic goods, apparels, confectioneries and repair shops for dated electronic gadgets. There is presence in equal measure of both formal and informal networks of activities marked by the long, seamless stretch of shopping, array of parked vehicles and bursting activities of people of myriad socio- economic groups and cohorts. These percolate through the soft facade of private houses into the main street, adding to the splinter character of the public realm and the complexities of the urbanism that eventually emerge. Thus clear segregation of various realms within the urban phenomena is often incomprehensible. The nature of public realms coexists with realms of spatial and negotiating networks. Such inexhaustible forces are overlapping, complementary often with contradictory meanings, resulting in a richer mix of physical form, its economic and social pattern, and diverse political realities. The larger issues that often encounter in documenting such forces are the limitation of representation of such entrepreneurial phenomena. These are the coexisting multiplicities that characterize Indian cities- such conditions include lived dimensions (Social, Cultural), entrepreneurial activities (informal and formal), constituting symbiotic or parasitic relationships. The urban experience of lived dimensions hosts the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gathering of individuals beyond the realms of home and work (Oldenburg R, 2000)

This study attempts to understand the phenomenon of synchromesh urbanism as a feature of the entrepreneurial city guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the formal and informal networks of activities that give rise to the phenomenon of synchromesh urbanism in the chosen study sites?
2. What is the nature and form of the existing diverse spaces that create this phenomenon?
3. What are the larger implications of the phenomenon of synchromesh urbanism on the entrepreneurial city?

Using a range of mixed methods including quantitative surveys, secondary literature, on site observations, photographs and spatial mapping; this study aims to examine the above questions in the megacity context of street economies in Mumbai considered as an entrepreneurial city in its own right. The study seeks to examine the

phenomenon of synchromesh urbanism as a feature of the entrepreneurial city with detailed case studies of street economies in Mumbai.

STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

The research paper is divided into five parts. Part I provides the theoretical framework of the study. It is based on existing literature and links diverse theoretical perspectives with the aim to establish the rationale of the present study. Part II brings out the visual representations of existing site situation in the chosen sites of street economies namely the Lokhandwala market, Andheri Station Market, and Bandra Linking road Market in Mumbai. These representations highlight the intermingling of formal and informal activities. It emphasizes the significance of the informal economies of Asian cities like Mumbai and how these are quintessential aspects of the entrepreneurial city and can be important subjects for academic research in urban design learning. The other part of this section is based on the visual representations of the spatial character that is created with the sudden bursts of activities in the street economies.

Part III provides the next level of analysis on spatial character of sites and its urban form properties. It helps us arrive at the specific place based urban experience produced from synchromesh urbanism in the street economies of the chosen sites. It is this urban experience as spontaneous and everyday urbanism that contributes to making of an entrepreneurial city giving it character and identity in the face of the homogenizing tendencies of globalization. Part IV attempts to bring the findings of analytical work in to interdependency condition of various sites through qualitative criteria.

Part V provides the concluding remarks on the implications of street economies representing synchromesh urbanism especially under the smart cities mission currently guiding urban policy and practice in India. From a sociological and urban design perspective, it firmly makes a case of the need to preserve the place based unique urban experience resulting from the phenomenon of street economies as witnessed in the empirical contexts of Mumbai. It argues for the the multiplicity of energized conditions and the vibrant public realm so produced.

PART I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Recent research on urban theory has witnessed a Southern turn with the economic ascendance of cities like Singapore, Hong Kong, Dubai and Mumbai that do not fit within traditional urban theory using the world cities and later the global cities paradigms. Such theorizations have failed to grasp the diversities of these Southern cities particularly Asian cities. The quintessential megacity of the South like Mumbai does not really count as a command and control centre in the global cities paradigm as London, New York, Paris and Tokyo. Moreover, it was also felt that such interpretations of cities along a linear criterion misses out the myriad forms of urbanisms that Southern cities experience and manifest. This unease with existing paradigms led to a search for alternative theories and vocabularies especially in the context of megacities like Mumbai that do not measure up to the status of a global city, yet exhibit significant global linkages, both formally and informally. Informality in urban context can be understood from multiple frames- as spatial categorization (slum, street vendors), socio-economic groups (informalized labor), forms of organization (rule-based/relation-based) and knowledge and practices. Roy (2009) extended the definition of informality from the domain of the poor to include territorial practices of the state apparatus. She argued how the state applying rules of exception and deregulation has informalized planning practices citing examples of Indian cities like Calcutta, Bangalore and Gurgaon.

Despite the economic contribution to the city, urban policies and local authorities remain indifferent to the basic needs of informal residents in megacities thereby increasing their vulnerabilities. Such apathy also pose a challenge to achieving globally accepted goal of inclusive urbanization as envisaged in Sustainable Development Goals / SDGs. Indifference from the state apparatus has also pushed informal residents and occupants to varied tactical methods to access the street for basic livelihoods, basic services, using their political agency and economic enterprise established in literature (Calderia, 2017; Patel et al, 2015; Appadurai, 2001; Echanove and Srivastava, 2009). This is what sums up as entrepreneurial urbanism manifested in the spatial practices, economic activities and urban experience so produced. These are part of the everyday urbanisms visible in the

vibrant street formal and informal economies of market precincts in Mumbai that we examine as synchromesh urbanism.

Streets, lanes and by lanes could be considered as the smallest social spheres of the city where social life saturates, people assert their agency to give social meanings, marked by reiterative social practices that enable place based urban experience (Friedmann, 2010). Across cities of India, the street and economic activities carried out on the street in the form of weekly bazaars, mandis, makeshift stalls, and street vending play an important role in preserving the urban tissue, cherished and celebrated by people, acting as public space by virtue of its inclusiveness and maintaining informalized forms of social order. Place as 'sense of place' is often understood as identification with place in natural or constructed settings (Tuan, 1977; Bosselman, 2008) or as Gieryn (2000: 467) describes place saturates social life and through which social life happens. Scholars like Lefebvre (1996), Friedmann (2010), and Cresswell (2004) have operationalized the concept of place which otherwise is difficult to understand given the everyday and myriad usage of the word. These scholars have identified the essential criteria that define places and distinguish them from non-places. For instance, places are typically small scale, characterized by daily interactions, mostly dense interactions, and reiterative social practices (Cresswell, 2004), intimate, carry a sense of belonging and attachment, in short a place may be geographically bounded territory but has a strong connection with human sentiments, in other words shared meanings and values attached by the people who live and belong there. Sites like local markets, streets, lanes and localities - the smallest social spheres of the city - qualify as places strictly going by this definition. These are often celebrated, seen as providing cosmopolitan diversity and opportunities for marginalized populations to assert their agency in city making (Sassen, 2016:1). The significant psychological links between people and the places they inhabit and experience based on which people mentally abstract information from the material world has been discussed in a wide range of scholarly work like that of urban theorists (Lynch, 1960; Appleyard, 1973, William Whyte, 1980,1988) and environmental and social psychologists (Canter,1977; Holahan, 1982; Gollledge, 1987).

The street and by extension street economy can be seen both as an intimate place for social encounters and expression of social forces, which is practiced – and thus performed – on a daily basis (Lefebvre, 1991). New modes of urban development and governance systems following the art of being global (Roy and Ong, 2011) has subjected cities in India to the urbanism of projects with increasing verticalization, extensions, redevelopment and expansion of physical infrastructure like highways, freeways and expressways, a situation where urban figures like convention centers and urban waterfronts are prioritized over urban texture (Chow and Niu, 2015). In effect, these processes have diverted attention away from the smaller units that are characteristic features of every Indian or Asian city, ubiquitous of everyday urbanisms and also representing entrepreneurial urbanism in varied (mostly informal) ways which result in the unique character and place based urban experience of Asian cities.

The street is contested upon with claims and counter claims, very often aggravated by policies speaking for different sets of interests. For instance the formulation of the National Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihoods and Regulation of Street Vending) Act in 2014 resulted from a long struggle of street vendors and activists. This Act recognizes street vendors to be important components of streets and street life and came as a corrective measure to the National Urban Transport Policy (2006) that makes no mention of street vendors. The street is the everyday reality of cities in India as elsewhere in the global South. The street reflects larger political economic forces shaping the city and is enmeshed in the valorization of conflicting claims as that of accessibility versus mobility. Street vendors are important stakeholders in this highly contested space and contribute significantly to the street as a space of production, consumption, livelihood and security against crime. Take the case of natural markets that are usually in places with multiple functions and external competition, so a conflict of interests is inevitable. For example, bus terminals or railway stations; though ideal natural markets for food vendors, it is especially here that they are banned. This shows that there is a need to rethink space allocation, and address the conflict of interests instead of avoidance. Greater entry of foreign capital and goods and the opening up of sectors to private life, the formation of a corporate

capitalist class is now more dominant than the previously powerful landed elite that were hostile towards the street food vendors (Nath 2010). Economic liberalization, some say, has increased the disparity between the rich and the poor. For instance, Sengupta et al (2008) note that it is an undisputed fact that the whole thrust of the economy caters to the middle and higher income groups that comprise 23% of the population and whose numbers amount to 225 million. As big this number may be, it is still in a minority. Despite high growth, more than three-fourths of Indians are poor and vulnerable with a level of consumption not more than twice the official poverty line. In such a scenario, government actions like the Operation Sunshine in Kolkata or the ban on street food in Delhi, exemplifies what TeLintelo (2009) calls a deep and ongoing conflict about the direction, purpose, and ultimately about winners and losers of restructuring Indian cities.

The larger intent of this paper is to highlight and articulate the areas and issues that shapes entrepreneurial urbanism, largely governed by urban phenomena- activities and urban experience. The spatial strategy that is being exercised on everyday urbanism is largely shaped by everyday interaction, active engagement and reconciliation of entrepreneurial aspirations. The paper largely focuses on the entrepreneurial aspects of the urban form, examination of their pattern of evolution, the juxtaposition of various realms within the overall framework of entrepreneurial urbanism and allowances that often result in physical manifestation as social and cultural narratives of everyday urbanism.



FIGURE 1 The abstract relation of constituents of urban form

(Diagram I, explain the abstract relation of constituents of urban form)

The research embarks on firm belief that everyday practices impact on public realm and various constructed realities (including entrepreneurial urbanism), influence multiple negotiations and networking. The research seeks to articulate the large pattern of entrepreneurial aspects of urbanism within the context of everyday, its interrelationships, the role of standing pattern of behavior, the perceptual, cognition largely the choice that one exercised within the discourse of environment affordance. It further unearths the question of substantive theory- nature of environment and the nature of human spatial and emotional behavior within it and responses to it (Lang, John, 1987)

The Research paper seeks to investigate three diverse conditions of enterprising streets within the city of Mumbai. It develops a framework based on the value based approach, evaluation and methods of representation of entrepreneurial urbanism. This framework can be appropriated to various conditions of such phenomena and realms, its method of evaluation and representation, thus re-asserting, re-assembling & energizing existing everyday situations.

The Bandra Linking Road Market, Lokhandwala market and Andheri Station market in Mumbai are examples of such phenomenon characterized by sudden splurge of activities juxtaposed in sharp contrast to its surrounding context.

It further attempts to investigate the interrelationships of various market places with other contextual conditions that necessitates the agglomeration & energized urban conditions of the markets

PART II. SITES CONDITION & ACTIVITY ATTRIBUTE

The activity attributes are analyzed at important node or place within and outside the market streets and annotated as follows:

- **Interstices Condition:** It is a point where the spatial condition has emerged as being large gap from the surrounding and forms as a marker of entrance.
- **Relative Condition:** It is a situation of activity

(formal and informal) that is dependent on each other.

- **Independent Condition:** It is a situation of activity (formal and informal) that is independent of each other.
- **Dispersion Condition:** It is a situation of activity that is about to dispersed or disappears.
- **Amourphous Condition:** It is a permeable condition that allows proliferation of activity and diversity.
- **Constant Condition:** It is a situation of activity (formal and informal) that is continuous and homogenous.
- **Cohesion Condition:** It is a situation of formal activity that are homogenous.

The activity attributes becomes the base parameter of functional analysis that helps understand the second level of analysis dedicated to spatial attributes. The two level of micro analysis then allows situating the all three sites with other two sites in relative synchomesh contextual condition.

LOKHANDWALA MARKET, ANDHERI WEST

The Lokhandwala complex was imagined to be lower middle class neighborhood, constructed in early 1980's. The only connectivity was through Bus from distant Andheri West Railway Station and Bus Transportation through North to South network. The neighborhood earlier was designed as low rise with convenient shops. The only known market was Andheri Station which is 5.00 km away from Lokhandwala market. However the Lokahndwala complex has witnessed upsurge towards upper class gentrification coupled with vibrant formal and informal market. The land which once was margin of suburbs with complex environmental conditions is now turned into high density neighborhood and a market.

The market street constitutes high end boutiques, apparels, electronics, foot wares and variety of other formal shopping. Along with formal market, there is flux of informal market that dominates the Lokhandwala Street and makes the street an energized spot along the large pause around the area. The Lokhandwala street replicates many of such examples around the city with close loop energize condition of the entrepreneurial urbanism.

The Andheri Station market has its evolution is in

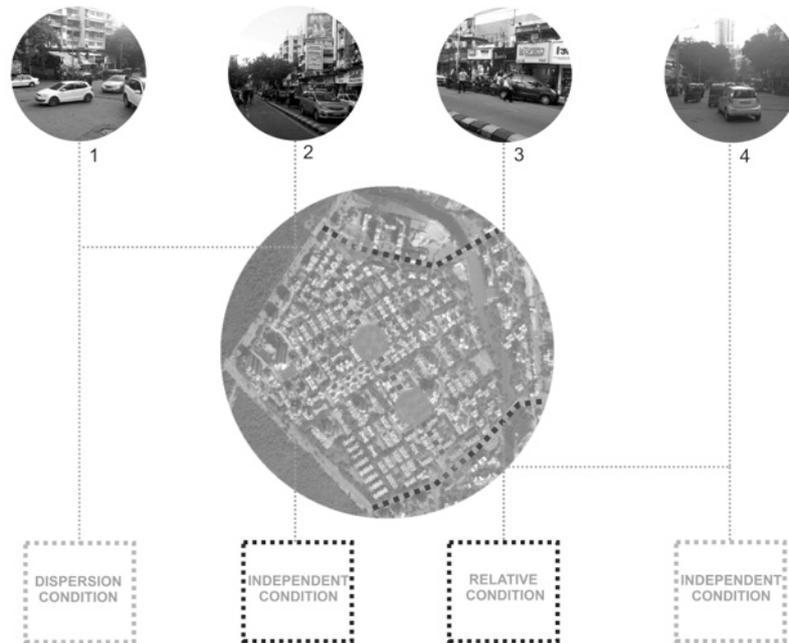


FIGURE 2 Lokhandwala Market, Mumbai – SITE A

its formative circumstances i: e establishment of railway station. The busiest western railway station caters to the transportation facilities to large geography, also makes it to be the most clustered market place in west and east of the station. The rail corridor coupled with busiest road network of North to South Mumbai makes the place the most important formal and informal shopping place in the city. Unlike Lokhandwala market which is close loop linear market, Andheri Station market is open ended cluster market. The scale and splurge of street shopping character is nothing less than everyday festivity, while festive occasion transforms the place into the most energized condition in the city. The clustered market offers almost all kind of goods from daily needs to exclusive consumer items.

LINKING ROAD MARKET, BANDRA WEST

The Linking Road Market is part section of main arterial road, running from northern part of suburbs to Southern part of Mumbai. The earlier informal market along the public open spaces has slowly transformed into the most sought after market for formal and informal shopping.

The Linking road market encompasses important educational institutions and public and private institution, hence the evolution of the market is

within its formative circumstances like Andheri Market. Unlike Lokhandwala market which is closed linear loop market, the Linking Road market is open loop linear condition. The entire stretch can easily be divided into various types of formal and informal market. The orderly condition and organizational aspects have resulted from its high end real estate value and its physical transformation. The variety and spontaneity of diverse entrepreneurial quality of the market street makes the place that most seek out as a place for energized urban experience.

The diagram shall be with the large contextual map to navigate the study form Macro to Micro Urbanism. The diagram shall be supported by the text in form of historical evolution and its contextual significance, the circumstances and its successive transformation. This part of the study closely examines the various influential components that bring about the phenomena of Entrepreneurial Urbanism. The macro to micro relationship shall articulate the large pattern of entrepreneur mosaic and its relationships with structured and un-structured circumstances.

PART III.

The research paper takes all three sites condition of part I and attempts to develop the significant linkages between everyday urbanism (functional & spatial) and entrepreneurial urbanism. The

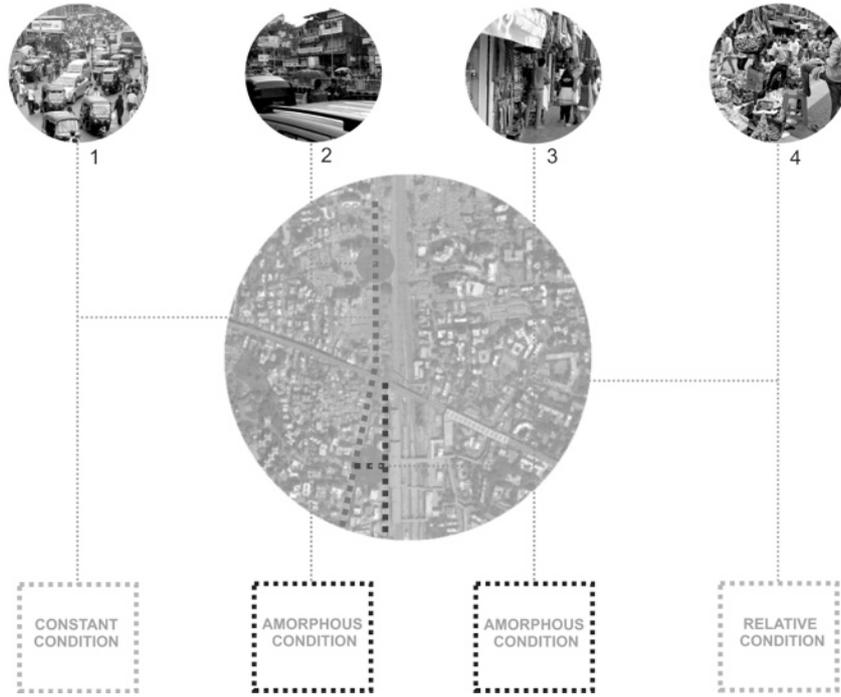


FIGURE 3 Andheri Station Market - SITE B

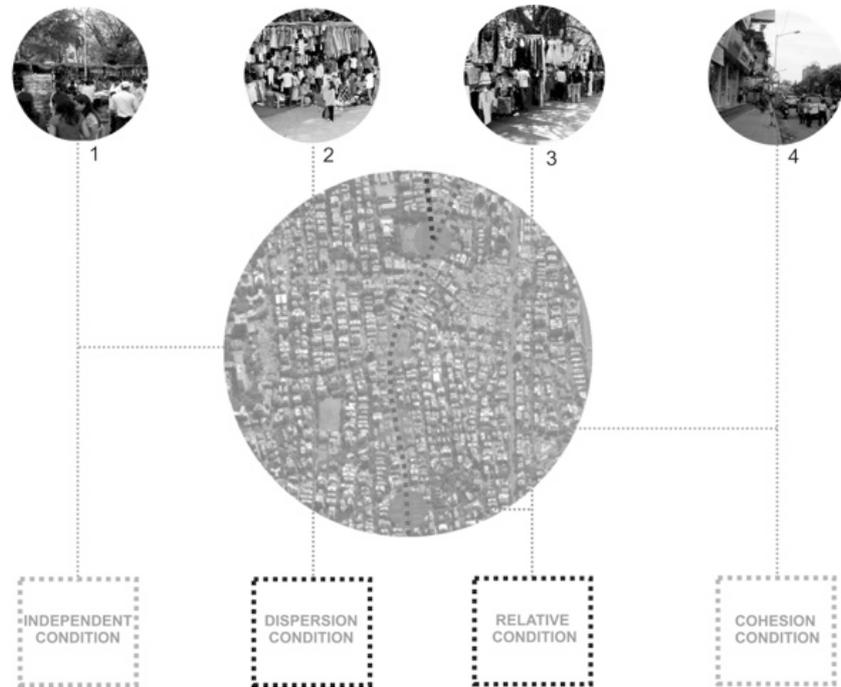


FIGURE 4 Bandra Linking Road Market - SITE C

everyday constitute the interstitial condition that either deviates from command performance of planning or spontaneous place making, independent of the built aspect of urban form.

The physical attribute of the first site of Lokhandwala market is defined by linear strip of connector road that is enclosed by mid-rise residential building with shop fronts. Although there is nothing peculiar about the architectural character of the entire strip but the resultant transformative qualities of the entire road definitely raises the question on spatial attributes and various influential characteristics of the place.

The matrix I co-relates three important and basic criteria for evaluation of the place. The spatial attribute is the nature of evolved pattern (physical attributes) as base to build the other influential attributes namely affordance and functional attribute.

The spatial attribute of Lokhandwala market is linear in nature with two large pause points. These large pause points are imposed by the wide development road resulting in energized conditions at micro level of site. The single monolithic character with two extreme pause yields the moderate affordance quality. The affordance attribute characterized by the ability of space to hold variety of functions produces an enterprising quality. The lower the affordance attribute would mean the lower the enterprising capabilities of the street. The third attribute has direct relationship with the spatial and affordance attribute, i: e functional attribute. The functional attribute results from ability of space to affordance and allows the diverse functions of the street.

The Andheri Station market is a more significant situation from the perspective of development along the transportation corridor. The spatial attribute of the market is clustered in nature, i: e

it has larger influential circumference, and thus has affordance of moderate to high quality. The variation is due to time factor of the day. The various function of the location at micro level merges to form very high level of affordance and very high mixed use amounting to energized condition of entrepreneur situation. The clustered form of market is further enhanced by the important road and rail connector, allowing the cluster to splurge in various directions. The divided nature of cluster due to physical condition do not mar or result into the large pause as in the Lokhandwala market, rather it yields the unusually high mixed use attributes, mainly due to intersection of different transportation corridor.

The third example Bandra Linking Road market differs from the previous two examples. The spatial attribute of the market is mixed with linear and cluster, resulting into very complex mega form. The Linking Road market has evolved due to its institutional circumstances coupled with high end neighborhoods and important arterial road networks. The mega form resonates the space with very high affordance property. The market offers variety of entrepreneurial quality due to its spatial attributes and affordance property hence the interaction among the diverse function along with energized everyday makes a stronger case for urban learning. The matrix I summarizes the base level of physical properties of entrepreneurial precincts of the city, hence becomes the most sought out place for urban enterprising experience.

Matrix I enables the micro situation to relate the circumstance to the next level of analysis i: e meshed condition of entrepreneurial urbanism. The meshed condition draws its initial base from matrix I and dissect the site through new set of parameters operating between the phenomenon and physical activity of the site.

TABLE 1 Comparative sites

MATRIX I (Comparative Sites)

SITE	SPATIAL ATTRIBUTE	AFFORDANCE ATTRIBUTE	FUNCTIONAL ATTRIBUTE
A	LINEAR	MODERATE	MODERATE MIXED
B	CLUSTER	MODERATE- HIGH	MODERATE - HIGH MIXED
C	MEGA FORM	VERY HIGH	HIGH MIXED

TABLE 2 (SITE WISE) Meshed Functionality

MATRIX II (SITE WISE)
Meshed Functionality

DIAGRAM I
LOKHANDWALA MARKET

PHENOMENA	PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTE (Activity Pattern)		
	INTENSITY (Activity Scale)	CONTINUITY (Activity Seq.)	LEGIBILITY (Activity Clarity)
SPATIAL CHARACTER (Space Quality)	Fragmented	Disjointed	Contained
SPATIAL PATTERN (Space Type)	Varied	Mixed	Linear
SPATIAL LINKAGES (Space Connection)	regular	Sequential	Continuous

DIAGRAM II
ANDHERI STATION MARKET

PHENOMENA	PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTE (Activity Pattern)		
	INTENSITY (Activity Scale)	CONTINUITY (Activity Seq.)	LEGIBILITY (Activity Clarity)
SPATIAL CHARACTER (Space Quality)	Highly Concentrated	Highly Disjointed	Overlapping
SPATIAL PATTERN (Space Type)	Differential	mixed	Non Linear
SPATIAL LINKAGES (Space Connection)	Irregular	Non Sequential Highly Disordered	Discontinuous

DIAGRAM III
BANDRA LINKING ROAD MARKET

PHENOMENA	PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTE (Activity Pattern)		
	INTENSITY (Activity Scale)	CONTINUITY (Activity Seq.)	LEGIBILITY (Activity Clarity)
SPATIAL CHARACTER (Space Quality)	Highly Concentrated	Highly Disjointed	Contained
SPATIAL PATTERN (Space Type)	Varied	Mixed	Linear
SPATIAL LINKAGES (Space Connection)	regular	Non Sequential	Discontinuous

This part of the research paper emphasizes the conceptual framework that enables to understand or it draws attention to the various complex relationship and mechanism that facilitates understanding the circumstances of the entrepreneur urbanism. Though it may not have formal relationships, but it delineates various circumstances that re-appropriate the network beyond the boundary of formal. The coding and decoding framework shall aid the process and tactics and subsequently becomes a method of analysis for existing conditions or constructing the energizing practices for its constituent.

The case of Lokhandwala market has rather simpler relationship attributes, which enables the clear and legible market concentration and often regular and homogenous activity across the year. The diagram I states clearly that meshed condition between spatial linkages and intensity, spatial linkages and legibility regulates the criteria of pattern and character of the place, while the spatial character and intensity, continuity may have little impact on linkages and legibility attribute. This becomes an important criterion for determination of entrepreneurial conditions.

The case of Andheri market, cluster type formation comply all the spatial character and its relationship with the activity scale, sequence, while relationship with legibility of all space attributes attains the non-designed conditions, hence meshed conditions perhaps are more conducive to the entrepreneurial opportunity. The conclusion at micro level establishes the contradictory relationship of orderly vs disorder, organized vs chaos.

The Bandra Linking road market is mixed of first two cases which are attributes aligned between order and chaos. The legibility index is contained but discontinuous when one correlates with spatial linkages. This characteristic of place leaves design scope between how much to control and how much to let it be free. The third condition may have the advantage of its physical context but need for altered framework can produce unpredictable result that yields entrepreneurial opportunities.

PART IV

If the meshed condition of the individual market is governed by the criteria stated in the matrix I, the synchromesh condition is regulated by broadly three conditions (matrix III) that dictates the in-between condition as follows:

- Energized Condition
- Pause Condition
- Simulation Condition

The energized condition, which is dictated by any activity, is primarily the interactive medium in any given setting. The energized condition depends on the higher stimuli conditions and is often the armature of energized value system. The pause condition is an outcome higher energized condition. The study of the examples stated in the paper reveals that higher the energized situation yields the larger value for the pause system. These relationships are very important to the entrepreneurial condition of any setting. Hence it is imperative from the study of the area that these conditions are not exclusive but depend on each other. The synchromesh condition that drives the entrepreneurial urbanism largely depends on the pause value system in most of the cases. However if the entire three value system area operative in any given situation then the entrepreneurial quality of the market has either stagnated or is being limited by the physical parameter. The two criteria of pause + stimuli compliance allow possibility of energized condition either as festive

TABLE 3 Synchromesh condition

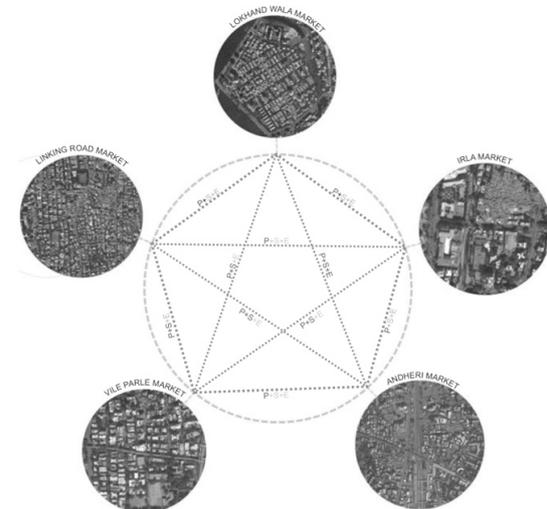
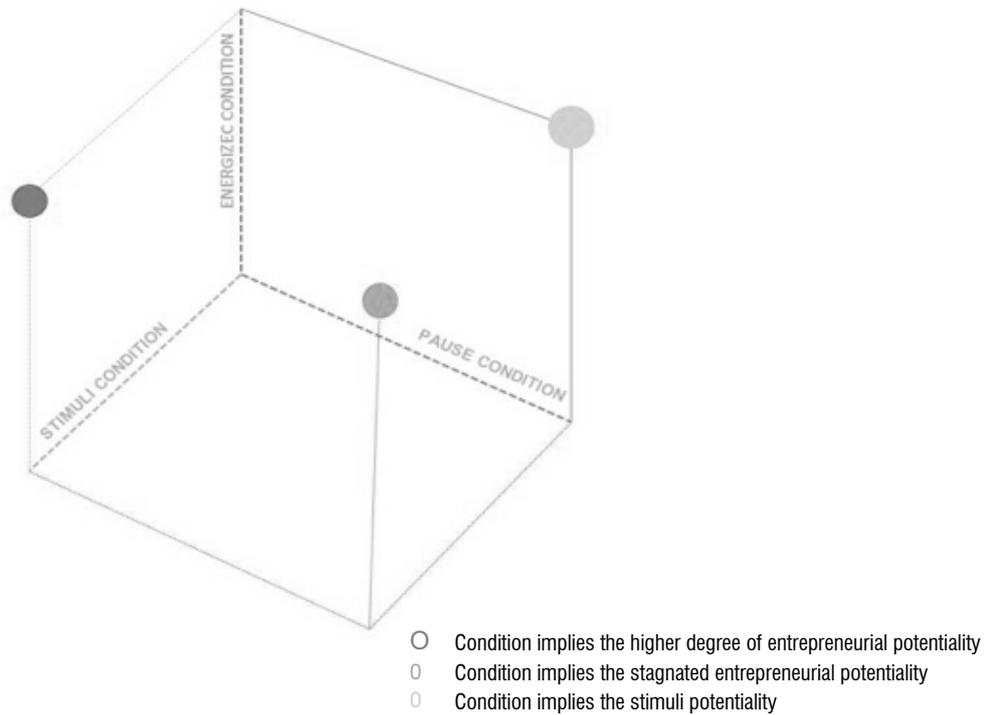


Table 4 Qualitative Criteria (Abstract Diagram of Representation of Entrepreneurial)



temporality or based on time activity.

The matrix IV summarizes the three findings that depicts the variation from status of present market condition to the potentially with respect to the entrepreneurial urbanism. The blue code denotes the case for intervention in terms of its transformation (physical/ functional/ temporal) to accentuate the pause condition. The yellow code denotes the need for stimuli condition to add the variety and diversity of activity in a given market situation. The red code denotes the projected entrepreneurial conditions that can emanate from existing stimuli and energized condition. Although the diversity and temporality of various activity conditions depend on the place physical attribute namely: clustered, linear or mega form.

PART V - CONCLUSION

In this section we present our concluding remarks by revisiting the larger question of current processes of urbanization in cities of the global South especially those located in Asia. Often dubbed as Asian urbanisms, Southern cities of which the megacity of Mumbai holds a significant place, often experience and manifest a

diverse variety of urbanisms. Of these, everyday urbanism renders unique place based character to crowded, often chaotic urban situations like street economies.

We examine these vibrant urban situations in three prominent market sites in Mumbai deploying what we term as Synchronesh urbanism, a quintessential feature of everyday urbanisms brought about with the interplay of formal and informal activities and spaces. These in turn contribute to the making of entrepreneurial urbanism. Cities everywhere are subject to the global forces react and respond differently and often these responses are incomprehensible and easily dismissed as chaotic and messy. However, we argue that such chaotic and messy urban situations as witnessed in the street economies in the chosen sites discussed in this study are crucial to the urban experience and needs to carefully studied, analyzed, examined and preserved. It contributes positively to create vibrant public realm and is an important subject for pedagogical and research purposes in urban design learning.

The research paper is limited by the physical transformation in urban form and social or

economic modes of production that perhaps shapes the city differently. Perhaps future research can be framed to understand the larger complexities

of various forces including that are worked out in this paper in other geographical contexts. Future research in this direction would enable a more comprehensive understanding of the public realm.

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Lokhandwala Market: Manoj Parmar Architects

Andheri Station Market:

1. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/rf/>
2. <https://i.ytimg.com/vi/u2mdM0JbFa0/maxresdefault.jpg>
3. <http://images.mid-day.com/images/2014/aug/Andheri.jpg>
4. <http://static.dnaindia.com/sites/default/files/2014/05/16/237195-hawkers.jpg>

Linking Road Market:

1. http://www.mumbai77.com/images/Pictures/Bandra/Linking_Road.jpg
2. <http://images.asianage.com/images/aa-Cover-0bl6a7mdqlccg6sg7m5mci4503-20170103064307.Medi.jpeg>
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4. <https://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/01/61/89/07/the-linking-road-bandra.jpg>

Hong Kong' Entrepreneurialism; Radical Domesticity as a Condition of Interiorised Commons

Gerhard Bruyns

School of Design,
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University,
Hong Kong

ABSTRACT

What would an interrogation of the Hong Kong interior reveal in terms of spatial appropriation? Moreover, how would these typologies of use contribute to the phenomena of urban commons (Sohn, et al, 2015) as an interiorised spatial condition?

For residents and commercial entrepreneurs alike, Hong Kong's cramped spaces represent a both a 'tactical' as well as 'collective' spatial processes. Daily attempts are made to alleviate social stagnation within a city driven by speculation. Characterized by excessive real estate prices, high-density living conditions, and dominant market forces spatial alternatives remain both inflexible and inaccessible to most. Although within a purported first world context, Hong Kong's dwellers show increasing evidence of a society that has become 'spatially locked', within interior worlds that mirror the realities of a 4th world economic order.

In this light, the question of 'spatial appropriation' or 'spatial sharing', as a merger between tactical and regulated use, remains key in defining alternatives outside conventional norms. In multiple instances, the resident, small scale entrepreneur and individual merchant apply various 'tactics' in defiance against draconian regularities. Performative 'commoning', the tactical sharing of space, eventually transforms conventional interiors, as the corridors, threshold, building foyer and alleyways, into new spatial modalities and time-based usage. The appropriation, modification, and alteration of the spaces provides material evidence of a collaborative strategy wherein the working and living relationships of the interior as urbanism process is challenged.

This paper will, first, use two empirical examples of residential units to reflect on interiors as battleground for personal entrepreneurialism. And, in this light, to invoke a discussion that centres on the concept of a square foot driven society and its salient spatial culture and use as urban spatial model.

KEYWORDS

*Spatial Tactics, Interior, Commons,
Hong Kong, Entrepreneurial*

INTRODUCTION

In the wake of continued neoliberal development, and its aggressive agenda geared at the expropriation of space, one aspect remains certain; the monopolization of the city through private interests has altered all forms of space, in or exterior, whether planned or emergent. Elinor Ostrom's 1990 work - *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* - and its elaborations on the concept of the 'commons,' expands on the mechanism communities' employ to co-operate, share and manage finite resource, based on the agricultural principles. Ostrom's elaborations lay out the 8 foundational conditions. As such these conditions expand on securing the longevity of resources for future generations that has since 1990, found resonance in political activism specifically related to spatial question, under guises of housing, public self-built settlements, street traders and civic art. (cf. Satvrides, 2016).

The concepts of the commons have since then found renewed interest in the debates that pertain to civil disobedience. David Harvey's work - *Rebel City 2012* - opens the question of the commons in terms of resistance mechanisms, questioning the various scalar effects at which the commons operate, elaborating on 'nested' hierarchies and the transference of specific sharing, capabilities based on the scale of each commons and their inherent organization.

According to Sohn, Kosoulas and Bruyns (2013), and specifically relevant to the city as commons entity, urban spaces and the subsequent spaces of conflict do not represent two opposing conditions but are to be seen as an alternative form of spatial production within a global neoliberal driven sphere. From vast open spaces to those pertaining the private domain, the residential spaces, spaces that fall between the normative types, or those excessively used for commerce, spaces collectively from part and parcel of a complex spatial field, each with an inherent potentiality to activate social processes. The challenged posed against current agendas and operational models, for example the public private distinction, reframes the conventional understandings of the social that exposes alternative forms of urban practices and in particular 'social subjectivity'. Moreover, the authors state, the appropriation and organisation of the commons waken concealed socio-spatial

conditions within a very fluid and sometimes volatile context. In their view, from within this perspective of commons as urban condition, the first task is to examine the specific landscape that embeds practices of the commons, in effect situating commoning as a product of ecological and relational understanding of economies. In using Maurizio Lazzarato's (2004, pp199-200) reading of late capitalism, whereby capitalism is viewed as a 'producer of worlds,' commoning is a 'cooperation between minds' that impacts the public, private, the collective as well as communal property. Allowing for the 'cooperation' to be dispersed, exchange, disbursed or pooled extends the original modes of both production and social capital establishing shared interests irrespective of its modes of practice, as either a daily occurrence or as a deliberate tactical incentive.

RADICALISATION AND INTERIOR ENTREPRENEURIALISM

Although the interior has recently received attention as both a tactical and entrepreneurial mechanism in several conceptualisations, it nevertheless has received little thought compared to the economic and social forces shaping cities in times of social crisis or civil disobedience. In the wake of a worldwide reaction against those forms of development, that see the city as a growth machine (Molotch 1976), several publications and debates are re-examining the conditions of domesticity as a focus for human betterment and sharing of resources.

First, studies of social structures of 'city-ness,' in which the question of domesticity and dwelling stand as a central construct, are particularly relevant. Louis Wirth's original concept, or what he terms 'Urbanism' (1938), views settlements and its housing questions as the by-product of a collective social process underlined by three interrelated components: (1) the physical nature of the city comprised of population and forms of technologies, (2) a social system of organisation involving social structures, institutions and social relationships, (3) the formulation of a set of attitudes and registers, collectively produced norms, standards and regulations to guide behaviour processes. Harvey's *Rebel City* (2013), Castells' *Aftermath Project* (2011) and Weizman's *Civil Occupation* (2003) intersect into the current urbanisation problem, reclaiming domesticity within contestation strategies as a response to

financial deregulation, commodification and housing crises (Carcia Peralt, 2011). Originally viewed as a human right (Geneva Charter), housing has become a resilient mean within 21st-century urbanity. Harvey (ibid.) summarises key socio-spatial characteristics that cities face globally as counter moments to neoliberalism. The consequences of socio-spatial polarisation affect landscapes through spatial realities as territories have become fortified, fragmentary and gated. Moreover, all nuances of the public domain are being 'militarised' through access and control, whereas private property is used as an additional hegemonic instrument. Marcello (1993) takes this critique to its logical conclusion, seeing the city as a multiplicity of subdivided microstates. Against these tendencies, Harvey argues for the reconceptualisation of social movements and their inherent 'claim' by building on Lefebvre's notions on 'right to the city' (1967). This critique has led to several conceptualisations that aim to capture some of the urban activisms. For example, 'Radical Cities' (McGuirk, 2014), 'Occupancy Urbanism' (Benjamin, 2008), or, 'Pirate Modernity' (Sundaram, 2010), discuss how activists, pragmatists and social idealists are performing bold social-spatial experiments harnessing design to shape territories. Benjamin's 'Occupancy Urbanism' is valuable because of its link to domestic interiors. In his analysis, the 'urbanisation of the local' becomes an incentive for the territorialisation and politicisation of all forms of space, including land tenure processes that aim to facilitate social progress and individual mobilisation. Leveraging gradations of micro-resistance, 'occupancy urbanism' views the city as a product of contesting territories and forms of encroachment.

Secondly, in this framework the link between micro and compact living is forever linked to the aspects of contestation and encroachment. For Hernandez (2016) and Post (2014) small living is indivertibly coupled to transience and not dwelling permanence. Conchar (2016) links micro living to millennials, the homeless and the temporary residents in cities. Brenner's (2015) questioning of 'Tactical Urbanism' continues the critique of the ineffectiveness of the design professionals (architects and planners alike) to establish 'alternative urban futures' whilst looking at the repositioning of the 'design' as cooperative praxis for the production, use and governing of all forms of urban life, including

that of dwellings. Meant to critique forms and nuances of urbanisation, design sets its focus on the development of jointly shared capacities to reformulate 'co-produced' (cf. Bruyns & Low, 2011) agendas and other possible forms of socioeconomic inclusion. More specifically, the work of Rawes and Lord, entitled 'Equal by Design' (2016), highlights both the misnomer of 21st Century affordable housing and impact of housing design on societal wellbeing. According to Rawes and Lord, 'Human design' questions programmable conditions that allow users to uplift themselves from specific socio-economic conditions, promoting social mobility. In this light, both cultural and social life are collectively affected by the quality of housing, reemphasising the importance of a spatial cohesion that formulates cities from the inside out. Both the 'in' and 'exterior' or the praxis of the lived are set against the preconditions of the confined scenarios of dwelling.

INTERIOR ENTREPRENEURIALISM – THE HONG KONG SCENARIO

The 'Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong' (HKSAR) has always been an 'island of entrepreneurship' (Clinton, 2014). Historically known as a 'market city' (Ohno, 1992) with a prominent skyline and high-rise tradition, its physical and formal characteristics pertain to (1) a landscape of severe density, (2) three-dimensional hybridity in a public-private-spatial-landscape and (3) structural and social conditions of adjacency. Furthermore, Hong Kong has embraced amplifying levels of excessiveness, accepted neoliberal directives, allowing 'manic' density and hyper consumerism – all unified through the vertical stacking of urban infrastructure. In contrast, Yeh (2006) and Lin (2011) question Hong Kong's future under the 'one-country-two-system' policy, the 'emptying out' of manufacturing services and the operation of an urbanisation strategy that is (1) dependant on land-centred processes, (2) highly speculative in nature and (3) mechanised for the pursuit of revenue. Particular to Canton, the origins of the majority of existing high-rise dwelling MODELS find their spatial roots in the Tong Lau building typology (Shelton, 2011). Tong Lau typologies typify the most basic housing unit from which all other housing types have been derived, setting the minimum standards as well as the layout for subsequent housing models. As

such, Tong Lau's generic prototypes, whereby the shop house becomes the defining social-spatial model, influenced by the norms and stands of housing requirements and industrial endeavours in Southern China (Lee, 2010). Drawing from the availability of material, customs and living standards, the Tong Lau shop house standardised the space in which urban life has played out since the nineteenth century in its 700 ft² floor spaces, one kitchen and basic bathroom facilities. At its core, the Tong Lau type standardised a dwelling model responsible for regulating (a) social structures, (b) architectural criteria and (c) production or industrial facilities within Asian cities, as well as (d) influencing modularisation of contemporary housing stock and its spatial requirements. Ironically, the same model is credited for Hong Kong's extreme dwellings. Cage homes, subdivisions and rooftop dwellings, where beds are placed along corridors, (Shelton, 2011) and upper floors subdivided to allocate additional rental spaces, with one family per room in some instances, have become an accepted phenomenon. The Hong Kong Housing Authority (2016) states that the current domestic landscape consists of rental, private ownership, temporary dwellings and stock housing. Of these, some equate to 45 m² (Wilson, 2016) in size. The most recent additions – Capsule houses – are 20 ft², and cost HK\$5100 in rent per month (Yuen, 2016). With demand exceeding supply, the present challenge is to engage in domestic contestation to counteract financial deregulation within a general housing crisis.

Against the condition of the 'confined housing models', Hong Kong's society continuously adapt limited space to suit individual needs (Lam, 2016). Considering the city as a cultural and geographic nexus, its spatial practices remain specific to a post-colonial Eurocentric derived urban model. With Hong Kong's present socio-economic diversity, a new 'ontology' of interiority and definition of 'in' and 'exterior' requires reformulation in recognition of the nuances of the everyday. In the neoliberal context, the agency afforded to customs, habits and mutual differences brings into question the use of interior space, consumerism and the retail economy as a key relational factor essential to comprehend the lived. The pressures exerted on the limits of space, usage and square foot value establishes the grounding for a 'square foot driven' society. The 'ft²'-concept is linked to lifestyles of excess, but is

also indicative of survival. As a case in point, the destitute are forced to accept domestic possibilities such as 'cage homes', equal to 15.06 ft² (Soco, 2016), or makeshift sleeping quarters the size of a chair (2.5 ft²) offered by 24 hour McDonalds outlets, which are classified as 'McRefugee's (Ngo, 2015). These examples link spatial limits to factors of choice, society and consumerism. Lam's (op cit) photo essays capturing cramped apartments, of which the smallest is 280 ft², presents 'an interior vernacular' among low-income families, elderly and the unemployed that conforms to a spatial-economic metric of compression. Single room dwellings are reconstructed through additions, layering, and add-ons, transforming the use of objects. Hong Kong's penal point system for housing estates (Yau, 2012) is a tell-tale sign of domestic tremors challenging the model against the needs of families. As a mechanism of control to moderate behaviour, the habitual penal code lists 28 common 'prohibited' activities, regulating behaviour and attitudes. The system documents external violations all equitable to space and size, harnessing policy as a regulatory metric. At its extreme, 'The Collateral Event, Stratagems in Architecture of Hong Kong' presented at the 15th Venice Architecture Biennale (2016), represents thirty-six 'stratagems' (三十六计) applied in wars in ancient China. The architect and artist participants attempt to develop strategies for Hong Kong's volatile housing market (Lee, 2012) urban housing and cramped spaces with inspiration from original warfare tactics. They examine daily challenges, consider solutions for an alternate urban reality, and trace the battleground drawing on their practices of intervention and adaptation. In this instance, the ft²-concept operates in both architecture and artistry unfolding the challenges, and personal needs of the public, the commons, in a wider sense. Positioned as an 'activists-strategy', the concept situates 'difference' against the prevailing conditions, effectively rescripting the modes of radical domesticity and the socio-technical affordances of daily life (Simone, 2014). In an ethnographic sense, the ft²-concept frames the processes of design and how it is both spatialised and used by groups, peoples and cultures with their customs, habits, and mutual differences (Madden, 2010).

In a recent survey of Hong Kong housing typologies, Bruyns (2016) conducted a parallel study that scrutinized spatial layouts of 21 Block

types and 78 unit types, which include traditional Tong Lau dwellings (6 typologies) (Bruyns and Lee, 2016), resettlement blocks (11 typologies), public housing (14 typologies), 'other uses of space for domestic usage' (four types), mobile homes (six typologies), unauthorized dwelling structures (four typologies) and private housing dwellings (three typologies). For Tong Lau typologies, the investigation includes specific interior characteristics beyond their spatial configurations.

With Hong Kong's Sham Sui Po region as main focus, the process of domestic radicalized becomes more explicit. In contrast to the city's Central or Island districts, and its high-end expat focus, Sham Shui Po remains a working-class region where local populous mixes with working class immigrants, from mostly China. Dwelling wise the area is demonstrative of a mix housing typologies, varying in size. As a city borough historically known for its industrial production, it remains typified as a place where small scales industry and dense social clusters meet. On the one hand, it remains a region where small electronic recycling centres, decorative industry, building supplies and fashion accessories collide, with on the other, a multi-cultural social landscape with predominately the elderly population. It is the perfect mixture of modular housing stock and a society that is gradually adapting habitual conditions to against speculative encroachment.

A more detailed survey of 30 units teases out scenarios of compressed domesticity. Meant to establish the basis of dwelling patterns in association with 'types', the survey documented; (a) identity of the inhabitants, (b) ethnic background, (c) statutory and residential status, (d) living qualities, (e) current and desired leisure. The survey additionally established characteristics at a domestic level, capturing (f) forms of sharing, (g) appropriation and (h) domestic transformation require to facilitate their ways of live.

The sharing of household possessions and spatial arrangement was a telling sign of a domestic model functioning as a framework for social incubation. Hong Kong locals and Chinese immigrants, living side-by-side, consisted out of single and double occupancies, making provisions for extended family to cohabit rooms, spaces

and facilities. A 200% occupancy rate meant the sharing of kitchens and bathrooms placing make shift sleeping quarter or bunk beds in the living rooms, or, doubling bedroom capacity. Corridors and hallways become domestic additions. Similar to the subdivisions of existing apartments, rooftop surface areas become an extra living space, providing additional - illegal - income to landlords, burdening an already overcrowded environment. 21 from the 30 surveyed expressed a fear against the speculative powers of landlords and possibility of evictions, raising serious concern about the 'rate-per-square-foot being higher than in Hong Kong Island's expat communities.

Across the spectrum of inquiry, the presence of shared recourses was instrumental in the transformation of the interior, in either small or mid-size intervention that adapted, reprogrammed or altered an existing planned lived space. Essentially interiors functions became a context where the commons are continuously taking shape. Bathrooms were core facilities. Coordination and sharing of kitchen was shared on a discretionary basis. In both these instances the functions of bathroom and kitchen were core conditions for living, making their transformations and sharing non-negotiable. Transformations of hallways, bedrooms, cupboard spaces, additional storage spaces, hallways, landings and any residual space as additional storage, small shrines or as temporary baggage spaces became more fluid and therefore negotiable to its extent of sharing. Users had to agree on the actual means of co-living, at what time and scale. This process was deemed to set in place a collective protocol of acceptable and unacceptable boundaries of use. Although owned by one party the objects placed in a communal space were deemed usable by others if appropriate. In some instances, the interior apartments, although legally bound to legal limits of each apartment, were further extended beyond the front door absorbing the elevators circulating space as the new shared spaces, used for shoe storage, shrines and other small objects. In such cases, an agreement between the residents allowed for the sharing of spaces between residents at various times. Only in some occurrences where the penal point system implemented, whilst in others the ways of living deliberately overruled all legal requirements.

At a smaller scale, 'coffin homes' and their spatial settings represent the ultimate commons. Commons in this sense is visible in collective sharing that goes beyond space, as a condition that affects all forms and conditions of the urban interior and its domestic models (Hong (Wrong, 2016). Appropriation of the term 'coffin' is representative of the limited means of income which affords residents tenancy of a rectangular space equivalent to the size of a coffin. Totalling between 10 - 30 'coffins' per apartment, in Jordan, Causeway Bay and Sham Shui Po the cases looked at interviewed residents to clarify how and to what degree collective sharing of spaces occur. By asking 'how' and 'in what' manner, it became clear that the lived interior has become part and parcel to (a) the commons operational in different scales of use, as well as (b) establishing how the public and private as urban phenomena is mitigated through the interior (Lam, 2014). With coffin homes stacked vertically, spatial use is optimized, sharing coffin structure in terms of the coffin walls, sides, front, top and bases between the various participants. The question of commons is more pressing in the coffin home cases, due to their compressed nature and proximity of each users to one another. In addition, it exposes and inherent conditions within compressed living conditions where the management of smaller scale aspects collectively constructs territories and shared capacities amongst a diversity of inhabitants. Drying of clothes, using a basin, sharing an electrical socket or the collection of refuse become meaningful sources of communing or the commons in a dwelling sense.

Closer observation of an exterior scenario, at the larger scale, provides another dimension of the Hong Kong's urban poor and their mechanisation of the commons. A number of destitute that are forced to live on the street, have become 'curb-side dwellers', materialising another side to contestation. Not to be seen as a mere make shift scenario, but as a deliberate act of civic action, sidewalks, street curbs, pavement areas and other accessible 'public' spaces quickly become makeshift homes for the destitute, formulating urban commons that challenges the public-private dichotomist at a highly specific spatial level. Mostly chosen for their proxy to public washrooms, each of the curb side dwellers would collectively share spaces as sleeping quarters, grouping users and needs per region and available amenities. With each dweller carrying some

bedding and one sizable suitcase, the urban amenities of the street are treated as the new domestic interior gravitating processes of rest and ablution around one centrally shared core. Tactical conditions here merges with the commoning incentives where smaller scale domestic tremors produce new urban conditions that demonstrate a two-way reciprocal process of how the commons are both interior and exterior related.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, either as a collective strategy of smaller groups or of larger movements, the 'urban commons' has a direct relation with the conditions of the 'tactical' (Brenner, op cit). Sometimes viewed as 'light' contestation, these tactical processes nevertheless create opportunities of use and appropriation, drawing from local agency to exert influence and adjust immediate environments. As a concept, 'commoning' could affect housing practices by reframing explicit social alliances between individuals. Added to this, spatial appropriation redefines viable economic avenues through discursive forms of tenancy, and possible temporary ownerships.

Through the width and breadth of possibilities, the most conclusive tendencies of the interior as commons in this research are threefold. First, the commons are constituted by way of actual dwelling transformation through time, use and layout to address collectives of users and their immediate needs. Secondly, the interior as commons become operative through forms of appropriation, mostly selective, legal or illegal, for uses other than for what each interior or function was designated for, in either two and three-dimensional spatial variants. And thirdly, interior commons, in addition to the actual transformation of the spatial context, also influences the social mutations that open greater possibilities for social sharing and appropriation. This is directly linked to housing practices outside Hong Kong, where the commons have become instrumental in social conditions of 'cohabitation' (Low, 2012) and 'coproduction' (Watson, 2003). This is exemplified in how the interior commons are able to extend entrepreneurship and dwellings as habitual ecologies. This reading confirms Simone's (2014) methods of social capital by uncovering how collectives make individual and groups become more resilient. Plot encroachment and infrastructural modification are often barely

more than informal piecemeal additions to existing dwelling structures. Yet collectively they extend the assets of resource-poor individuals and gain specific importance at the lower levels of socio-economic strata.

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FIGURES

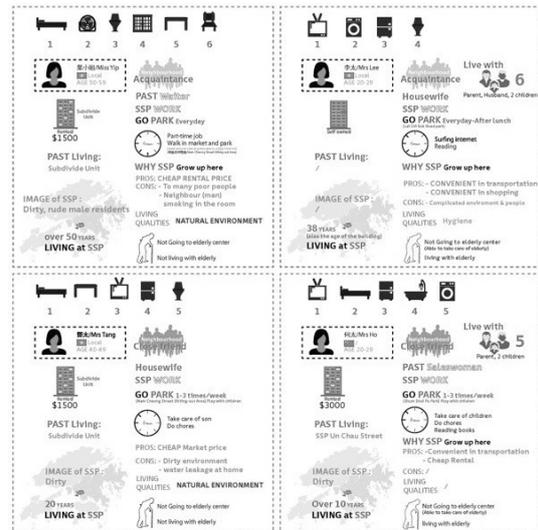
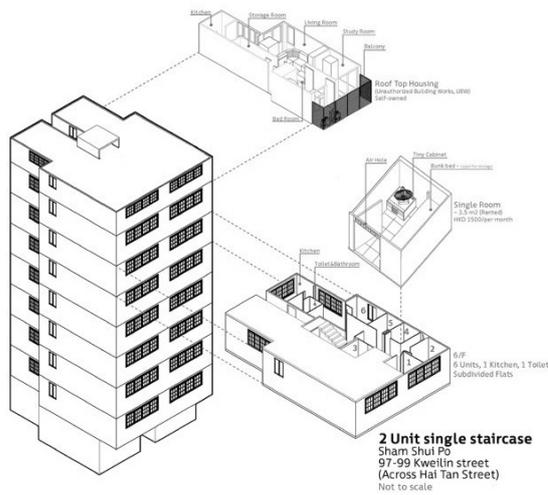


FIGURE 1 Chan Wan Fei, Graduation Project; Interior sharing strategies of based on the Commons, in Sham Shui Po. Graduation Project 'Cities in a City – Commonality and the Interior'. Supervisor: Dr.ir. G Bruyns. Environment and Interior Design Unit, School of Design, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, 2015.

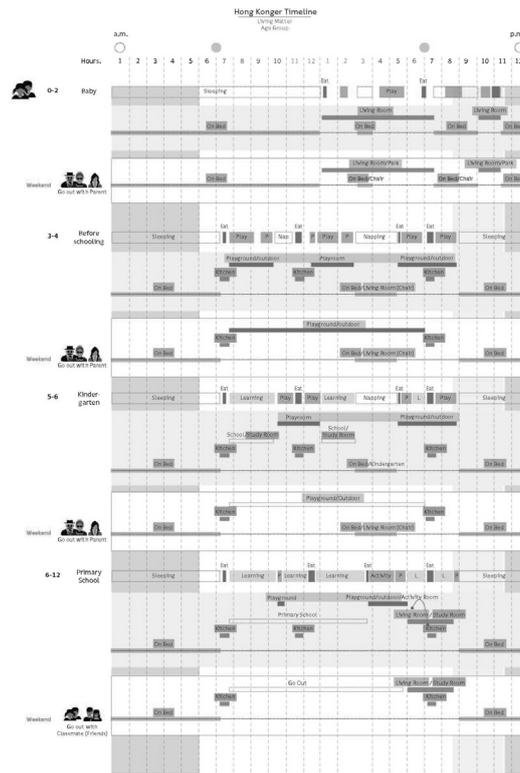


FIGURE 2 Chan Wan Fei, Graduation Project; Co-production and time management, community analysis of a part of Sham Shui Po. Graduation Project 'Cities in a City – Communality and the Interior'. (ibid)

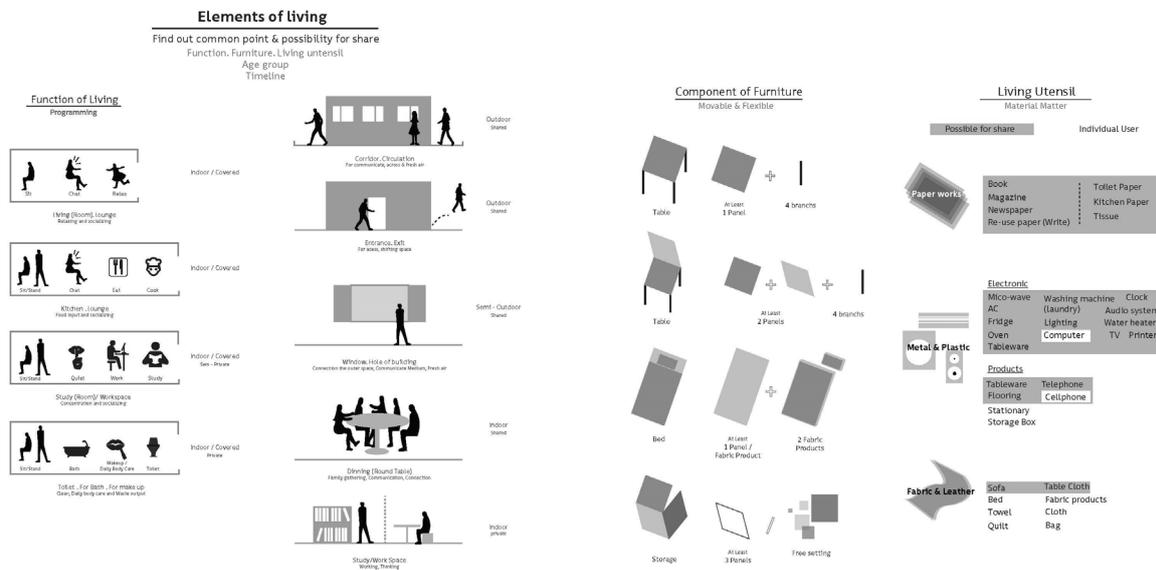


FIGURE 3 Chan Wan Fei, Graduation Project; Societal and spatial commons of the interior. Management of finite resources as documented from a number of inhabitants in Sham Shui Po. Graduation Project 'Cities in a City – Communality and the Interior'. (ibid)

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Data-Mining China: Excavating the Urban Village

Travis J. M. Bunt

Adjunct Assistant Professor,
Graduate School of Architecture,
Planning and Preservation,
Columbia University
&
Director,
One Architecture,
United States

Danil Nagy

Adjunct Assistant Professor,
Graduate School of Architecture,
Planning, and Preservation,
Columbia University
&
Principal Research Scientist,
The Living,
United States

Timmie King Hong Tsang

Data Scientist,
One Architecture,
United States

Since the beginning of economic reform and the establishment of the first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in 1980, the city of Shenzhen in China has experienced an unprecedented rate of growth. What was in the 1970's a collection of fishing villages is now, only 40 years later, one of the world's largest cities, inhabited by nearly 12 million people. One of the unique effects of this rapid urbanization has been the creation of the urban village - a unique urban typology created by the engulfing of traditional villages by the rapidly expanding city.

Given the ambiguous grey areas which the urban village inhabits, official data is sparse and difficult to access. Academically-produced ethnographic and economic documentation is primarily anecdotal, limited in sample size, and not yet organized as a comprehensive body of literature. Although now large in volume, this textual data is becoming increasingly harder to parse, leading to much research which simply replicates past work without contributing new knowledge or insight.

This paper describes a novel research approach undertaken during a summer academic workshop which questions the methods we use to research and learn about well-documented contexts such as the urban village. Instead of going into the field and regathering anecdotal data (in sites that have already seen waves of researchers), our venture focused on creating a comprehensive repository of all the data which has been previously collected about the subject, while prototyping new applications of Big Data and Machine Learning methods to perform a meta-analysis of that archive – creating opportunities for new insights about the urban village, hidden from traditional research approaches.

ABSTRACT**KEYWORDS**

*Urban Village, Shenzhen, Data-Mining,
Machine-Learning; Meta-Analysis,
Informal Economy*

INTRODUCTION: THE URBAN VILLAGE CONTEXT

Among the myriad of unintended experiments wrought by Shenzhen's incendiary urbanization, most unprecedented may be the phenomenon of its two hundred plus urban villages, virtual asterisks on land use policy in a country where more than 99% of property is ultimately owned and controlled by the government. Largely unregulated and off the books, the absorbed former farming and fishing enclaves developed at a fundamentally different scale than greater Shenzhen, and according to different sets of rules – economically, spatially, and socially.

Urban villages have played many pivotal roles in the constant ascension and reinvention of Shenzhen, from providing affordable shelter to the armies of migrant workers to its most recent incarnation as the test bed for young start-ups and entrepreneurs. These close-knit, spontaneous human and spatial networks have been the cultural and economic seeds of the ongoing experiment which is Shenzhen.

Due to its informal nature, official data about the urban village has been sparse to nonexistent. At the same time, the urban village phenomenon has inspired a wide range of ethnographic research by anthropologists, sociologists, and reporters such as Mary Ann O'Donnell¹, Thomas Campanella², and Eli McKinnon³, among others. Their studies have observed the distinct economic role of urban villages, as they have served as the indispensable backwaters in relation to the heated boom in Shenzhen. More recently, these studies have demonstrated how urban villages have become integral to Shenzhen's evolution into "China's Silicon Valley."



Figure 1 The Informal Economy in Baishizhou Urban Village: Posting Board for "Gray-Market" Room Rentals (Source: Bunt, 2013)

Over the past 15 years, the compounding papers and articles have grown into a huge body of work. Unfortunately, these individual studies are primarily anecdotal, working from limited samples and surveys, and are mostly unorganized and scattered due to a lack of coherent coordination. On the other hand, the quantity of public opinion in the form of journalism and social media has exploded with the expansion of home-brewed Chinese digital platforms. In other words, the collective volume of research and discussion about urban villages has become increasingly overwhelming for both the casual and the learned observer. To make sense of this soup of texts with dissimilar focuses, scopes, and sentiments, we need a more comprehensive, generalizable approach.

IMPETUS: SHENZHEN/HONG KONG BI-CITY BIENNALE OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

The research outlined in this paper was sparked by a commission from the curators for the Bi-city Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism (UABB), which will take place in Shenzhen in December 2017. The theme for 2017-18 focuses on the urban village typology. As part of their curatorial approach, Meng Yan and Liu Xiaodu of URBANUS envisioned the creation of a comprehensive archive of urban village related research, theory, and documentation. In support of this effort, Meng Yan issued a challenge for our team, to "close the book" on a generation of urban village research, and begin to make sense of it.

To kick start the project, we organized a summer workshop through the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation (GSAPP) at Columbia University. The session included eight students from the architecture and urban planning masters programs, and centered on a 3-week workshop in Shenzhen, bracketed by research and development work at the University in New York before and after. The goal of the workshop was to establish a research framework for building the archive, begin the process of gathering data, and to test a variety of methods for analyzing and generating insights from the data. This paper describes the results of the workshop, which will be further developed into the archive and a related installation at the Biennale.

As a final step, the urban village database developed by this project will be refined and

hosted on a cloud server. The intent is for it to be made accessible to the Chinese and international public. This will ensure the retention of the knowledge and intelligence generated by this research, and encourage local and international users to reference and leverage the data in creative ways.

RESEARCH TOOLKIT: BIG DATA, MACHINE LEARNING, AND NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING

The goal of our project was to not only build a comprehensive archive of information about the urban village, but to also use that data to generate novel insights about this urban typology. To do this we explored a set of emerging computation technologies around Big Data and Machine Learning. Big Data relates to the explosion of data made available in the last few years, mainly through internet sources. Although Big Data can be difficult to analyze with traditional statistical tools, it provides the opportunity to work with entire sets of data, rather than traditional sample-based methods which have inherent limitations and problems.

To make sense of such large sets of data, we can utilize new technologies in Machine Learning (ML) to parse the data and find global patterns and insights beyond what could be found by looking directly at the data. Because most of the data we gathered is in the form of text data, we relied mostly on a specific subset of ML called Natural Language Processing (NLP), which deals with training computers to process and understand unstructured human language. By gathering a large amount of textual data about the urban village and processing it through state-of-the-art NLP algorithms, we hoped to not only create a comprehensive repository of data about the subject, but also to use that data to generate entirely new insights about it.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The first step in data collection was to break the potential data sources into three groups (Figure 2):

- Academic research, consisting of Chinese and international academic journals, white papers, interview transcripts, etc. that target and international audience.

- Professional journalism, consisting of Chinese newspaper articles, magazines, and other mainstream textual contents that have a national and/or regional readership.
- Social media, consisting of local Weibo, Twitter, and other social media posts that are geo-tagged and reflective of local sentiments.

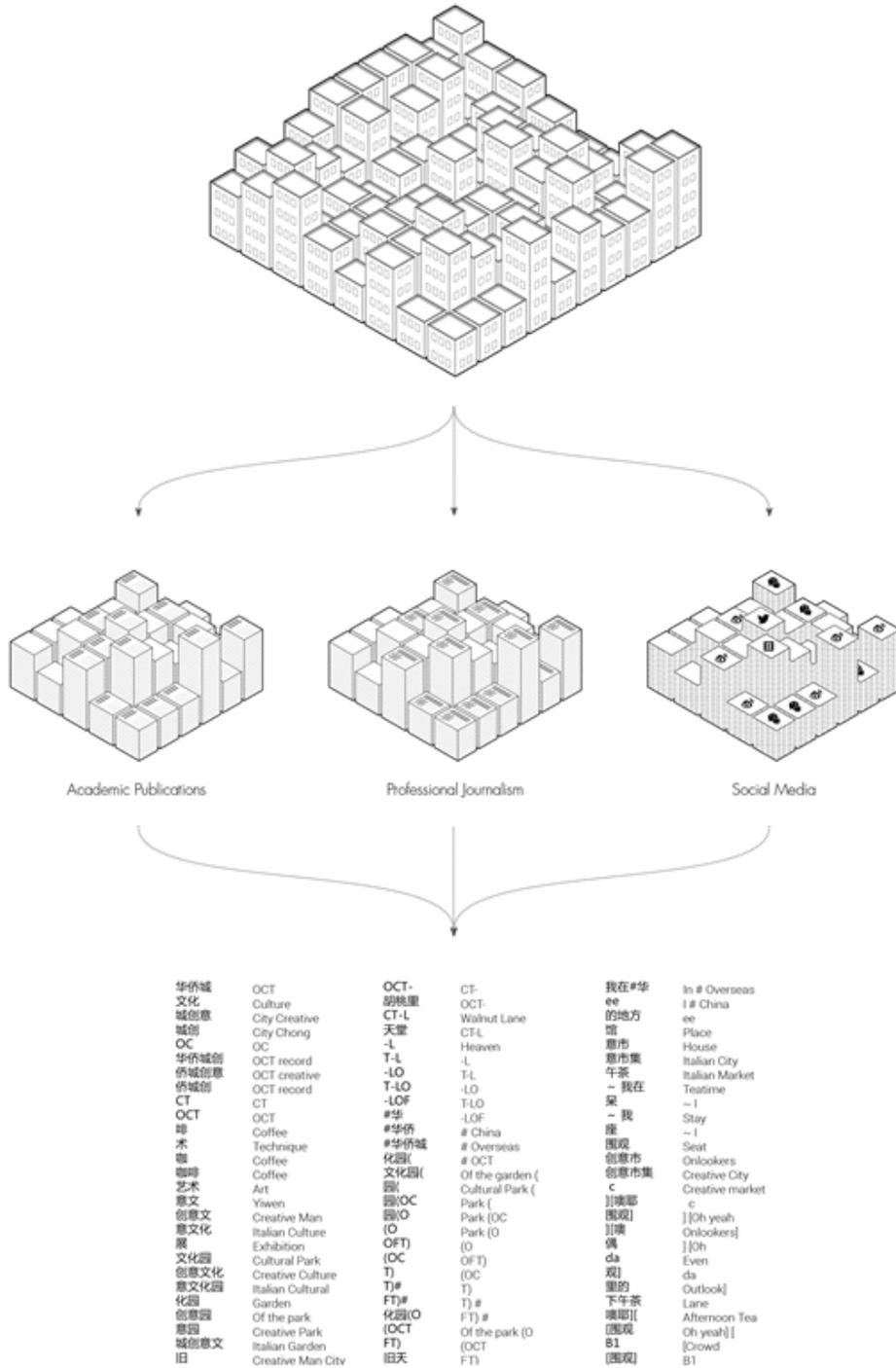
These categories were chosen to be as comprehensive as possible. Because our goal was to create the most extensive archive possible, the focus was on quantity of data gathered over quality. Even though the three types of sources are very different in style, audience, and quality, our hope was that by organizing all of it in a single database we could let the Machine Learning algorithms sort through it automatically to generate insight.

At the beginning of the workshop, the Columbia students were split into three research groups corresponding to the three types of data sources. During the three weeks in Shenzhen, the students were also assisted by local student researchers organized by Shenzhen Design Center's Future+ / Aformal Academy.

To guide the workshop, we established a research framework in the form of a 'data stack' defined by four elements:

1. Raw data - gathering data from various online sources using a variety of scripting and web scraping tools
2. Representation - formatting gathered data into a common format and storing it in a digital database
3. Analysis - statistics, exploratory data analysis, understanding the data
4. Learning - understanding the system which created the data and generating new insight

The idea of the data stack is to organize the research into stages, with each subsequent stage depending on the work of the previous stage. Following this framework, the first priority of the workshop was to develop data gathering methodologies and to begin to gather the raw data across the three categories (Raw Data). Once a sufficient sample of data was gathered, we could begin to structure the data in a common format which can be stored in a digital database (Representation). Once the data could be queried, we could apply statistical methods to explore the



Mining urban village data from three sources to construct a comprehensive and accessible database

Figure 2 Research Framework (Source: Bunt/Nagy/Tsang, 2017)



Figure 5 Structuring the metadata of an Academic Article (Source: Student Work, Romeo, 2017)

Noted and Citylab). To search Chinese sources, we used the keyword “城中村” (Chengzhongcun). For English blogs, we used the keyword phrase “urban village”.

Raw Data Collection

Once the data sources were identified, students gathered the data using custom automated data-gathering workflows written using the Python programming language. Although all data sources were found online, each website or platform required a different data gathering strategy, involving both web scraping of unstructured web pages and querying of structured Application Programming Interfaces (APIs) (Figure 4).

Data-Structuring (Representation)

Once a sufficient amount of raw data was gathered, the next step was to structure it in a coherent format so that it could be stored in a digital database. Because each source of data contained different metadata, we chose a flexible schema-free NoSQL data structure. In this structure, each piece of data (for example, an article, research paper, or tweet) is stored as an object with a series of key/value pairs (Figure 5). The keys represent the field names of the data, while the values store the data itself. Using this structure, we can store a large variety of different data types in a single database, and add new unique keys as necessary during data collection. This is beneficial because it allows us to process different sources separately by using a ‘type’ key

to store the data type, as well as all together using keys that are shared by all data types (for example a ‘timestamp’ for time series analysis or ‘raw data’ for processing of full text data).

ANALYSIS

Generating a Corpus

Once the initial set of raw data was structured and stored in a database, we could begin to experiment with methods of analysis and Natural Language Processing (NLP). In NLP, a body of text subjected to analysis is referred to as a corpus. Thus, the first step was to generate a corpus of data by iterating through all of the data entries in the database and combining all the values under the ‘raw text’ key. This gave us a huge text object consisting of all the raw text combined together. Although this kind of data would be difficult to analyze using traditional means, it is well suited to NLP applications. In the initial test of these methods we wanted to be able to compare across different data types and languages, thus we created six separate corpuses, one for each type of data in both English and Chinese.

Tokenization

Most NLP techniques rely on analyzing individual words contained in text and their relationships to other words near them. To work with these tools, you first must break up the corpus into individual words, or ‘tokens’ as they are called in NLP. Breaking text into tokens is trivial with English as words are almost always clearly separated by

spaces. This is substantially harder in Chinese since individual words may consist of one, two, or three characters, and are typically written without spaces. Luckily, there are existing software tools such as Natural Language Toolkit⁴ (NLTK) and Jieba⁵ which can perform the tokenization in both languages.

Unique Word Count

Once we had a corpus of tokens, we could begin analyzing it using NLP techniques. These tools are available in the NLTK, which is a library for the Python programming language. By using this library, we could incorporate NLP analysis directly in our existing Python workflows.

The first analysis was to look at the most important words in the text. This can be found by counting all the tokens and seeing which ones occur most frequently in the text. Inevitably, however, the most frequent words will be common words such as ‘the’ and ‘a’ which are common in all text, not just our corpus. Thus, we also need to identify these common words which are not specific to our data set. To do this, we

compared the most common words in our corpus as well as an example corpus of both English and Chinese text. Then we excluded the words that were common in each. This resulted in a set of words which were both important and unique to our corpus, telling us a bit about the focus of each body of text (Figure 6).

Concordance

Concordance is an NLP technique which finds occurrences of a particular token and presents a set of tokens which come immediately before and after it. This allows you to analyze the context of words which are important to a corpus and see if this context changes throughout the text. To test this tool, we ran the concordance analysis on the keywords “城中村” for the Chinese corpuses and “urban” for the English, which illustrated how the specificity the Chinese term may return more relevant usages than the more generic English translation (Figure 7).

Entity Recognition

Named entity identification (NER) refers to the

the	12,854	urban	1,726	urban	822
and	7,909	land	771	Shenzhen	623
to	7,685	city	580	Unit	551
of	7,422	chinese	567	people	549
in	6,071	rural	554	city	461
a	5,924	social	514	Chinese	399
is	2,772	china	491	Ave.	390
for	2,469	development	434	Hong	378
with	1,776	local	421	village	368
that	1,677	economic	331	St.	314
on	1,590	village	304	housing	301
are	1,580	state	303	yuan	297
by	1,465	government	227	villages	284
as	1,385	migrant	210	original	281
from at	1,296	wuhan	202	over	276
was	1,279	central	201	local	269
an	1,263	form	188	LLC	252
be	1,148	spatial	161	buildings	248
has	1,124	chengzhongcun	159	government	243

ANALYSIS - UNIQUE WORD COUNT

的	285,903	城中村	82,416	城中村	8,739
和	47,157	改造	51,252	改造	3,198
在	41,932	城市	32,065	高温	2,155
是	35,789	村民	24,811	农民工	1,414
了	27,998	政府	20,247	城市	1,282
中	24,906	土地	18,507	西安	1,262
与	23,472	发展	17,984	房租	1,130
对	20,982	问题	17,235	空调	1,114
为	17,239	研究	16,905	工作	999
等	14,865	社会	13,392	北京	983
也	13,684	社区	12,445	广州	938
进行	12,641	建设	12,400	猝死	830
有	10,484	经济	12,128	生活	819
上	10,275	居民	11,362	项目	799
不	10,128	利益	11,211	不起	794
以	8,306	管理	10,229	深圳	744
而	8,014	模式	9,710	收入	744
年	7,904	过程	9,601	杭州	726
并	7,761	村	9,513	街道	715

Figure 6 Unique Word Counts from Academic Articles (Source: Student Work, McCormick, 2017)

identification of text with a specific meaning of the entity, including person names, locations, organization names, proper nouns and so on. NER is a basic tool for information extraction, question answering system, syntactic analysis, machine translation and other applications, as an important step in the extraction of structured information.

Keyword Weighting

Keyword extraction can perform keyword analysis of the text, given the corresponding weight of each word. Through uploading the text to the analysis servers on Boson Chinese Semantic Open Platform, which provides powerful and reliable Chinese natural language processing cloud service, the engine will automatically return the weight of each word.

Emotional (Sentiment) Analysis

Sentiment analysis refers to the use of natural language processing, text analysis, computational linguistics, and biometrics to systematically identify, extract, quantify, and study affective states and subjective information. It allows for dividing the emotions of the text into negative and positive categories, based on microblogging corpus annotation and machine learning, to obtain the highest accuracy of emotional judgment (Figure 8).

Graph Analysis

In addition to NLP analysis based on corpuses made of tokens, we also pursued graph-based techniques for analyzing the structure of networks formed by the data. This was particularly useful for the academic papers, as their citation structure formed a directed graph which could be analyzed to reveal patterns in the relationships between the papers. In the future, graph analysis can be applied to study network topologies in other data types, such as the friend networks in social media data.

Figure 9 shows a preliminary visualization of the reference graph of the academic papers that were gathered. These graphs connect academic articles written on the urban village phenomenon using each text's references. The reference networks have great potential as an analytical tool for gaining insight into urban village scholarship and understanding the interconnectivity of knowledge within academia more broadly. We also plan to use the networks as a means of identifying new academic articles to include within the urban village database

LEARNING

To get beyond direct NLP analysis of the text, we also wanted to experiment with generative applications of Machine Learning (ML) which can synthesize the corpus into a model which can then generate new passages of text based on a provided keyword. Although there are many

[下来到武汉市城市建设重点项目办公室了解武汉市地城中村改造的有关情况武汉市城市建设重点项目办公室副主
汉发改委投资处处长樊志宏详细为社会实践队介绍了城中村的历史与现状政策与瓶颈阐述了武汉市城中村改造的
以这样这个事情我们是03年年底市委市政府决定启动城中村的改造先研究政策从市里大概十几个部门抽调了人员
个是通过公安局民政街道办事处再就是每个区都有的城中村改造办公室再加上村委会起组织批人联合了房地局对
村民来说虽然他们的土地被收回来了但是我们会通过城中村改造提供新的工作岗位新的就业机会新的养老包括他
鹿、拱宸桥等街道早已改造完毕。今年，拱墅区列出城中村改造计划，未来几年，上塘、半山、祥符和
看看结局你还敢试吗[鄙视]今年杭州市全面推进城中村改造。不过杭州转塘有的拆迁户把此当成了发财的机
年，江干全面打响“三大战役”实施“12+2”城中村改造项目，计划完成征迁7000户，拆除房屋300万
回应：系出于安全考虑 转发理由：村委会把个城中村当市中心步行街来管，这是官瘾发作把自己当诸侯小
]返回评论列表：#西安身边事#农民工高温猝死城中村：上千散工每日觅活，多用不起空调7月20日中

ANALYSIS - CONCORDANCE

World War II, Chinatown was truly an urban village . The overwhelming majority
ary group responsible for it here in urban America . The Lion Dance performs the
I spirits . A local angle adapted to urban American life is that during the New
yne Airport , thus helping to define urban villages – clusters of offices , st
ards of service and aesthetics , our urban and suburban landscapes are becoming
site-specific , viable downtown and urban neighborhoods , and Ray Oldenburgs
be the plans hailed as utopian , urban villages , pedestrian pockets , traditional
research projects , as well as modern urban villages and new industries . The
back on form . Launching a report on urban villages yesterday , he attacked
dual immersion in the strangeness of urban life . Cities offer wider choices the

Figure 7 Aligning key words from multiple contexts (Source: Student Work, McCormick, 2017)

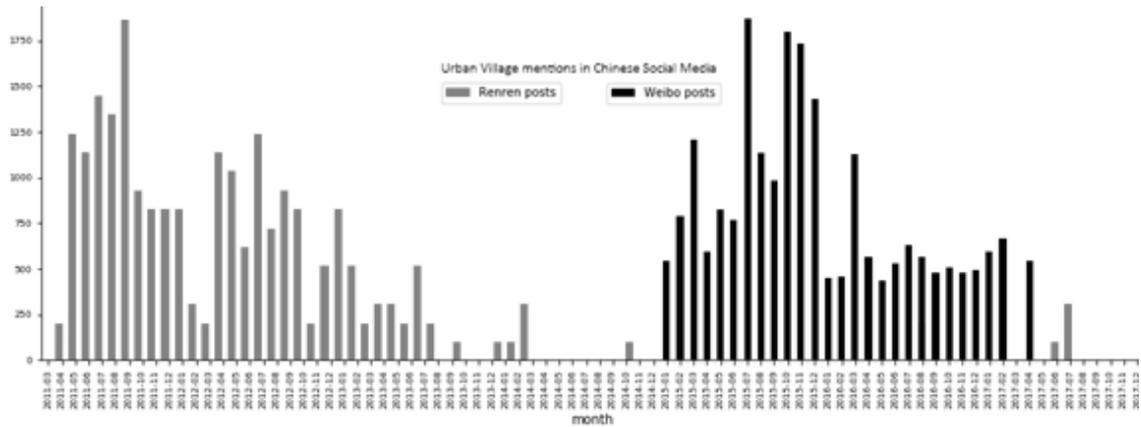


Figure 11 Urban Village mentions in Chinese Social Media portals RenRen and Weibo, volume over time (Source: Bunt/Nagy 2017)

that emerged was in determining how important any given paper was, so students in these two groups moved quickly to experimentations with relevancy ranking and content analysis, giving a substantial foundation for the next stage work to come.

The social media group, conversely, faced an ambiguously defined scope and a myriad of disaggregated sources. Each corner of the Chinese social media universe had to be treated as its own individual problem to be solved and each produced its own distinctly flavored type of information. Unlike the newspaper articles and white papers, which are inherently text, the multimedia sources here had to be intelligently harvested for their usable text. As the primary means of sorting and analyzing, the group

then explored applications of natural language processing; but in trying to draw conclusions about larger patterns, the students were stymied by the shifting usages and impermanent natures of social media portals, the macro-level movements of which drown out finer trend lines (Figure 10). As the research moves forward, such issues may be addressed by compositing multiple social media portals together and/or normalizing overall usage trends so that specific insights can be gleaned.

Initial meta-analysis of the collected article database is promising and hints at new avenues of research. A simple chronological graphing provides preliminary support for Curator Meng's theory of a lag between Academic interest in urban villages and public attention (Figure 11).

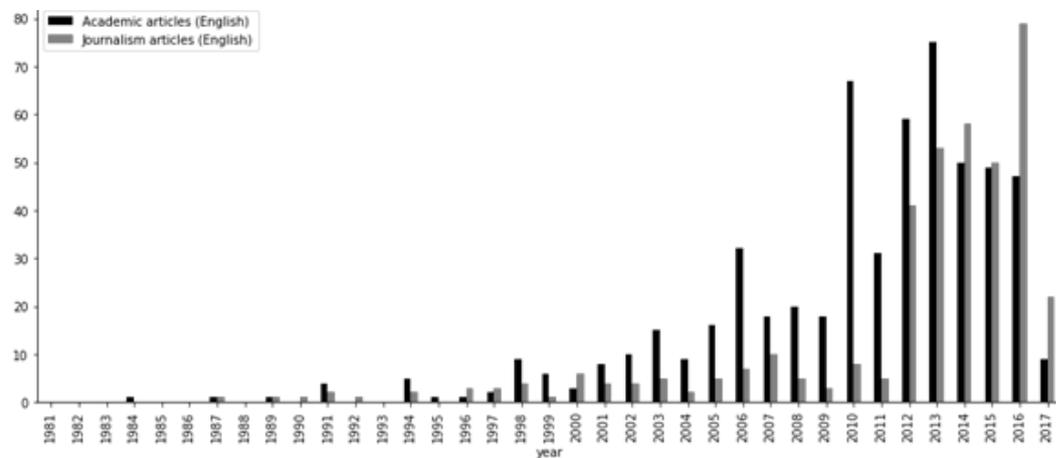


Figure 12 Publication of Urban Village related articles, volume over time (Source: Bunt/Nagy 2017)

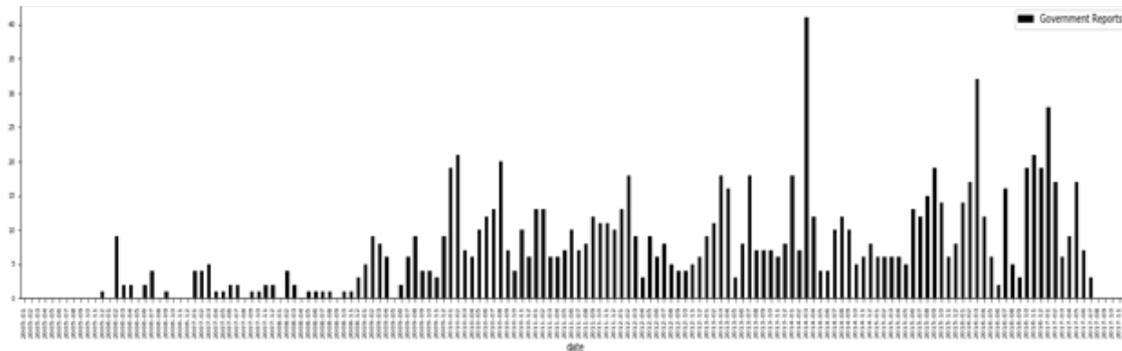


Figure 13 Publication of Urban Village related Reports, volume over time (Source: Bunt/Nagy 2017)

An unexpected finding of the data-mining exercise was the unearthing of a trove of government reports which contain references to urban villages. While this data needs further verification and refinement, the initial graphing suggests a means by which to track official interest in the phenomenon – a heretofore undocumented timeline (Figure 12).

CONCLUSIONS & NEXT STEPS

This paper describes an initial research methodology and set of analysis methods developed and tested during the summer workshop. As such, they are only the initial stages of a larger research project which will inform the upcoming exhibition at the UABB. Despite the preliminary nature of the findings, however, the workshop succeeded in generating an initial set of data and a proof of concept of many of the methods which will be further developed in our research. It thus provides a good foundation for our future research work.

As our research progresses, we will continue to develop Machine Learning processes based on pattern recognition, Natural Language Processing, and sentiment analyses to distill structured insights from the huge volume of information gathered during the workshop. Some specific areas we are interested in addressing in the next stages include: Informal/Formal Economic patterns, Sentiment patterns, Value patterns, Spatial patterns, Programmatic patterns, and Demographic patterns.

More importantly, we are interested in how these patterns and attributes interact, because the comprehensive quantification and understanding

of urban villages require a holistic view of all these patterns. For this reason, we will try to identify and test correlations and interactions when developing future Machine Learning algorithms.

As an initial next step, we are currently developing a proof of concept algorithm that produces summaries of given sets of research, journalism, or social media content. Given a large chunk of raw text data, the algorithm will write a one-line thesis statement and a one-page text description in the style of an academic abstract. The outputs will serve as a piece of research in its own right, and also be used to fine tune the algorithm itself.

This “Machine Writing” program will allow us to glean insights about urban villages as an artifact. The summary pages will inform us of the successes and failures of urban villages (and our algorithm). With this added experience, we will be better equipped to refine the Machine Learning process and value metric, so that more profound and accurate insights about bottom-up development and digital economy can be obtained.

A final version of this “Machine Writing” program will be presented at the UABB in December of 2017, demonstrating our methodology and findings at the same time.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The ongoing research is a collaboration between Columbia University’s Studio X Program, URBANUS Architecture and Design in Shenzhen, the UABB, and One Architecture & Urbanism in New York. Meng Yan and Liu Xiaodu of URBANUS, Tat Lam of Shanzhai City, and Jason

Hilgefort of Future+ have been valuable advisors to the development of the project.

The summer workshop was propelled by our Teaching Assistant Wen Zhou and a group of fantastic students from Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation: Eri Furusawa, Laura Lee, Ruoran Lin, Jesse McCormick, Eric Pietraszkiewicz, Justin Romeo, and Angel Lopez Zamora. They were supported in Shenzhen by Xiaoli Cai and Sean Jie Zhang.

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Transformation of Seoul Central Station Area to a Sustainable Urban District with a Balanced Mix of Living, Recreation, Working, Local Production and Business

Thorsten Schuetze

Department of Architecture,
College of Engineering,
Sungkyunkwan University,
South Korea

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the research and design results for the urban redevelopment plan of the central station area in Seoul, Korea. The plan has been developed within the framework of the International Studios of the Seoul Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism 2017 (SB2017) in collaboration of the Departments of Architecture (DOA) of SungKyunKwan University (SKKU), Korea, and Universite Libre de Bruxelles (ULB), Belgium. This research and design work refers to the ten commons defined in SB2017 as a framework for all participating International Design Studios. The ten commons consist of four resources (air, water, energy, and earth) and six commonalities (connecting, making, moving, recycling, sensing, and sharing) as the foundation of new urban cosmopolitans. This research and design project links the ten commons to the sustainable urban redevelopment of Seoul central station area. The method of this research is based on the site analysis according to underlying historical and natural structures and layers (including natural topography and urban infrastructures for mobility, supply and discharge), and urban sustainability criteria. Based on the careful analysis of the existing urban environment, including the identification of strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threads, design solutions for sustainable redevelopment were developed. As a result a sustainable and car-free urban district with a total area of approx. 34 ha has been designed. The plan consists of a balanced mix of living, recreation, working, local production and businesses with a new underground district with train, metro and bus stations that are connected to underground roads, automatic parking areas, as well ad public and commercial areas. The underground space is consistently connected with the ground floor area. Important features of the plan are the reconstruction of a historical river based on the principles of sustainable water management, a river park and 97 building plots with a total property area of 171,108m².

KEYWORDS

*Seoul Central Train Station Area,
Sustainable Urban Redevelopment,
Mixed-Use, Working and Living*

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the results of the joint SungKyunKwan University (SKKU), Department of Architecture (DOA) and Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), Faculté d'Architecture La Cambre Horta (FA) international research and design contribution to the International Studios of the Seoul Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism 2017 (Hereafter SB2017), hosted by Seoul Design Foundation and the City of Seoul. "The inaugural Seoul Biennale of Architecture and Urbanism, proposes a set of basic commons—an evolving network of agencies, resources and technologies—as the critical issue in the move towards a sustainable and just urbanism. It is an exploration not of distant utopias, but of the very near future. The emerging commons is changing the way we connect, make, move, recycle, sense, and share, and the way we manage air, water, energy and the earth. Whether met with fear or hope, they will very soon change the way we live in the city. The Seoul Biennale proposes ten imminent commons, identifies their opportunities and challenges, and provides a forum of debate for politicians, policy makers, experts, and citizens at large." (Pai & Zaera-Polo, 2017)

The SKKU ULB design studios' thematic umbrella was framed based on the elements of SB2017 Imminent Commons. This work refers to the ten commons consisting of 4 resources (air, water, energy, and earth) and 6 commonalities (connecting, making, moving, recycling, sensing, and sharing) - as the foundation of new urban cosmopolitans - and links them to the sustainable urban regeneration of Seoul. He proposed the analysis of current locations for the design studios according to underlying historical and natural structures and layers (including natural topography and urban infrastructures for mobility, supply and discharge), and urban sustainability criteria. Based on the careful analysis of the existing urban environment, including the identification of strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threads, design solutions for sustainable redevelopment could be developed. These solutions should question current Korean planning instruments, such as specific Floor Area Ratios (FAR), the zoning of residential and non-residential area, and the integration of urban infrastructures for mobility, recreation, livability, and the management of resources.

The problems that have been identified and addressed are among other things:

- The layout of Seoul Station area with its buildings and existing mobility infrastructures act as a barrier for the connection with and between the surrounding neighborhoods and districts.
- Buildings and infrastructures are inefficient, have limited capacity, are not designed pedestrian-friendly and barrier-free, and are not adaptable to future needs for increased train and metro capacities.
- Motorized traffic act as a barrier for pedestrians, contributes to noise emissions and air pollution, and results in unhealthy environments with limited livability.
- Urban design with very limited green and absence of water areas contributes to flooding, urban heat island effects and limited livability.
- Large-scale commercial programs (department store and supermarket) and public transport hubs are spatially disconnected from the surrounding neighborhoods and don't contribute to the livability and sustainable development of the surrounding districts with their small-scale mixed residential and non-residential programs.

Based on the analysis, discussion, and evaluation of the primary research and design results, detailed planning and design guidelines for sustainable urban development of Seoul station area have been developed. Accordingly, the contribution by SKKU and ULB supported the Seoul city government's aims to establish ecological sustainability, community-based design, and economic equality, as defined in the SB2017 Imminent Commons (Pai & Zaera-Polo, 2017), and approaching already the 3 sustainability categories socio-cultural quality, economic quality, and environmental quality. This research and design works aims to provide an alternative approach to the current mega-projects' sustainability fallacy, related to top-down, technocratic densification, and greening practices. It is an approach to explore the untapped potential of Asian traditional and irregular small-scale urban patterns, and their related socio-cultural value and addresses long-term urban sustainability. This work refers also to the findings that „urban renaissance enabling sustainability principles requires integrated, small scale, incre-

mental, and adaptive (stepwise) urban planning and design processes that go well beyond general strategies following the so-called “green growth” paradigm” (Schuetze & Chelleri, 2015). Based on the question “how to” build more sustainable cities, which has been an exercise for planners and architects in the last decades (Roseland, 1997), this research addresses the question of how urban metabolisms decoupling (Swilling, Robinson, Marvin, & Hodson, 2013) could be realized in a sustainable way. Furthermore, this work addresses the challenges (Schuetze & Chelleri, 2015), that urban redevelopment has usually been associated with: (i) important social gentrification processes (Ha, 2004); (ii) displacement of clusters of smaller enterprises (Song, 2003); and (iii) the perception that tradition and cultural heritage has often been perceived as a factor inhibiting modern development (Kim, 2011). The integrated design approaches in this project address the need for integrated assessment and measurements of urban sustainability that goes beyond self-promotion, and emphasizing greening or single sustainability facets (Schuetze, Chelleri, & Je, 2016).

In the following sections the results of the site analysis and the research and design work are discussed.

RESULTS

The basic research and site analysis of Seoul station area included the historical development of Seoul station area by map analysis from the 18th century to the present. An important finding was the original connection of the Seoul city center with the Mancho stream (Korean: Mancho cheon), which was located in the West, and outside of the city walls. Goods were transported to Seoul from the western sea via the Han river and Mancho stream to a harbor that was located outside the Namdaemun city gate. Here, in the area of today’s Seoul central train station, also a fish market was located and goods were transported through Namdaemun gate to Namdaemun market, which was located inside of the city walls. Over the centuries, Mancho stream was modified and canalized, until it was completely covered and disappeared in the 20th century. Until 1968 only a small part of the Mancho stream north of Seoul station was open (Figure 1). In the same year the Southern extension of Seoul central railway station was completed together with main road infrastructure

constructions, such as Ahyeon overpass. Seosomun overpass was already opened in 1966 (Schuetze, et al., 2017)

Today, the Mancho stream is completely integrated in an underground mixed sewer system for the combined drainage of wastewater and stormwater. The streambed has been covered with road and rail infrastructures. However, the main topography in the area still indicates that Seoul central train station is located in the valley that has been formed by the flow of Mancho stream (Figure 2). The site analysis also unveils that Seoul central train station as well as the train and road infrastructures work as a strong barrier that blocks the direct physical connection between the surrounding districts, particularly for slow means of transport such as walking and cycling. The surrounding districts feature a wide variety of mixed uses, with districts in the South and West focusing on residential and in the North and East focusing on commercial programs (Figure 2).

In order to determine appropriate programs, mobility concepts, urban typology and density and an appropriate urban density for the redevelopment of Seoul station area, the surrounding districts have been analyzed accordingly. Depending on specific shape and size of building footprint areas, the width of the open space between the buildings (Figure 1), and the number of floors, different urban typologies could be identified. Areas with similar urban typologies have been assigned to a specific urban sector. A total number of 7 sectors, divided into 14 sub sectors have been determined (Figure 3). For the development of a sustainable urban district with a balanced mix of living, recreation, working, local production and businesses it was of particular importance to analyze, evaluate and understand the properties and qualities of the existing mixed use districts with a well integrated mix of living and working. The site analysis of plinth areas included hand drawings and interviews. As a result the importance of the plinth as the intermediary zone to encounter on the ground floor level was identified. In addition to the analysis work, proposals for the improvement of the existing plinths were made. The lessons learnt within the framework of this workshop were the starting basis for the design of urban redevelopment plans and mixed-use buildings for Seoul central train station area.

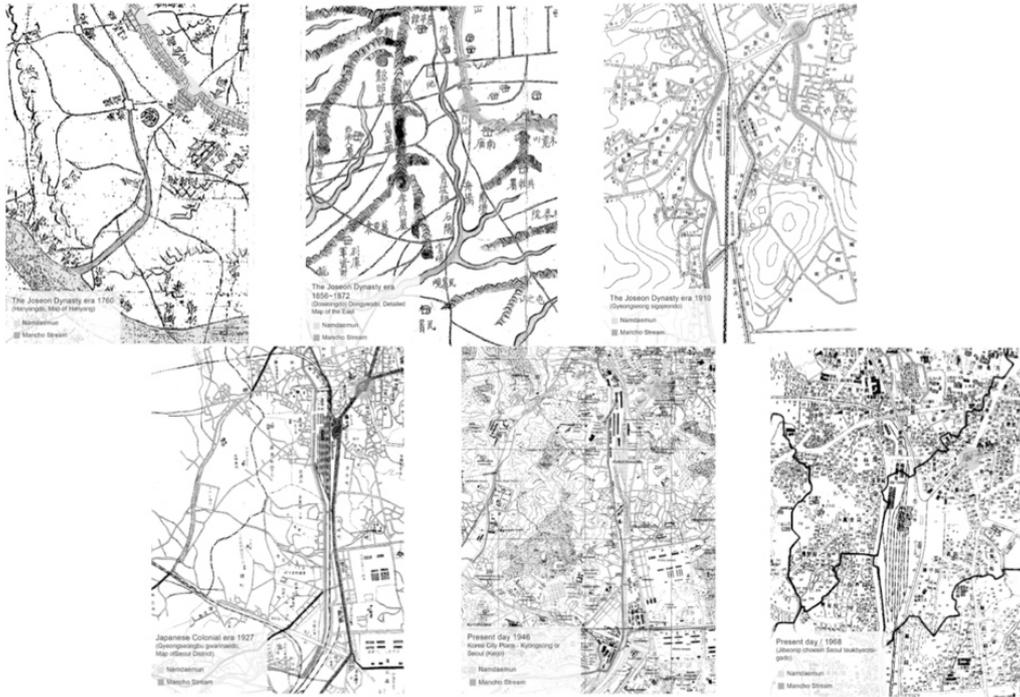


FIGURE 1 Historical map analysis around present Seoul central train station area with location indication of the Mancho stream (blue) the Namdaemun city gate and the city wall (yellow) from 1760 to 1968

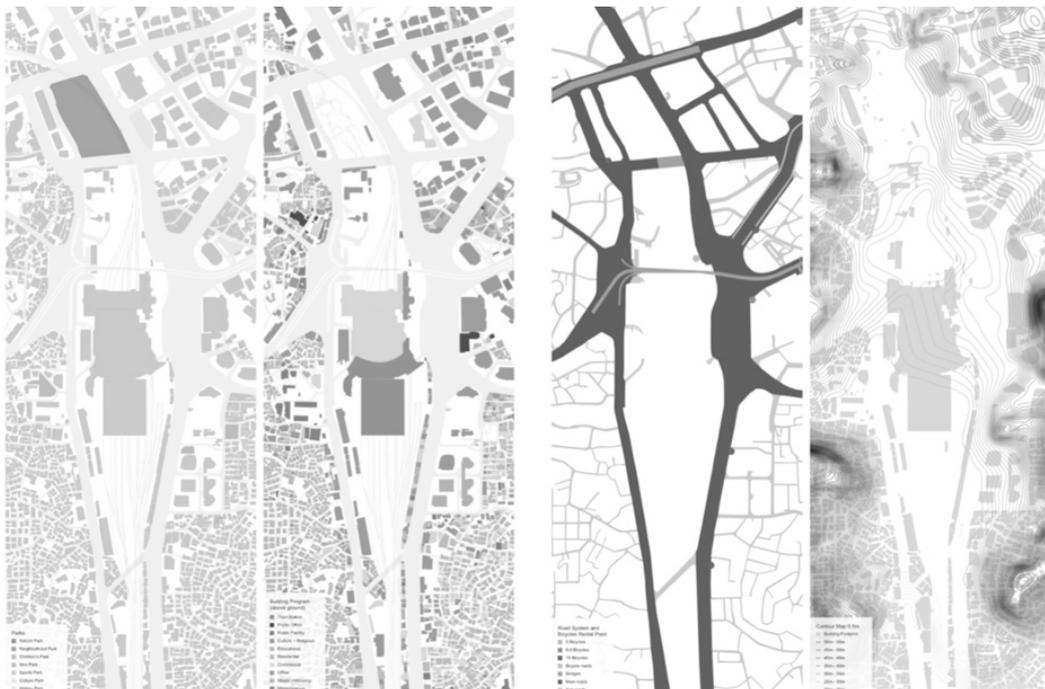


FIGURE 2 Site maps of Seoul central train station area with indication of parks (far left), building programs above ground (second left), road systems and bicycle rental points (second right), and topography with contour lines and building footprint areas (far right)



FIGURE 3 Site maps of Seoul central train station area with building footprints and indication of stories underground (far left) and aboveground (second left). Around Seoul central train station 7 sectors and 14 subsectors with different urban typologies (top right) and number of stories (bottom right) are identified

Urban master plan development

76 SKKU and ULB students competed in five groups in the design of five alternative master plans for the sustainable urban redevelopment of Seoul central station area (Figure 4 (Schuetze, et al., 2017)). SKKU and ULB students worked in equally mixed groups during the period 23- 30 March 2017. The main results of the plans, which are discussed subsequently, have been the basic conditions for the specification of the design guidelines for the final master plan development.

Time - Hub at eye level creates a connection between the past and future developments. The urban typology and building heights of the new car-free district are adjusted to the human eye level of pedestrians. Building heights are lowering next to areas of lower building density and main pedestrian areas. Building heights are increasing with increasing distance to pedestrian areas. The grid is developed based on the past and present intersection nodes and directions of the roads within the areas surrounding Seoul station. Open



and green areas in the plan are located on the traces of the Mancho stream course that has been covered during the 19th century. All road and rail infrastructures for motorized public and private transport are relocated underground. The ground floor areas are designed open for connecting the surrounding neighborhoods and creating an eye level experience for users and visitors of the site. The mixed overall program in the master plan is distributed vertically. Public programs are located on lower floors while private programs, such as housing, are located on higher floors.

Grid proposes a walkable district with a grid as main concept and design feature for the connection of all neighborhoods surrounding the site by a permeable urban fabric. The creation of a barrier free environment allows pedestrians to explore the area on the ground floor level. Therefore all the existing motorized transportation infrastructure systems on the site is relocated underground. The ground level is left free for pedestrians. The grid system with buildings and green areas that are available for the public creates a permeable green and walkable urban district. The grid allows free access to main roads and surrounding districts, and the connection of decentralized infrastructures

for sustainable management of water, energy, and waste. The new district consists of diverse building types that create an urban environment with various characteristics. The design guideline defines four different building types.

Natural City restores the nature that characterized this area outside of the historical city wall before its urban development. The plan proposes the creation of a human-centered car-free urban environment, a green and sustainable valley, where the focus is on the people and on a sustainable way of living. Therefore all existing transportation systems are relocated underground. The original Mancho stream course is resorated. The water body was a main geographic element before it was covered in the 19th century. The location of a grid for new mobility infrastructures and buildings is arranged next to the restoration of the Mancho stream route, a Blue and Green Park. Sustainable urban development strategies, such as productive infrastructures, integrated water management and farming are also included within the master plan.

Green creates a nature oriented and walkable city within the site that will serve as a green bridge between the various surrounding urbanized zones of Seoul. The new development contains all programs required for living, working and recreation, and serves as a green lung. A grid of roads is developed based on the major access routes and proximity to attraction points. The grid

is adjusted to creating communal organic spaces that will allow interaction between residents and users within the area. Buildings refer to the surrounding mountains by forming an artificial hilly landscape. Slopes connect the ground level with a park on roof level. Existing roads for cars are to a big extent replaced with improved means for public transport, pedestrian areas and bicycle paths. These measures are supposed to reduce the existing pollution and strengthen the idea of the green lung in the area.

Future City aims for a self-sufficient city that will produce and supply all the resources required to fulfill the basic residents' needs onsite. A high degree of independency, sustainability and resilience against external impacts support also the sustainability and resilience of closely interconnected surrounding neighborhoods. Included are mixed programs that are required for a balanced mix of living and working, such as housing, markets, offices, schools, universities, smart factories, production and shared community and office space. Housing is located in low-rise buildings. The roofs are equipped with urban farms and connected with elevated parks, pedestrian and cycling infrastructures. Non-residential programs are located in high-rise buildings. All motorized traffic is moved underground in order to keep the ground level free for pedestrians and bicycle riders. Existing roads are transformed into green parks for clean and slow transport such as walking and cycling.

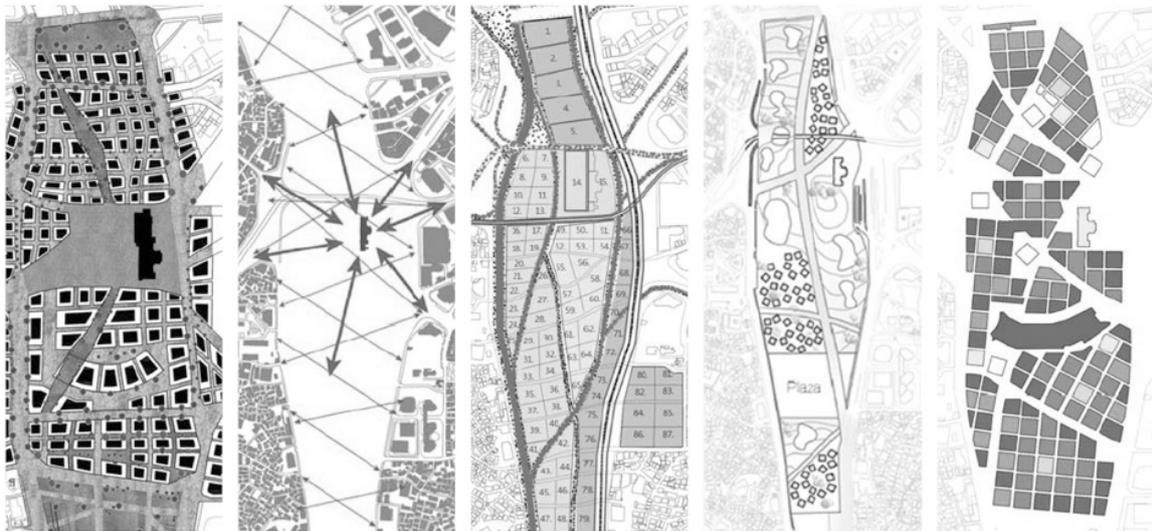


FIGURE 4 Five master plans developed by SKKU & ULB from left to right (1) Time-Hub at Eye Level, (2) Grid, (3) Natural City, (4) Green, (5) Future City.

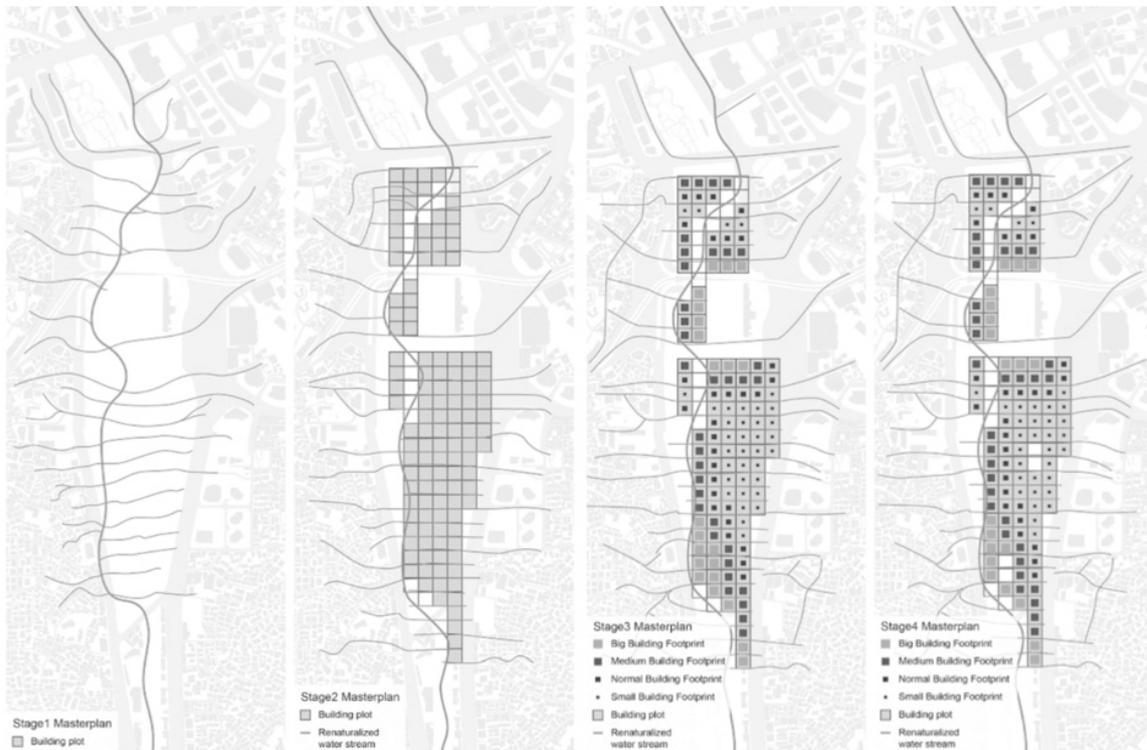


FIGURE 5 Development stages of the final master plan from left to right: (1) Mapping of original water streams, (2) implementation of property grid and integration of water streams with road infrastructures, (3) designation of 4 different building types to individual properties, (4) integration of two additional open plazas in the property grid

Final master plan

A key element of this master plan is the reconstruction of the Mancho stream and the extensive nature-oriented greening of its water catchment area. The function of the stream is the improvement of urban sustainability and resilience by reconstruction of the natural urban water cycle. Decentralized retention, evapotranspiration, and infiltration of rainfall contribute to flood control, and improve the local microclimate, livability, and ecological functions within Seoul. Groundwater will be naturally recharged and be used as a local renewable fresh water source.

The reconstructed Mancho Stream is the main water sensible urban redevelopment element of the districts around Seoul station area. The design concept is based on the decoupling of stormwater drainage from existing mixed sewer systems in the whole water catchment area of the stream. The decoupled stormwater is retained, infiltrated, evaporated and drained in open greened ditches

that are integrated in pocket park networks and remodeled water permeable roads. Surplus stormwater runoff is retained underground and infiltrated for groundwater recharge. Overcapacity is drained into Mancho stream (Figure 5).

Seoul station area becomes a car, sound and exhaust gas emission free district. In order to facilitate the convenient access of the new district in Seoul central train station area and the existing neighborhoods, local and transit traffic is separated before approaching Seoul station area. Transit car, bus and truck traffic is directed underground well before it approaches the station area. This traffic from the two main roads passes the new district from East to West and from North to South in tunnels on B3 level (Figure 6, middle & right). Local car, truck and bus traffic is located aboveground in the areas of existing roads, and is calmed by integration of green and sustainable stormwater management measures (Figure 6, left). Particularly at crossings the traffic areas are organized as shared space with means of slow individual transport such as cycling and walking.

The development aboveground is based on a grid of private properties that are connected and surrounded by public pedestrian and cycling

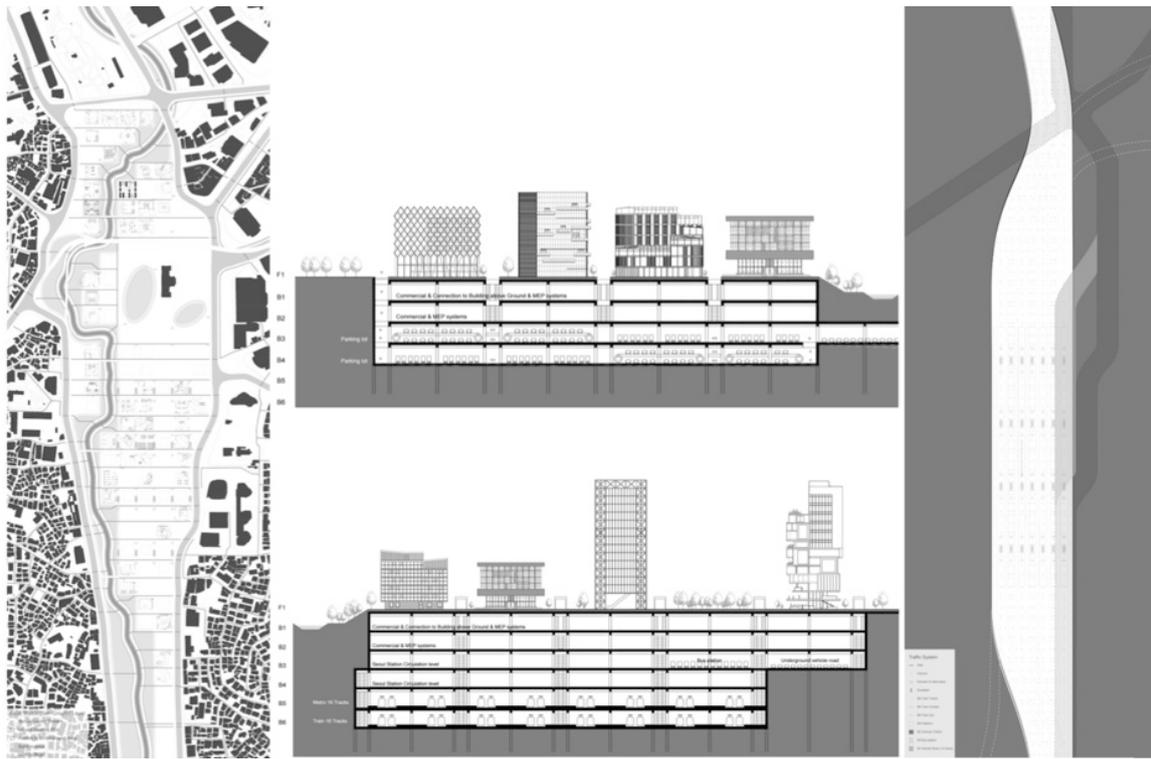


FIGURE 6 Left: Final masterplan on ground floor level with illustration of new and existing building footprints (black), road infrastructures (grey), water streams (blue), park areas (green), and vertical connections to the underground district (red). Middle (top): Section through the northern part of the master plan with view to the south and underground public areas on B1&2 levels and parking on B3&4 levels. Middle (bottom): Section through the southern part of the master plan with view to the north and underground public areas on B1-4 levels, Bus station and underground road on B3 level, station and transfer area on B4 level, train and subway tracks on B5&6 levels. Right: Underground plan of train, subway, and road infrastructures on B3-6 levels

areas. For emergency purpose, the area is accessible with vehicles. The ground floor area is continuously connected via ramps, stairways, escalators and elevators with the Mancho stream. In order to facilitate direct connectivity for pedestrian and bicycle riders of this new urban development with the existing districts in the west, bridges in distances of approx. 100 m cross the Mancho stream valley (Figure 6, left), which has a depth of approx. 5m under ground floor level.

In order to facilitate the barrier-free walkable connection of the districts surrounding Seoul central train station with blue and green networks, massive interventions are proposed. It was decided to deconstruct the existing buildings related to Seoul central train station area in the

final master plan. Only the historical station building that has been constructed in 1922 is kept.

The master plan consists of a new, extended and well-organized and directly and barrier free connected train, metro and bus station that meets the needs of the future growing demand of Seoul. The station is located within the area and in direction of the existing train tracks, stretching from North to South. The northern station border and its main entrance are located at the southern edge of a new big plaza around the historical Seoul central train station building, located approx. 50m south of it. The new station stretches from the north to south over the total length of approx. 600m and a width of approx. 200m. The new station provides convenient access to different means of public and individual transportation, for effective connectivity on local, regional, national and international scales. The station and extensive parking areas for cars, trucks and busses are located underground in order to support modal split and creation of car-free central city neighborhoods (Figure 6).

The new train station consists of 16 train tracks on B6 level, as well as six subway and 10 train tracks on B5 level. The B4 level accommodates the central train station facilities, and is the transfer

level between the different track platforms, and the bus and taxi transfer station that is located on B3 level. The B3 level accommodates also the bus station facilities and commercial areas. The bus and taxi station stretches with a width of approx. 50m from the eastern border of the train station over a length of approx. 400m. The bus station is connected with the underground road, which is also on B3 level and passes through the area in North-South direction. Pedestrians can access the bus station platform directly from aboveground, as well as via the B3, and the B4 transfer level. Both train and bus stations are also accessible via the B1 and B2 levels that are located under the properties and built-up areas aboveground.

Escalators, elevators and (emergency) stairways provide convenient and direct accessibility between all underground levels and the ground surface area. These vertical connections serve also for the provision of light and air to the underground. Vertical access points distributed all over the station area. With maximum distance of 30m (emergency) staircases can be accessed from every point underground (Figure 6). The capacity of the new train, subway and bus station is twice as high as the current station. Accordingly, the new station can be adjusted to future needs for accommodation of growing passenger numbers, as well as the transport and transfer of goods. The higher capacity is achieved by the extension of the subway, train and bus stations, and the platform and station length. Furthermore, the new station has a more effective and convenient accessibility an extended underground parking for improved modal split.

The grid of the underground construction in the whole area is adjusted to the train track and platform widths, and the grid of the property areas aboveground. The properties have a size of $36\text{m} \times 36\text{m} = 1,296\text{m}^2$ that are separated by public pedestrian areas with a width 6m. Design guidelines have been determined as basic condition for the design of sustainable buildings on the different properties. The overall aim is the design of the district with Zero Emission Buildings (Schuetze, 2015). Such buildings strengthen local (circular) economy, include food production, and have zero footprints for energy, water, and soil. The properties have been assigned to individual students by a lottery system. The buildings need to be designed on an area of $33\text{m} \times 33\text{m}$ located within the property

area of $36\text{m} \times 36\text{m}$. The ground floor level needs to be accessible for the public and one the same level (barrier free) connected to the public pedestrian area surrounding the property. To facilitate a consistently mixed-use urban district development, the building program (usable floor area) needs to meet the following requirements:

- A minimum of 25% residential (housing) functions.
- A minimum of 25% non-residential functions (such as office, commercial, production, and amenities).
- The 1st floor program needs to be non-residential & accessible to the public.
- Public connection needs to be provided to underground levels (B1&B2 with non-residential programs, technical infrastructures, MEP rooms and access to the parking station or sunken Mancho stream park areas.

Four different building guidelines have been assigned to the properties in the master plan. The design guidelines (Table 1) are based on the specification of (1.) maximum building footprint in relation to the property size, (2.) maximum building height, (3.) maximum number of floors, (4.) maximum gross floor area, and (5.), maximum floor area ratios (FAR). The aim is to structure the built-up-areas in the master in areas with higher buildings and smaller building footprints, and in areas with lower buildings and bigger building footprints (Figure 5). The building footprint percentages in relation to the property size heights are differentiated from 1 High (lowest floor number, building height and FAR) over 2 Medium, and 3 Low, to 4 Very Low (highest floor number, building height and FAR).

For all buildings to be built on the 116 building plots of the final master plan the following additional design guidelines needed to be applied. The guidelines aim for the creation of synergies and a balance of environmental, economical, and socio-cultural sustainability qualities. SKKU and ULB students designed each one a sustainable mixed-use building for one of the plots. Individual building design projects of SKKU and ULB students were integrated with the master plan of Seoul Station (Figure 7).

Urban Farming: In order to facilitate the local production and supply with food, each building

needs to include a certain urban farming area. The area is calculated in percentage related to usable floor area of a building. Generally, an urban farming area similar to $\geq 30\%$ of net floor area need to be included on building and property level. Buildings that are located next to the Mancho stream park need to provide an urban farming area that is $\geq 70\%$ of the usable floor area. Urban farming should be soil based in order to contribute to the subsequently discussed net zero soil footprints. Furthermore aquaponic systems facilitate the combined production of fish (aquaculture) and vegetables (hydroponic)

(Steglich, 2017; Urban Farmers, 2017).

Construction Materials: In order to facilitate light and sustainable building constructions, buildings need to be designed as timber constructions, and/or hybrid constructions, combining timber, and reinforced concrete and/ or steel elements. The extensive use of timber as a renewable building material facilitates the reduction of building construction-related energy consumption and related carbon dioxide emissions (M.C., 2016).

Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy

TABLE 1 Specifications of four building guidelines, for buildings with high, medium, low, and very low building footprint sizes

Building Footprint Size	Total property area (m ²)	Maximum Building Footprint (m ²)	Maximum Building Height (m)	Maximum Number of Floors	Maximum Gross Floor Area (m ²)	Maximum Floor Area Ratio (FAR)
High	1,296	778 (60%)	16	4	3,110	2.4
Medium	1,296	648 (50%)	24	6	3,888	3
Low	1,296	518 (40%)	32	8	4,147	3.2
Very Low	1,296	389 (30%)	64	16	6,221	4.8



FIGURE 7 View in west direction of the final master plan (top) and model (bottom) with individually designed buildings on single building plots with four different design guidelines

Production: In order to facilitate Net Zero Energy consumption for the operation of buildings, the buildings' energy demand needs to be minimized, and the renewable-energy production needs to be maximized. The buildings should be therefore designed as lowest energy buildings with a maximum cooling and heating energy demand of 15Kwh/m²a. Overall energy efficiency aims for meeting the standard of so-called passive houses (Passive House Institute (PHI), 2016). The design of building envelopes with building integrated photovoltaic (BIPV) facilitates the coverage of the remaining energy demand of buildings (Schuetze, 2015). Accordingly, net zero-energy buildings can be realized with these measures.

Water Efficiency and Productivity: Buildings should be designed with net zero water footprints. This aim can be achieved by minimization of water demand and maximization of water recycling and rainwater management capacity. Nutrient-rich purified wastewater can be reused for irrigation and fertilization of local horticulture, agriculture, and urban farming for food production (Lüthi, et al., 2011; Steglich, 2017). Rainwater is infiltrated and stored seasonally in local groundwater bodies. Accordingly, the district can be supplied with locally available renewable water resources (Schuetze & Santiago-Fandiño, 2013).

Soil Management and Production: Buildings should be designed with net zero soil footprints. This aim can be achieved by integration of soil based green systems on each property that have at least the size of the property & road (42x42m=1,764m²). These areas can be located on roofs, in facades, indoors, and on non-built-up property areas. The areas can be used for soil based, urban agriculture. Fertile soil can be produced and maintained by creation of synergies with the local processing of organic wastes and water recycling (Bettendorf, et al., 2015; Schuetze & Santiago-Fandiño, 2014).

Air Quality and Urban Micro Climate: Buildings should be designed with non-polluting heating and cooling systems. Such systems emit no noise, gas or are heat to the outdoors. They are based on groundwater heat pump systems that use aquifers as seasonal thermal buffer. No air born re-cooling systems are installed on the roofs of the buildings in order to avoid negative effects on the local microclimate. Adiabatic cooling systems in

combination with greened buildings contribute to the avoidance of urban heat island effects, and improvement of local microclimate by increased evapotranspiration (Schmidt, 2010).

Mobility and Emission Free Transport: Buildings contribute to emission free and pedestrian-friendly mobility in the district. Therefore, the ground floor level needs to be designed as barrier-free pedestrian and bicycle shared space with access for emergency cars only. Automatic space efficient underground parking is located in areas that are not designated to other uses, such as commercial, or stations. Aboveground roads surrounding the master plan area are designed as shared space for individual motorized transport for residents, and adjacent owners, local public transport, slow transport, and for emergency access.

CONCLUSIONS

The masters plan for the sustainable urban redevelopment of Seoul central train station area consists of a sustainable and car-free urban district with a total area of approx. 34 ha. The plan consists of a new underground district with train, metro and bus stations that are connected to underground roads, automatic parking areas, as public and commercial areas. The underground space is consistently connected with the ground floor area. Important features of the plan are the reconstruction of a historical river based on the principles of sustainable water management, a river park and 97 building plots with a total property area of 171,108m².

The structure of buildings (aboveground and underground) and open space facilitates the establishment of a new entrepreneurial city that is well connected to neighboring districts with their unique small entrepreneurial businesses. This new district aims to work as an extension of mixed existing working laboratories and residential areas embedded into the fabric of the city. Aboveground the guidelines ask for planning, design and construction processes that are realized by different small and medium enterprises in order to achieve a rich diversity, facilitate investments on different scales and to foster competitiveness. Underground load-bearing building structures are based on a solid grid that serves also as the framework for the design of underground spaces by different small and medium enterprises.

The different mixed-use and flexible individual building designs developed for the different building plots illustrate the rich diversity and scales of programs that could be realized within this new and innovative entrepreneurial city district. The decentralized and integrated approach for the management of resources, such as energy, water and waste facilitates also the involvement of small and medium enterprises in the operation of urban infrastructures for supply and discharge.

The establishment of connected sustainable water and mobility networks can be regarded as basic design elements for sustainable urban design, and linking space and programs of Seoul central station are with the surrounding neighborhoods. Sustainable integrated urban water management practices are essential to create a green and resilient Seoul. Significant reduction of transport and building operation related emissions are crucial for the provision of clean air. Buildings aboveground are designed with timber, which is a sustainable building material that refers to Korean culture and traditional practices. The walkable and barrier-free connection of different functions and programs is designed without limiting the quality and connectivity of other functions and programs. The urban design includes also the improvement of spatial quality, by connecting different programs and functions and the creation of synergies between them. The integrated

connection of urban functions and infrastructures aims for the creation of environmental, economic, and social qualities that result in true sustainable urban developments. This aim is achieved by connecting and integrating specific architectural and urban planning and design concepts for living, recreation, working, production, and commerce with urban infrastructures for different means of mobility, the management of energy, water, food, resources management, and communication. The new district connects the surrounding neighborhoods and districts on multiple layers and contributes to improvement of ecological, economic and social qualities. All buildings in the district are publicly accessible and provide a consistently balanced mix of housing and non-residential mixed-use areas for working, culture, business, recreation, and local (food) production.

Also the small-scale development of mixed-use buildings, the flexible floor plan layout, and the permeability on ground floor level of privately owned space that is made available to the public, are new approaches in Korean urban planning. The master plan and the design guidelines define detailed alternative guidelines and solutions for sustainable urban development in Korea. The comprehensive integration of single urban sustainability aspects and creation of synergies in urban redevelopment projects is a new and innovative approach in Korea.

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The Declining and the Thriving Neighborhoods: Urban Regeneration in the Chinese Context of Migration and Economic Transition

Lei Qu
Xin Huang
Qiao Yang

Faculty of Architecture and
the Built Environment,
Delft University of Technology,
Netherlands

ABSTRACT

In the past few years, one of the major changes in urban development strategies of the first-tier cities in China is the increasing focus on urban regeneration. To cope with the magnitude of migration and challenges of economic transition, these cities are forced to find new models of urban redevelopment. This has brought up a few challenging questions: How to deal with the 'old' typologies of urban neighborhoods, including not only their 'outdated' physical environment, but also new lives embedded in the dynamics of emerging social structure and productivity? How to balance interests related to big redevelopment plans of city re-branding and the thriving small businesses bound to the low cost living and working environment in the old neighborhoods?

This paper will use Guangzhou as the study case, focusing on two neighborhoods: Kecun, an area with old *danwei* housing and factories and Lijiao village, an urban village with historical heritages, both of which are accommodating migrants and various types of small businesses. These two neighborhoods are adjacent to the southern section of the new central axis of Guangzhou, which, from the planning perspective, represents the future of the city. As planned, the southern section of the new axis will be extended in the coming years, focusing on an administrative center and multi-functional community for cultural, leisure and public activities. It is bringing large-scale urban regeneration into the adjacent areas, where migrants and small businesses are finding their ways to thrive at the moment. This paper intends to unfold the current socio-economic and spatial transformation happening in the two chosen neighborhoods, especially the role of low-cost living and working environment in enhancing social resilience and economic transition in the local scale. By doing so, the paper will indicate possible ways of creating synergies between the 'big plans' and neighborhood-based development.

KEYWORDS

Economic Network, Social Resilience, Urban Regeneration, Livability

INTRODUCTION: INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION AND ITS SOCIO-SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS IN CHINESE CITIES

In the Chinese context, industrial development is seen as the backbone of economic prosperity and social stability. Thus, industrial transformation and upgrading have been considered as strategies for various levels of governments to maintain economic growth and competitiveness of cities and regions (as indicated in the 13th five-year plan of China). China has long been called the 'World Factory', with the Pearl River Delta as one of the main regions for production, based on labor-intensive industries. In recent years, new technologies and cross-industry cooperation have been changing the traditional industries and their demands on space. For instance, e-commerce has become a bridge among many sectors of industries, assisting a higher level of integration. It generated new types of demands on space (for storage, logistics, etc.), changing the morphology of certain urban/rural areas. For example, in Guangzhou, 'Taobao villages' emerged, transforming urban(rural) villages along the edge of the central city. It is a phenomenon of accumulated small businesses based on the e-commerce platform called 'Taobao', run by Alibaba, which is often addressed by western press as 'the Amazon of China' (Zhang et al., 2016). It shows that the formation of such places is related to the geographic distribution of factories, wholesale markets, logistic hubs and low-rent housing (Hu and Liu, 2016). Due to the platform of e-commerce, the economy of scale brought by proximity seems less important, while the actual interaction and mutual support/learning among actors becomes more essential.

Furthermore, thanks to the information-based society, the spatial form of the new industries is becoming lighter, smarter, greener, and more flexible. In first-tier cities in China, these new industries are popping up in existing urban tissues that have correlated spatial or socio-economic conditions. For example, a takeaway restaurant could be located in a residential block, relying on the critical mass of people working or living in the neighborhood; a fashion design studio would survive in a vacant factory, by branding itself online towards the global market. In both cases, small businesses would choose a location with affordable space and accessible to its industrial chain. Such locations include

areas redeveloped by investors (such as the T.I.T. Creative Industry Zone in Guangzhou), but more importantly, neighborhoods transformed in a self-organized manner (for example the Kecun area to be introduced later). In the latter case, small businesses collaborate with each other, contributing to industrial transformation, as well as urban vitality of the old neighborhoods.

Many of such old neighborhoods are at strategic locations, therefore facing pressure of redevelopment. From the point of view of real estate developers, these neighborhoods are rundown areas and do not meet modern life standards. As for the city government, there is also an urge to improve spatial conditions for a better image of the city. Very often in areas with big plans, this means large-scale redevelopment. However, the industries that are emerging in these places are sensitive to rental price and vulnerable to replacement. This paper is trying to unwind the socio-economic and spatial conditions within these physically 'declining' but socio-economically thriving neighborhoods that are facing (re) development pressure, and argue for an alternative redevelopment model other than replacement. The two study cases are both neighborhoods along the southern extension of the central axis of Guangzhou, representing two types of low-cost areas: *danwei* neighborhoods and urban villages.

THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING: MODERNIZATION, LIVABILITY AND SOCIAL RESILIENCE

Modernization

Chinese society has been changing radically since the 19th century, when the concept of modernization was brought to China. From a historical point of view, modernization in China is accompanied with urbanization and industrialization, which summarizes the history of China's urban transformation during the last century. The definition of modernization refers to a model of progressive transition from a 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. Ma and Wu (2005) stated, the concept of 'transitional cities' is meaningful because the processes of change never stop. Although influenced greatly by the western form of modernization, Chinese 'modernization' is not simply a one-way process and imposition from outside (Hui, 2013). Rather, many transition processes are indigenously driven (Ma and Wu, 2005). Therefore, the institutional and local

context with Chinese character is important in defining the Chinese modernization path, as well as the context for understanding urban planning in China. Contemporary cities are built upon traditional ones, and development is seen in constant urban renewal and expansion. This is manifested in the transformation from the traditional to the socialistic city, and to the contemporary city, in which industrial development has been one of the key driving forces.

Nowadays, the modernization concept has been deeply embedded in urban planning and development in China, which is often criticized in regard to the resulting homogeneity of urban landscape in contemporary Chinese cities. Grand master plans were made to depict the future as the modern metropolis, which led to models of urban renewal that sweep away old urban tissues, and replace them with 'brand new' ones. Historical buildings and old residential areas with small and informal businesses were demolished in order to build 'modern' facilities, regardless of the consequences brought to local residents, history and culture. It can be understood as the ideology behind planning: a one-way solution marching towards a 'perfect answer'.

Livability

Production and jobs are endogenous forces to the process of urban growth rather than exogenous drivers (Storper and Scott, 2009). Therefore, prosperous industries are seen as the engine of urban growth, which should remain healthy and self-updating. The thriving of industries goes hand in hand with the wellbeing of people - the human resources of these industries. Meanwhile, along with the industrial transformation, new social groups are emerging, who work in new industries and embrace new lifestyles. This poses challenges to cities in economic transition in meeting the diversified demands of different social groups. Places that are open and tolerant can attract different kinds of people and generate new ideas (Florida, 2004). This explained why big metropolises are attracting migrants including young graduates, skilled and unskilled workers to live there, besides the existing amenities. These cities have a huge accumulation of human capital from different industrial sectors that support mutual learning and information exchange. Thus, a livable city that is inclusive to all residents is

essential to its economic vitality.

Definitions of livability include an array of different issues that are underpinned by a common set of guiding principles (Timmer and Seymoar, 2006) (Figure 1). However, the definition is meaningful only if it is placed in the specific context of study. Wu (2001) has emphasized the essential idea that the study of the built environment should always start with the demand of human beings. Salzano (1997) stated the importance of the city as the narrative of the past and the future. Each period of time should be respected and preserved as part of the city. Correspondingly, Cools' idea (1997) of the city as a living organism responded to this concept, which also reflected the latest studies of complexity and sustainability. To understand and accept the complexity and dynamics of the city is an important perspective to regard scattered urban components as a unity. The current discussion of livability in China is focusing on the physical level, however, perception and satisfaction of people are less concerned, especially in regard to the 'floating' population - the migrants. Moreover, Evans (2002) conceived the goal of livability as two aspects, livelihood and ecological sustainability. Here a commensurate level of income, living expenditure, housing and services is highlighted, which helps to understand spatial conditions that contribute to the wellbeing of people. For example, due to the increasing focus on urban regeneration and the overheated real estate market in Chinese cities, people



FIGURE 1 Diagram on liveability synthesizing principles on people, economy and environment (Diagram made by Huang, Xin)

gradually lost the diversity of housing choices. New commodity housing areas are built with a rather homogeneous typology, mono-functional, modern, enclosed and pricey. The old typologies are unappreciated and gradually removed from the future visions, once they reach the end of their life span. However, the demands for diversified residential environments still exist, which is related to the changing social structure. The old housing typologies are usually not promoted by the real estate market, but in reality they meet the demands of the public due to their affordability, and contribute to a real proximity between living and working within the neighborhood level.

Social resilience

In the context of rapid urbanization, a key question to such a people-centered approach would be: how could people deal with all the rapid changes brought by industrial transformation? From a perspective of social resilience, the relationships among and capacities of social actors need to be emphasized, which in turn, could partially explain endogenous forces of economic transformation.

Social resilience refers to the capacity of individuals and institutions in response to crisis. Rapid socio-economic changes accompanying urbanization, such as the huge influx of migrants to a city or the sudden shift from rural to urban identities for the migrants themselves, could be seen as examples of such crisis. Social resilience

within a society evolves from acceptance of changes passively, to preparation for changes proactively, and eventually, into more radical transformation in life.

The capacity to absorb changes is regarded as coping with known or un-known threats and disturbances (Glavovic et al., 2003). In response to a crisis, actors can overcome immediate threats by all means of resources that are directly available. For example, the emergence of urban villages in Guangzhou is the local response to rapid urbanization. Demands of migrants on low-rent housing was absorbed by self-built houses of villagers, who were right in the process of rural-urban transition, using this as a profitable means of living. Hence, the self-organization of development in urban villages helped the city to accommodate rapidly increasing numbers of rural-urban migrants.

When massive construction inside urban villages came to an end, a new stage of adaptive capacities started: people started to adjust the built environment and their livelihoods, in order to prepare themselves for future uncertainties (Bene et al., 2012). This capacity varies among individuals according to their access to assets, their power within the decision-making process, and their perception of the built environment. Diverse shops and small businesses emerged along streets and alleys, while open markets can be found underneath the highways, showing examples of adaptive capacities of people on space, seeking for a better quality of life and chances of thriving.

Eventually, the ultimate step of social resilience shows transformative capacity: with different participative capacities, actors are engaged in different periods of decision-making processes, contributing to a radical change of their living environment (Voss, 2008). For example, in collaboration with real estate developers, the village collectives are adopting redevelopment strategies in search for greater profits and a more promising future for their villages. This, however, excluded the majority of migrants living in the urban village, who are still struggling for adaptive capacity, and rely on their social capital attached largely to urban villages.

In fact, villagers and migrants both benefited from urban villages as platform for accumulating



FIGURE 2 Diagram on social resilience in relation to urban villages (Diagram made by Yang, Qiao)

social capital and building social networks, but the achieved levels of capacity building are different. Hence, the existence of urban villages within the city contributed to social inclusiveness, functioning as arrival cities for migrants and villagers. All these social values form the understanding of urban villages in enhancing social resilience in the rapid urbanization process, which helps to understand entrepreneurship within such neighborhoods (Figure 2).

'DECLINING' PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT VS 'THRIVING' SOCIO-ECONOMIC NETWORKS

The theoretical review provides the lens for looking at the on-going phenomenon in Chinese cities - the visionary big plans, the well-being of people as related to their living and working environment, and their adaptive capacity to cope with rapid changes brought by urbanization and industrialization. All of these contribute to the discussion on how to deal with the 'old' neighborhoods that are physically declining, but socio-economically thriving, providing migrants and new starters of businesses chances to grow. In this section, two cases of such neighborhoods in Guangzhou will be introduced to further unwind the picture on two sides of one coin.

The central axis

It starts with the central axis of Guangzhou, which stands for a brand-new vision of future development, concerned with the planning perspective on economic prosperity as well as ecological sustainability. The already developed north-end of the axis has the functions of a central business district, high density commodity housing, large-scale commercial complexes, and



FIGURE 3 Visionary planning for the southern extension of the central axis, looking from north to south (Source: Guangzhou Municipal Planning Bureau)

recreational functions. While in areas along the newly planned southern extension of the central axis, there still exist industrial areas, old *danwei* neighborhoods and urban villages. The planning for the southern extension in 2011 involved the transformation of urban villages along the axis into urban functions. Two years later, another plan was made with concern for the eco-city concept, and challenged this area to manifest the features of Lingnan (Southern China) culture as part of the image of the central axis. Under the concept of "Lingnan Impression, Green Axis in the Floral City" and the positioning of an "administrative center", a multi-level green network was going to be formed. In areas with urban villages, new residential and business functions would be filled in (Figure 3). Such big plans from upper-level planning would eventually pose pressure of redevelopment for old neighborhoods nearby.

Case 1: Kecun area

The Kecun area is along the southern extension of the central axis, and contains a concentration of old *danwei* housing areas and factories built in the socialist period. As Guangzhou is one of the most important industrial bases in China, its spatial structure is largely influenced by industrial development. In the past decades, the interwoven development of industrial and housing areas has determined the pattern of urban expansion. One of the examples is the distribution of second industries and *danwei* housing areas built under the planned economy decades ago. Kecun is such an area. As indicated in the Guangzhou Industrial Distribution Plan (2011-2020), manufacturing industries will be further directed to suburban districts. The central districts will focus on developing modern service industries and upgrading manufacturing industries. Further industrial transformation and functional replacement are inevitable. Urban renewal is taking the lead in implementing this plan as both the spatial strategy and the institutional guidance. Due to its strategic location close to the central axis, Kecun area is facing pressure of redevelopment.

In the last 30 years, the transformation from planned economy to market economy has led to a changing relationship between industries, housing and human resources spatially. In the time of the planned economy, jobs and housing were assigned and provided by the *danwei* (work

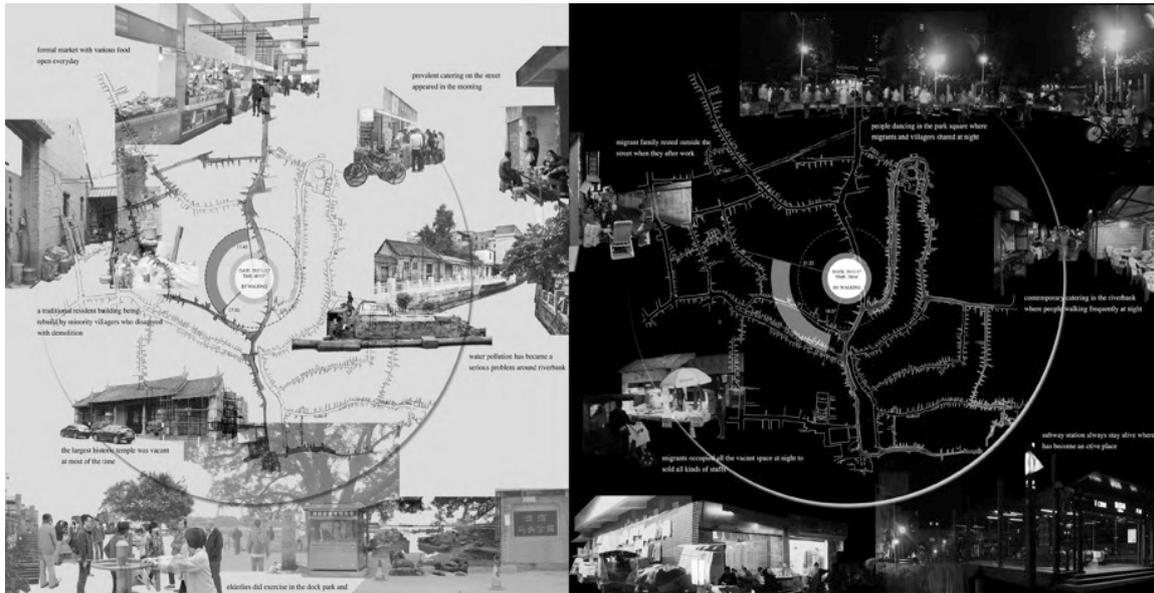


FIGURE 5 Spatial elements in Lijiao village accommodating socio-economic activities during the day and evening (Source: drawing made by Yang, Qiao)

who work for the local industries. This in turn enhances the local economy.

Case 2. Lijiao village

As indicated in the case of the Kecun area, private factories (in most cases low-end manufacturing industries) remain functioning in enclaves of urban villages where migrants offer labor-force at a low price. The low rent of small working and living places in urban villages enables the formation of family workshops that do reprocessing jobs of the low-end manufacturing industries. With the decreasing of secondary industries in the overall economic structure of Guangzhou, these low-end industries will be gradually replaced in the near future. Instead, the emerging industries like E-commerce will offer new opportunities for young entrepreneurs who see urban villages as their places for investment.

Lijiao Village is located at the end of the southern extension of the central axis of Guangzhou. The village has a history of almost 800 years, and it is one of the traditional villages in 'River South', and one of the key areas of historical and cultural resources from the past. According to the head of the village, there are more than 70,000 migrants living here, way outnumbering the former villagers (appx. 10,000) who are still living inside the village. Generally speaking,

the social structure in such historic villages is experiencing a radical evolution along with recent decades' urban development. Lijiao village has changed from a clan-based blood-bonded society to a production-oriented economic entity, later on to a semi-acquaintance community, and eventually to a neighborhood with a majority of strangers (migrants). These changes could be seen in the transformation of its spatial form as well, such as the remaining ancestor halls of the clans, collectively owned land for industrial development, informal markets selling local food along the river, and densified housing accommodating migrants upstairs and shops on the ground floor, etc. (Figure 5)

As stated in the theoretical understanding, urban villages provide chances for both villagers and migrants to cope with the rapid changes brought by urbanization, and take time to adapt themselves to the urban environment. Informality embedded in the use of space in urban villages offers people opportunities to become entrepreneurs, from street vendors to shop or house owners. Such processes of accumulating wealth and social capital is also a process of capacity building, leading towards the next phase of transformation from the perspective of social resilience. As seen from the Lijiao case, nowadays the villagers and migrants have different levels of capacity in transforming their built environment, due to the fact that the villagers as property owners benefited way more than the migrants from urban villages.

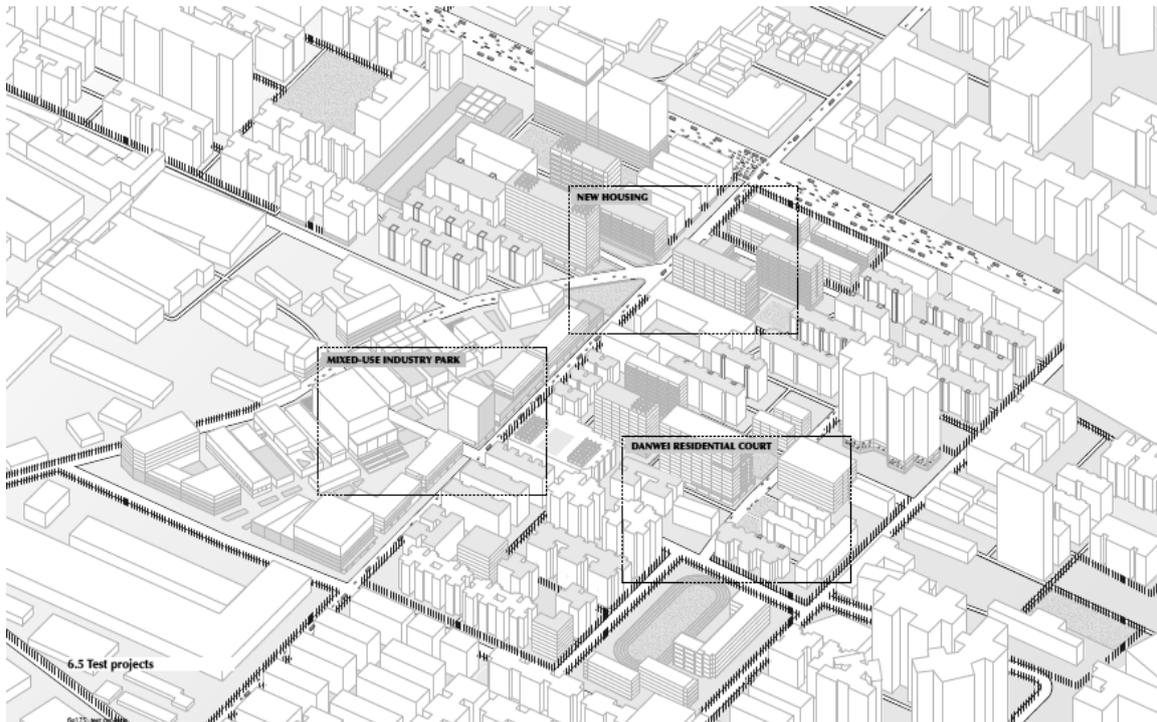


FIGURE 6 Incremental development model including new development and renovation projects in Kecun area (Source: drawing made by Huang, Xin)

Ever since 2007, the village collective and developers intended to collaborate on the redevelopment of Lijiao village. After five years of negotiation, the economic association of Lijiao village reached agreement with the developer Zhuguang Group on the urban renewal model. One of the conditions was that the developer would construct around 40 high-rise apartment buildings for relocating former villagers. However, after the agreement was signed, the negotiation about compensation standards became a protracted battle between all stakeholders, including government, developer, village collective and villagers. In August 2015, Zhuguang Group raised the compensation standard, which attracted interests from many villagers. Currently, votes from villagers for the urban renewal proposal have reached 70%. The process would take place once it reaches 80%. In this case, the large number of migrants and businesses in the village would lose their social and economic networks.

Alternative development models

For both the Kecun area and Lijiao village, the authors proposed alternative development models that are incremental and inclusive, with the aim

of cultivating entrepreneurship, while at the same time enhancing livability and social resilience. Here urban design plays an unusual role, mainly as a tool to generate common interests among stakeholders. Both new development (such as commodity housing, infill projects of public facilities, etc.) and renovation of old urban fabric (such as the old *danwei* or village housing, vacant factories, etc.) are possible, with the precondition that the existing urban structure and morphology will be maintained, and large-scale replacement can be avoided. The hypothesis is that with such fine-grained urban fabric that has diverse typologies in it, various (re)development interests from stakeholders could be included, such as developers, local government, property



FIGURE 7 Place-making for Kecun area showing improved livability based on adaptive solutions (Source: drawing made by Huang, Xin)

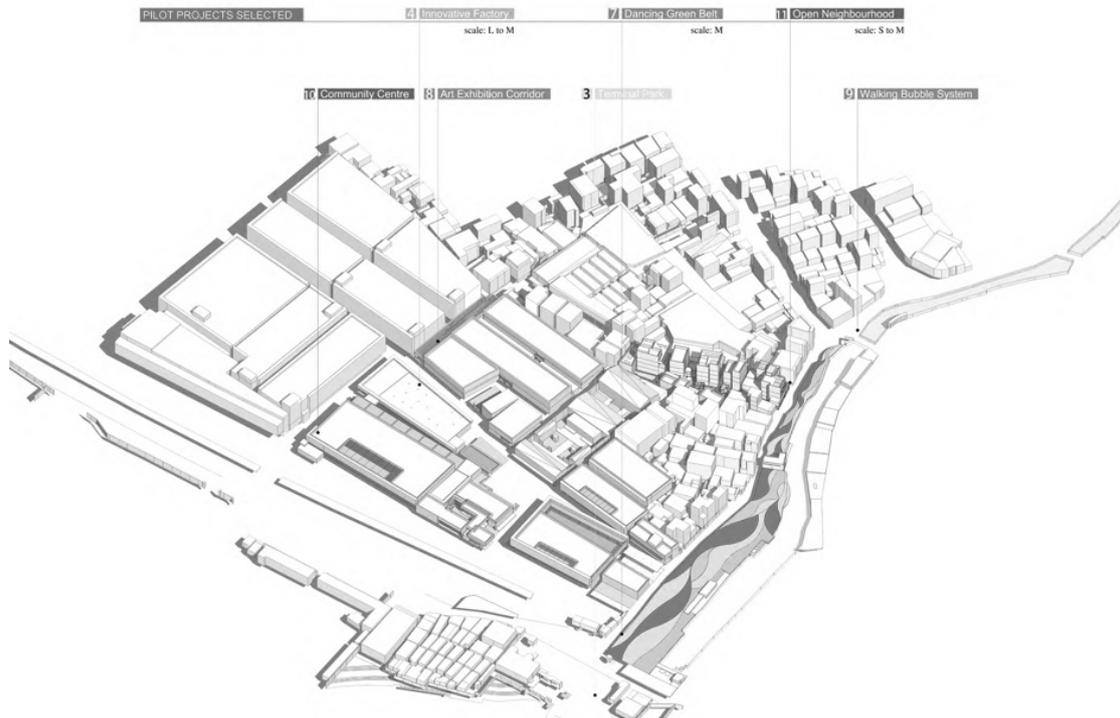


FIGURE 8 A new entrance area designed for Lijiao village showing integrated solutions for housing, industrial functions and water-front public spaces (Source: drawing made by Yang, Qiao)

owners, starters of businesses, and the relatively vulnerable group of migrants. Comparing with the tabula rasa approach, such an incremental approach encourages a circular way of urban regeneration: new development can replace the old buildings that are at the end of their life cycle, while for those housing or factory buildings that are still in good shape, creative adaptation is encouraged to meet the emerging demands of residential or entrepreneurial functions (Figure 6, 8). The dominating re-use of existing buildings contributes to place-making, enhancing urban identity and affordability of space (Figure 7, 9). Last but not least, within the scope of place-making, it is essential that the living environment is commensurate with the working environment and vice versa. This is to facilitate a real proximity of living and working, and cultivate socio-economic networks in the local scale. This means, on top of the principle of mixed use, diversified housing typologies and space for businesses are needed. Providing creative design solutions for stakeholders to adapt the existing built environment to their needs and keep the space adaptable for future changes, is a new task of urban design as well.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The southern extension of the central axis poses grand visions for the city of Guangzhou, and redevelopment pressure for various types of 'old' neighborhoods along the axis. Although these neighborhoods are often given stigmas of 'outdated' or even 'unlivable' places, they actually are embracing new lives embedded in the dynamics of an emerging social structure and productivity, which are invaluable from the perspectives of livability and social resilience. Such values are not respected enough in the discourse of improving spatial quality from the 'modernist' planning paradigm. An alternative urban (re)development model is needed in the rapidly transforming Chinese cities like Guangzhou, to cultivate their emerging industries and enhance social resilience. Here 'livability' is a relevant point of discussion, as it is a 'people-centered' concept, referring to the spatial qualities of an environment for both living and working. From this perspective, 'wellbeing' of people is essential to the thriving of the new economy. To formulate such an alternative model, the challenge is to balance interests related to the big redevelopment plans of city re-branding and the thriving small businesses (including the large number of migrants who work there) that are bound to the low-cost living and working environment in the old neighborhoods.

The two cases of the Kecun area and Lijiao village both indicate that in such a dynamic situation, maintaining the affordability and adaptability of space for starters of businesses and migrants is essential. This requires tolerance and inclusiveness in the planning and design process, allowing the co-existence of top-down urban (re)development and bottom-up initiatives on informal transformation of space. Urban design in China usually serves the visualization of big plans. However, it could also play a vital role in facilitating creative solutions in old urban fabrics, seeking for alternative ways of living and working that have compatible spatial qualities with the future city. Of course, this is not simply a matter of design. The driving forces behind the large-scale (re)development, namely the high profit of real estate development targeting the old neighborhoods, are the main challenges in maintaining the existing urban typologies. In this regard, a planning framework targeting on local-scale urban form and socio-economic development is needed, complimentary to the visionary plans for the city.

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FIGURE 9 Place-making based on adaptive solutions for housing and entrepreneurship demands in Lijiao village (Source: drawing made by Yang, Qiao)

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Improving Spatial Conditions for Integrated Living and Working in Korea by Development of a Renovation Strategy for Korean Officetels

Seokgil Jang
Thorsten Schuetze

Department of Architecture,
College of Engineering,
SungKyunKwan University,
South Korea

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses how so-called officetels in Korea could support the need to improve the integration of living and working within the framework of changing household types and sustainable urban regeneration. An officetel is a Korea specific multi-purpose building type. Housing units are generally stacked in the form of apartment buildings on top of non-residential and commercial units. The first officetels were built in Seoul in the 1980s. Officetels become an attractive alternative to live in non-residential areas because society demands accommodations in livable urban areas with mixed uses and near to working places. On the contrary, officetels are classified in Korean building codes as office buildings and follow office buildings' standards and regulations for architectural design with a disadvantage of poor livability compared to other types of Korean housing. Existing officetels are analyzed regarding social, spatial and building use aspects. The results are compared with the needs of the Korean society for the creation of livable and sustainable urban environments. The evaluation results are the starting basis to develop renovation strategies for officetels. It is investigated how officetels should be designed and redeveloped. The main aims are: 1) Extended mix of uses to contribute to an increasing diversity of user groups and programs; 2) Increase of overall usable area density and changes in spatial distribution; 3) Provision of diversely sized livable indoor spaces for multiple uses; 4) Reduction of energy consumption by implementation of sustainable renovation strategies. The research findings aim to productively contribute to the discussion of how we could improve urban living and working.

KEYWORDS

Officetels, Mixed Use, Working and Living, Household Types, Spatial Models

INTRODUCTION

A city is a place where people gather and live in a specific area with political, economic, social and cultural activities. Accordingly, a city should be designed and planned with consideration of the change of population composition and households, which are directly related to the way people live and work in a city. The presence of population classes, the types of households and working places result in specific lifestyles and define how people live in a city. Changes in population composition, especially, household segmentation has been happening rapidly all over the world [1]. Socio-demographic changes, such as low birth rate, increasing divorce and separation rate and aging population, demand for a decrease of modern household sizes [2].

A representative phenomenon of the household segmentation is considered the increase of small-scale households. Especially, single-person households have been significantly increased compared to other types of small-scale households. According to the report published last year of the Samsung Economics Research Institute (SERI), it shows that the total number of single-

person households in the world in 2011 was about 242 million and made up about 13 percent of all types of households. The small-scale households account for a great part of all types of households at a high increasing rate [1].

Single-person households in Korea can be expected to soon have the highest percentage of all household types. According to the 2015 Population and Housing Census report, the percentage of the single-person households of all types of households was 15.5% in 2000 and 23.9% in 2010. The estimated percentage in 2020 is over 30%. Korean Statistics expects that the single-person households will be the most common household type in Korea after 2020 [3]. Consequently, this change of population composition in Korea is related to the demand of people to find small-scale accommodations in livable urban areas with mixed uses and near to working places.

In the early 1980s, there was a demand of the Korean society to offer residential uses in areas in which generally no residential buildings were allowed to be built. Accordingly a building type



FIGURE 1 Diversity of officetel appearance and age¹

with the name “officetel” was developed. An officetel (a portmanteau word of “office” and “hotel”) is one of Korea’s unique building types that are multi-purpose buildings with residential and commercial units. The first officetel was built in Seoul, Korea in 1985. In 1995, the number of officetel buildings was only 6,475. The numbers increased to 21,041 buildings in 2000, 159,795 buildings in 2005 and 232,911 buildings in 2010. In 2016, officetel buildings made up about 2 percent (380,152 buildings) of all types of Korean housings. The biggest benefit of officetels is to support business functions by meeting the demand for housing in commercial areas (Figure 1).

In contrast to the previously described advantage of officetels, this building type has been associated with poor livability compared to other Korean housing types. A reason is that officetels need to meet non-residential office buildings standards and regulations for architectural design. Problems of officetel buildings are related to social, spatial and building use aspects. The provision of diversely sized livable indoor spaces for multiple uses has not yet been addressed in the design of officetels. Furthermore, currently there is no specific renovation strategy addressing the problems and improvements of existing officetels in Korea. Thus, this research aims to investigate how the Integration of living and working can be improved by renovation and remodeling of Korean officetels. The research results aim to contribute towards sustainable urban development in the Republic of Korea.

METHOD

This research investigates how spatial conditions of officetels can be improved. Firstly, existing exemplary officetel buildings are analyzed. The analysis addresses the properties of officetels regarding social, spatial and building use aspects. This research is based (i) on the review of recent research findings addressing social, spatial and building use aspects of officetels. Based on the analysis (i), suggestions are made for the improvement of spatial conditions of officetels (ii) for integrated living and working. The results are the starting basis for the development of strategies for sustainable renovation of officetels. It is investigated how officetels should be designed and redeveloped. The proposed strategy will be

based on recent research findings regarding the sustainable redevelopment of buildings and urban areas.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

History of officetels

Historically, all types of architecture have emerged with reflection on social needs. The demand of the Korean Society to offer residential uses in non-residential areas resulted in the development of officetel building types in Seoul in the 1980s. Officetels do not generally consist of offices and hotels but accommodate residential (small apartments) and non-residential (office and commercial) building uses. The development of officetels can be divided into five main periods.

The first period started in 1985, when the first officetel was built in Seoul. From that year, officetels started to flourish. The reasons were economic benefits that could be achieved by owners. Officetels were not regarded as second homes per household. Accordingly owners of one “normal” home and one officetel did not need to pay taxes on two homes but only one. This resulted in the activation of a real estate market for officetels. The second period started already in 1988, when the Korean government set a couple of legal standards to limit the officetel market. The aim was not to disturb the development of apartments in exclusively residential areas [4]. For that reason, the officetel market went through the first slump until 1995. The third period began in 1995, when legal standards related to officetels were relaxed due to the demands of construction companies. New town development and officetels were built with improved housing functions (such as an adjustment of a plan layout of officetels which fitted better to the lifestyle of single-person households). The number of new constructions increased sharply especially in downtown Seoul until 1997. The fourth period occurred in the wake of the 1997 International Monetary Fund (IMF) financial crisis. The officetel market, similar to as all the other economic sectors in Korea, went through a crisis that lasted until 1999. During this period, the vacancy rate of officetels in Seoul was up to 22.7% [5]. The fifth and ongoing period started in 1999. Many officetels of different types, and with improved housing functions, have been built in the last 18 years. This resulted in the succession of business ventures in the officetel

market [4]. This success can be also associated with a growing number of people who demand small-scale accommodations in livable urban areas with mixed uses and near to working places. Therefore, also the demand for officetels in Korean cities has increased [5].

Legal framework of officetels

From 1985 to 1998, officetel-related building regulations were limiting livability. The proportion of workspace area in officetels was more than 70%. The apartments were very small with bathroom areas of less than 1.5m². In 1995 and 1998, building regulations were relaxed to improve officetels' residential uses. From 1998, the proportion of workspace area was adjusted to 50% of the total area. The regulations included no limitation of bathroom areas. As

a result, a considerable number of officetels were built in central city districts. In 2004, the building regulations were revised back to the specifications of 1995. The aim was to limit the number of officetels. The proportion of workspace area should be more than 70% and the area of bathroom had to be less than 3m². In 2010, the building regulations were again revised. There were no specifications regarding the proportion of workspace area and bathroom area. In order to enhance the livability of officetels, also other regulations were amended. The installation of floor heating systems was allowed, which was originally not (Table 1). A reason was the demand of single- and two-person households to find small-scale accommodations in livable urban areas with mixed uses and near to working places [6].

TABLE 1 Changes of officetel-related building regulations from 1988 to 2010.

Classification	1988. 6. 18	1995. 7. 19	1998. 6. 8	2004. 6. 1	2006. 12. 30	2009. 9. 29	2010. 6. 9
Proportion of workspace	More than 70%	More than 70%	More than 50%	More than 70%	More than 70%	More than 70%	Deleted
Floor heating	Forbidden	Deleted	Deleted	Forbidden	Allowed if the exclusive area below than 50m ²	Allowed if the exclusive area below than 85m ²	Allowed if the exclusive area below than 85m ²
Bathroom	Less than 1.5m ² No bathtub	No bathtub	No bathtub	Less than 3m ² No more than 2 bathrooms No bathtub	Less than 3m ² No more than 2 bathrooms No bathtub	Less than 5m ² No more than 2 bathrooms No bathtub	Deleted
Balcony	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden	Forbidden

TABLE 2 Number of total housing units, officetels and their percentage from the total for the years 1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010, in South Korea.

Classification	The number of housings	The number of officetels	Ratio
1995	9,253,367	6,255	0.06%
2000	11,051,156	21,041	0.19%
2005	12,701,338	156,769	1.23%
2010	14,186,668	232,911	1.64%

TABLE 3 Number of total households, single-person households and their percentage from the total for the years 1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010, in South Korea.

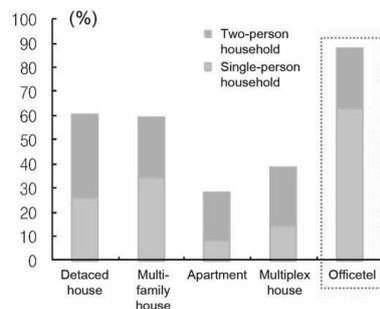
Classification	The number of households	The number of single household	Ratio
1995	12,958,000	1,642	12.7%
2000	14,312,000	2,224	15.5%
2005	15,887,000	3,171	20.0%
2010	17,339,000	4,142	23.9%

MIXED USE BUILDINGS WITH DIFFERENT USER GROUPS AND PROGRAMS

User groups

The need for housing in urban areas has been varying with rapidly changing society. From the socio-demographic perspective in South Korea's recent history, a remarkable phenomenon is the rapid increase of single-person households. According to the report of the Population and Housing Census in 2015, the percentage of the single-person households of all types of households in South Korea was 15.5% in 2000 and 23.9% in 2010. The estimated percentage in 2020 is over 30%. Furthermore, the Statistics Korea expected that single-person households would be the most common household type in Korea after 2020 [3]. In this regard, the appearances of new population and household compositions are expected to change urban livability requirements and the way in which living and working are combined. The recent quantitative development of officetels is closely related to the increase of the number of single-person households who demand small-scale accommodations in urban areas (Table 2, 3) [7].

According to the 2010 Statistics Korea's research on Population and housing census, the portion amongst all officetel households in Korea was 63.3 percent for single-person households, and 25.1 percent for two-person households. In 2010, single and two-person households had a portion of 88.4 percent of all the officetel household types. Compared to other types of housing such as apartments, detached houses and row houses in Korea, the proportion of single-person households in officetels is significantly higher (Figure 2) [7].



In the age groups of all the officetel residents in 2010, resident in their late twenties accounted for 23.1 percent, and their early thirties for 20.9 percent. Startups with the need for financial assistance in the age group of 20s and 30s accounted for about 68 percent of all the age groups in 2010 (Figure 3) [7]. Regarding the job types of all the officetel residents in 2010, regular and non-regular workers accounted for 65.8 percent, the portion of students was 13 percent. The reason is considered that officetels are generally located in the center of commercial districts and have small-scale accommodation units with high quality built-in furniture (Figure 3) [7].

According to the status of the supply of officetels in Seoul in 2012, some specific areas in Seoul with a high density of office buildings and factories usually had a high proportion of officetels compared to other areas. Gangnam-gu, Songpa-gu and Mapo-gu in Seoul had the highest density of office buildings and accounted for 35.4 percent, 12.2 percent and 12.2 percent of all the officetels in Seoul in 2012. A main reason is the location of Gangnam-gu, Songpa-gu and Mapo-gu near commercial districts with appropriate programs for both working and living [7].

Programs

Depending on the majority of floor area that is designated to specific programs, officetels can be assigned to the following three different preference programs: 1) Commercial, 2) Residential, and 3) Mixed-use. Commercial officetels are office buildings that are used for small and private businesses and to a minor extent also for a residential purpose. The difference with general office buildings is the combination with

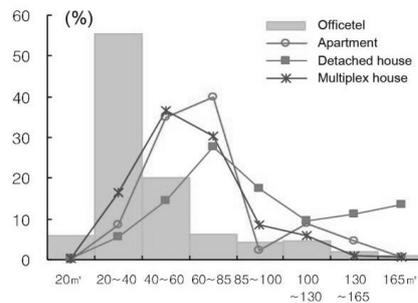


FIGURE 2 Percentage of single and two-person households in different housing types (left), and usable area of households in different housing types (right), in 2010²

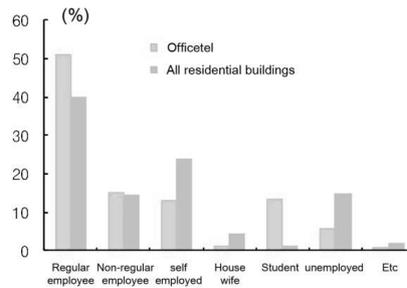
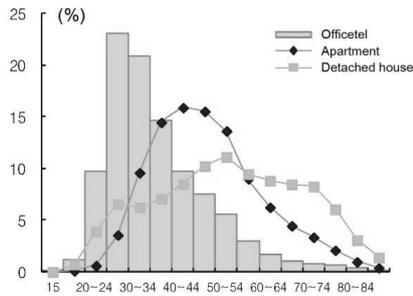


FIGURE 3 Distribution of different age groups living in different housing types in relation to total (left), and distribution of residents with different job types for officetels and all residential building in relation to total, in 2010⁹

small one-room apartments that are equipped with cooking facilities and small individual bathrooms.

Residential officetels have apartments with floor plans and facilities that are more spacious and suitable for residential purposes than commercial officetels. Residential officetels have housing units that are generally equipped with separate rooms such as a bedroom, bathroom and a kitchen. Most of officetels that were recently built apply to this type of officetels.

Mixed-use officetels have quite spacious and flexible residential units that can also be used as combined living and working, or only working spaces. They are usually used for living and workspace of artists, accommodation for employees on a business trip, and also offices of freelancers [8].

In contrast to the first commercial officetels, that were built in the 1980s and 1990s, residential officetels have recently become increasingly high in demand. The reason is that the main purpose of officetels has changed from a commercial use to a residential use, for economic benefit to the owners. Officetels are not regarded as second homes per household. Accordingly owners of one “normal” home and one officetel do not need to pay taxes on two homes. They do not need to pay taxes for the officetel but only for their “normal” home. This regulation resulted in the activation of a real estate market for officetels [4].

According to the research on the classification of

officetels by purpose in 2011, residential officetels were made up of 26 percent, mixed-use officetels for 61 percent and commercial officetels for 13 percent of all the officetels in Korea in 2011 [9]. The fact indicates that most officetels are currently used for residential use.

In the socio-demographic aspect, the increasing number of single and two-person households reflects the demand for changing living and working environments. The origin of officetels as multi-purpose buildings with residential and commercial units is closely related to the demand for an extended mix of uses in livable urban areas in Korea. Since the 1980s officetels made the inflow of resident population into non-residential areas possible and increased diversity of user groups and programs in originally non-residential areas.

However, overdevelopment of officetels in non-residential areas by real estate developers for economic benefits sometimes caused unbalanced development in non-residential areas due to no consideration of regional properties. Accordingly, the legal and regulatory framework of officetels needs to be adjusted with consideration of balanced development between residential areas and non-residential areas.

INCREASE OF OVERALL SPATIAL DENSITY AND CHANGES OF SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

Contemporary South Korean zoning plans are characterized by a very clear separation of land use, such as between residential areas and non-residential areas. This is a barrier to sustainable urban development that generally requires a balanced mix of programs. The spatial separation of residential and commercial programs results in

unbalanced and non-flexible urban developments that are designated to specific purposes (Figure 4). In a Korean city center, for example, good accessibility by public and private transport is regarded as crucial for the designation as business area and maximization of commercial interest and increase in land value. Accordingly, intensive commercial uses are attracted and residential uses are pushed out of central city districts to increase the economic value of the land. As a result, a clear separation of land use between residential areas and non-residential areas takes place in city centers [10].

In this regard, officetels can contribute to the mitigation of regional functional inequality. Integrated working and living environments can be facilitated by implementation of housing uses in areas in which generally no residential buildings were allowed to be built.

Commercial officetels

Kang and Chang's research on the spatial and temporal structure of officetels in Seoul from 1990 to 2007 [11], illustrates how the spatial distribution of commercial officetels in Seoul has changed from 1990 to 2007 (Figure 5).

In 1990 as the very early period just after the origin of officetels, the areas with the majority of commercial officetels were located in new development areas southwest of the city center

(Yongsan-gu) and south of the Han River (Gangnam-gu and Seocho-gu). A reason for the location of officetels in these areas is their high-density development with office and commercial buildings during this period. In 1995, the major distribution areas of commercial officetels were south of the Han River. New clusters of commercial officetels were formed here in the framework of new CBD (Central business district) developments. From 2005 to 2007, major distribution areas of commercial officetels could be also found in the southwestern city districts. These former low-density industrial areas were developed to high-density commercial districts during this period [11].

Residential officetels

The change of spatial distribution of residential officetels in Seoul from 1995 to 2007 is illustrated in Figure 6 [11]. In 1995, this type of officetels first appeared in Seoul to improve livability of existing officetels. The spatial distribution pattern of residential officetels look partly different compared to commercial officetels. The major distribution areas of residential officetels were mainly outside of Seoul city center. The areas with the highest density are located south of the Han River, particularly in the eastern part of Seoul, where major urban developments took place in the designated period. In the framework of the new urban developments many office and commercial buildings were constructed. In



FIGURE 4 Korean zoning plan, using the example of the area around Seoul central train station with illustration of different mobility infrastructures (roads, subway, and train lines)⁴



FIGURE 5 Spatial distribution analysis of commercial officetels in Seoul from 1990 to 2007⁵

2000, 2005 and 2007 the major distribution areas were located in the southwestern parts of Seoul where new urban developments took place [11]. The spatial distribution patterns of officetels can be closely related to regional characteristics. The areas with officetels concentrated in Seoul such as Gangnam-gu and Seocho-gu have the following properties: 1) High demand for officetels by office workers who worked in Gangnam-gu and Seocho-gu, and also professionals who worked in other cities. A reason is that Gangnam-gu and Seocho-gu have good accessibility to other cities; 2) Gangnam-gu and Seocho-gu have many amenities and cultural facilities to support residential uses; 3) In 1990s, small-scale business ventures and

major companies were concentrated in Gangnam-gu and Seocho-gu. Therefore, the demand for small accommodations, such as officetels, near workplaces was very high during that period. On the other hand, the areas with few officetels in Seoul such as Jongro-gu and Joong-gu which are located in the center of Seoul have the following properties: 1) Lack of facilities that are required for residential uses. Many facilities are supportive for commercial but not for residential uses; 2) Jongro-gu and Joong-gu have a comparatively higher land price. Accordingly the rents are comparably high in these districts, which results in lower demand for officetels in these areas. The majority of potential officetel residents cannot

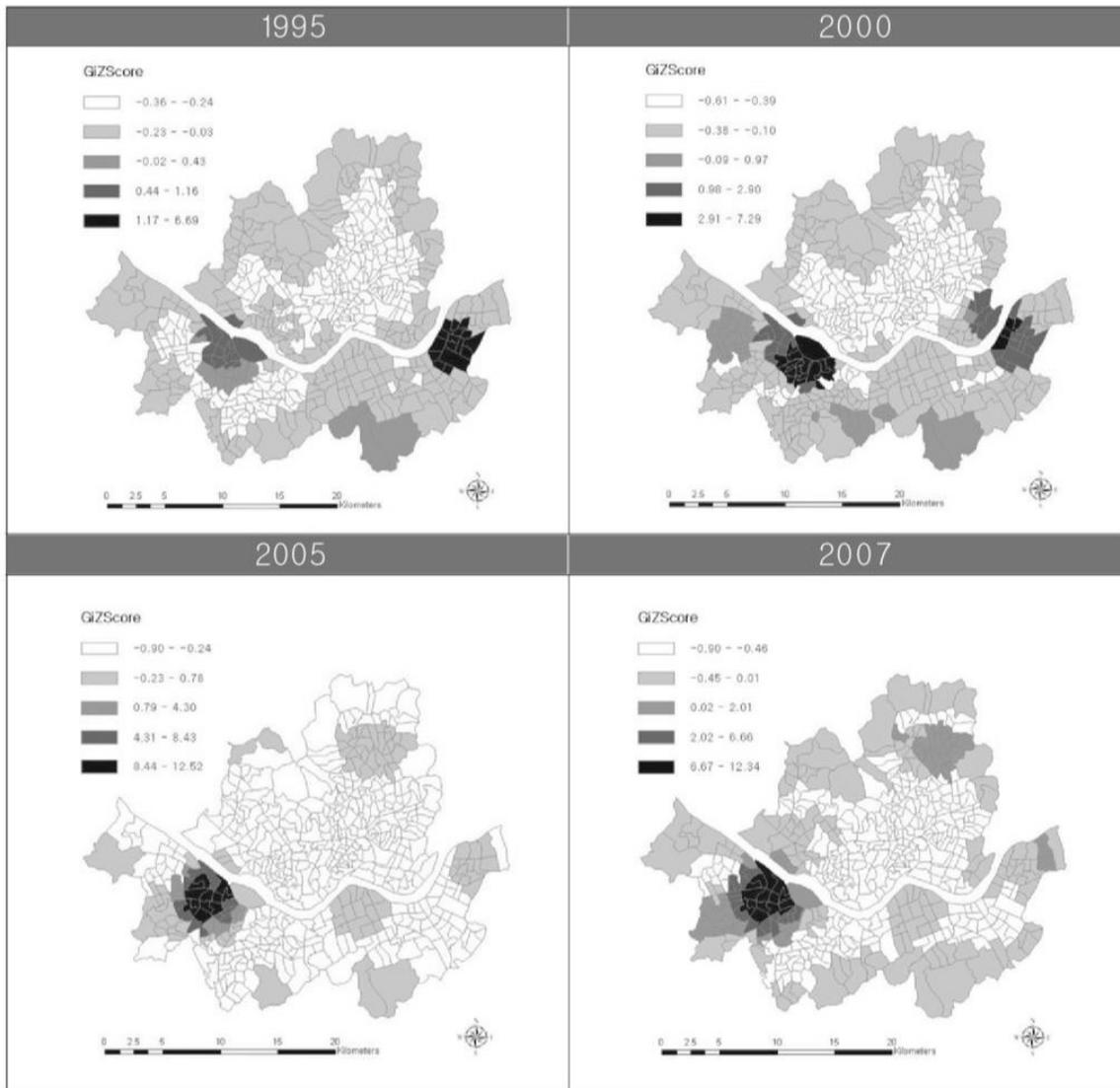


FIGURE 6 Spatial distribution analysis of residential officetels in Seoul from 1990 to 2007⁶

afford high rents [11].

For implementation of sustainable urban development in Korea, mixed-use developments are required to create a balance between residential and non-residential uses and increase building use related spatial densities. However, the construction of officetels has been driven by commercial interests with no consideration of regional characteristics of the areas. Officetels have contributed to the accommodation of housing only in non-residential areas with the potential to create sufficient economic benefits. For more sustainable urban development regional characteristics and requirements would need to be considered in an urban planning and design process that aims for a balanced development of mixed-use districts in the city.

PROVISION OF DIVERSELY SIZED LIVABLE INDOOR SPACES FOR MULTIPLE USES

The size of unit plans in officetels directly influences which purpose an officetel is used for. Oh's research on the characteristic of space use in officetels in 2011 finds the tendency that bigger sizes of officetels units are more used for working than for living (Table 4) [12]. This finding indicates that the size of officetel units influences the user groups (type and number of residents) and programs (function and purpose). Big units with more than 85m², tend to be used more as workplace (such as ateliers and small offices) for small and private businesses by a group of people. Smaller units with less than 40m² tend to be used more as accommodations by one or two persons [7]. In addition to the usable area of officetels, also

the plan layout influences the potential residential or commercial use. The general classification of officetel unit plans by arrangement type and size is as follows: 1) one-room type; 2) two-room type; 3) flexible type [11].

A typical officetel unit plan from the early 1990s to early 2000s was designed as one-room apartment consisting of a living room and a bathroom. The intention was to facilitate a flexible use of indoor space with an integration of working and living. The layout and size of units were not diverse. The usable area was usually less than 40 m². Therefore, the design of unit plans which fit for various purposes was very restricted [7]. Figure 7 (left) shows that the property of the early typical unit plan supplied from 1990s to 2002 was represented as one-room type (open layout) regardless of the size and type of unit plans [7]. In this type of unit plan, bathroom and storage spaces are usually located right next to the entrance (at the edge of unit plan) to make space in the center open and wide. Residents can use the whole space more flexibly. This type fits to accommodate for small workplace, small atelier and single person house. This is the most common unit plan type of officetels for flexible use of indoor space [13].

The typical unit plans supplied since 2000s have variations in terms of the size and layout for various purposes. Therefore, the design of unit plans became concentrated on improving space use and day-lighting that were the disadvantages of existing officetels [7]. Comparatively recent designed one-room officetel unit plans (e.g. 2013,

TABLE 4 Relationship between the size officetel units (less than 85m² and more than 85m²) and the use officetels (residential or commercial) by illustration of the percentage of total for 6 different districts in Seoul (Region A-F) and in average.

Classification	Exclusive residential area less than 85m ²		Exclusive residential area more than 85m ²	
	Residential use	Commercial use	Residential use	Commercial use
Region A	73.7%	26.3%	51.1%	48.9%
Region B	66.5%	33.5%	40.2%	59.8%
Region C	51.3%	48.7%	10.3%	89.7%
Region D	81.5%	18.5%	–	–
Region E	73.4%	26.6%	75.3%	24.7%
Region F	88.9%	11.1%	68.9%	31.1%
Average	72.55%	27.45%	49.16%	50.84%

Figure 8 & 9 (left)), have quite similar layouts to 1990s one-room types. However, the new officetels have improved day-lighting and optimization of tiny space use by better room organization and plan details [7]. This is also the one-room type which is the most common unit plan of officetels.

The two-room type unit of the similar period has two rooms for a household with bigger indoor space than one-room type (Figure 9). These types of unit plans usually consist of one living room and one or two rooms, sometimes equipped with a movable room partition [7]. In this type of unit plan, residential and working spaces are separated clearly by a wall in the center. Accordingly, these kinds of units are, in fact, three-room units. The layout provides good privacy by separating functions. However, the use of indoor space is less flexible compared to one-room type. Therefore, these types of floor plan layouts require more floor space in order not to limit the utilization of indoor space [13].

In addition, there are other flexible unit layout

types, which address both the advantages of one-room type and two-room types. This type can adjust the size of each room and use the whole space by utilization of movable walls. These types also require comparable much floor space. Today, various types of plan layouts, such as two-storied officetels (Figure 10), two or three-generation living officetels, or officetels for young couples, are available on the officetel market to meet different demands [9].

The early unit plan types of officetels (1980s~1990s) were generally designed primarily as workspace with less consideration for living. Accordingly, residence-related problems of officetels such as poor natural lighting and natural ventilation worsened livability to officetel residents. Seoul has a large stock of the officetels, which were built in the 1980s to 1990s period and have not been renovated yet. However, no specific renovation strategies for officetels have been developed yet. In order to improve the livability of officetels, sustainable renovation strategies for existing officetels need to be developed.

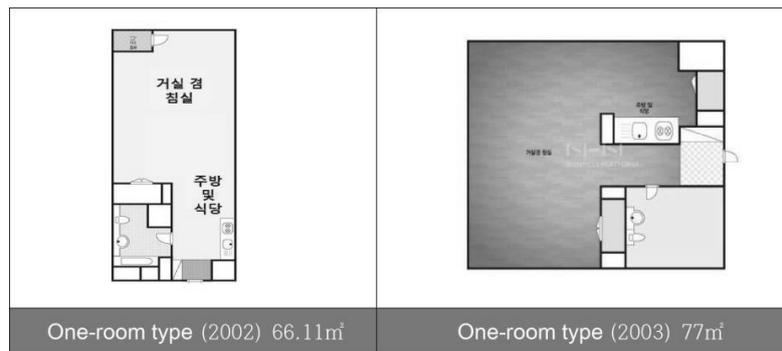


FIGURE 7 Exemplary officetels unit plans from 2002 (left) and 2003 (right).

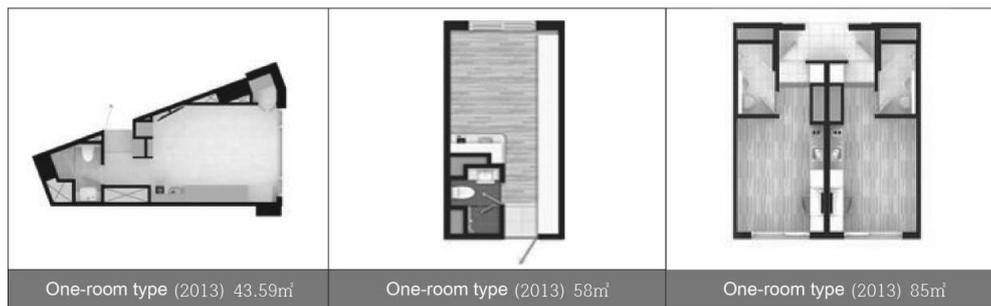


FIGURE 8 Typical one-room type officetel unit plan layouts from 2013 (left and middle), and an example of two mirrored one-room officetel plan layouts with shared entrance area from 2013 (right).

Appropriate renovation strategies should contribute to better livability and environmental performance. This includes improvement of integrated living and working spaces, well balanced program developments, good air quality, good natural lighting, low noise pollution, as well as the reduction of ecological footprints by efficient management of resources, such as energy and water.

REDUCTION OF ENERGY CONSUMPTION BY IMPLEMENTATION OF SUSTAINABLE RENOVATION STRATEGIES

Statistical data on electricity, cooling, heating and hot water heating loads per square meter and month in the year 2003 have been analyzed for officetel buildings, apartments and offices. The results in Figure 11 illustrate that the consumption pattern of officetels are in between the apartment and office building, and therefore reflect the mixed use of this building type [14]. The electric energy consumption of officetels is generally higher than the one of apartments, and lower than the one of offices (Figure 11). In officetels, electricity is used for multiple purposes such as cooling, lighting, ventilation, appliances for refrigerating and freezing and the operation of elevators and pumps. The total electricity consumption was lower than that of offices and higher than that of apartments. However, the electricity use for lighting was comparably high because the 24 hours occupancy level of officetels is higher than the one of apartments and offices. The gas consumption of officetels is in contrast lower than the one of apartments and higher than the one of offices. The reason for these consumption patterns can be found in the mix of residential and non-residential building uses. Gas is generally used in residential buildings for multiple purposes such as heating, hot water production and cooking. Regarding gas energy use pattern, the demand of heating and cooking was comparatively high because current officetels accommodate more residential than business functions and space.

In order to decrease energy consumption of officetels, the energy demand for heating, hot water production and cooling would need to be significantly reduced. However, existing officetels are not designed to use energy efficiently. The buildings have high transmission and ventilation heat losses, have high cooling loads and are not

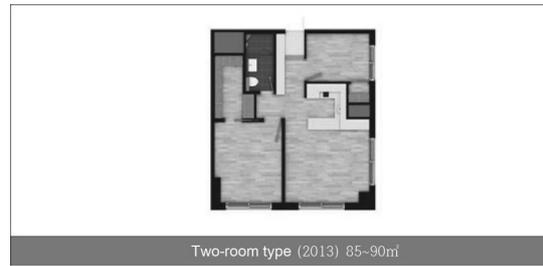


FIGURE 9 Typical two- to three-room type unit plan layout from 2013.

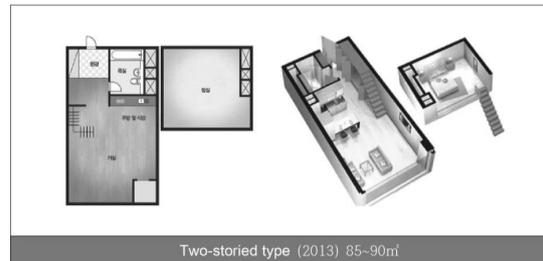


FIGURE 10 Two-storied type officetel plan layouts from 2013.

equipped with energy efficient building services systems. The reason is that most officetels were constructed in Seoul in the period 2001-2004 according to the applicable building regulations and mostly have not been renovated yet. Accordingly, sustainable renovation strategies, for the improvement of the building envelope, interior and building services engineering systems of existing officetels are required for improving their energy efficiency.

CONCLUSION

Officetels can contribute to sustainable urban development in Korea by facilitating mixed-use developments with residential and commercial functions. However, there is a need for the development of sustainable renovation strategies. The regulatory framework for the design of officetels needs to be adjusted in order to improve their livability. This is important because the demand for officetels has increased steadily with growing number of single-person households in South Korea.

Officetels with extended mixed-uses have contributed to an increasing diversity of user groups and programs in non-residential areas. However, the legal and regulatory framework of officetels needs to be adjusted with consideration

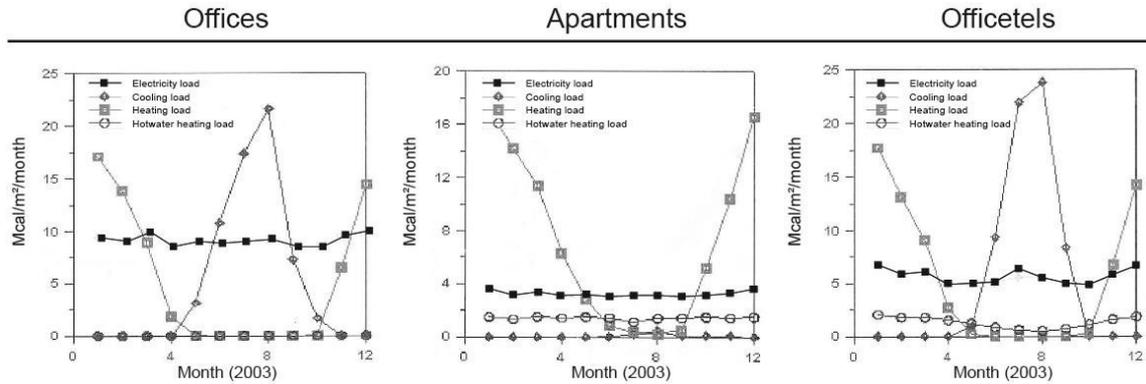


FIGURE 11 Monthly energy loads for electricity, cooling, heating, and hot water in 2003, for offices (left), apartments (middle), and officetels (right).

of balanced development between residential and non-residential. The overall spatial density of officetels has increased in Seoul significantly since their introduction in the 1980s. However, the unequal distribution and concentration of officetels in specific areas needs to be addressed in future planning processes, considering the specific basic conditions of different districts.

Officetels have provided diversely sized housing spaces to meet the demand of multiple user groups in urban areas. However, in order to improve livability of officetels, sustainable renovation strategies for existing officetels need to be developed and applied, particularly due to the big potential for their implementation. Such strategies need to reduce environmental impacts related to the operation of officetels. Furthermore they need to stimulate the local economy and livability. The improvement of building programs, the spatial conditions, the relation and circulation between private and public areas needs to be therefore integrated in sustainable renovation strategies. The identified issues and proposed suggestions are the starting basis for the development of an exemplary sustainable renovation of an officetel building as part of sustainable urban development in the Republic of Korea.

NOTES

1. Emilien. G., Seungman B., 2017. What is a Korean officetel? Case study on Bundang New Town. *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, Vol.6(2), pp.261-271.
2. The Statistics Korea, 2010. Population and Housing Census.
3. The Statistics Korea, 2010. Population and Housing Census.
4. The plan is differentiates 5 zones for built up areas. Each zone has different building coverage ratio and floor area ratio. The red areas represent commercial areas. The areas with different shades of yellow represent residential areas. The green areas represent parks.
5. Myungjune, J., Changdeok, K., 2012. The Spatial and Temporal Structure of Officetel and Policy in Seoul (1990~2007). *Korean Urban Management Association*, Vol.25(2), pp.277-302. The different GiZ scores are illustrated with darker colors for higher values (representing higher officetel density) and lighter colors for lower values (representing lower officetel density).
6. Myungjune, J., Changdeok, K., 2012. The Spatial and Temporal Structure of Officetel and Policy in Seoul (1990~2007). *Korean Urban Management Association*, Vol.25(2), pp.277-302. The different GiZ scores are illustrated with darker colors for higher values (representing higher officetel density) and lighter colors for lower values (representing lower officetel density).

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***Kelurahan* Jembatan Lima of Jakarta: the Transformation of Kampong as an Integrated Model of Working and Living**

Erwin Fahmi
Regina Suryadjaja

Tarumanagara University,
Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Urban kampongs of Java have a long history as an integrated working and living environment. In the kingdom era the rulers quartered followers of different professions to work and live in different kampongs near the palace. In current metropolitan areas like Jakarta, this pattern of spatial organization persists: most kampong's dwellers utilize their houses as working places for businesses from room renting to home industry.

However, the kampong has never been a static entity. Utilizing mainly socio-demographic and chrono-spatial mapping this study investigates an instrumental case study in the *kelurahan* (sub-district) of Jembatan Lima, West Jakarta, to unveil the kampong's transformation process. The transformation has been from mainly production of primary goods in the 1950s and -60s to dominancy of convection industry from early 1970s onward. This was made possible by the increasing demand for confection products in the domestic and overseas markets, and the flow of cheap labor from the hinterland. Spatially the kampong transformed from a low density, residential/agricultural area with mostly one-story buildings to a dense, residential area incorporating convection, commercial and room renting, with mostly two-, three-, and even four-story buildings. Furthermore, the residences also are clustered somehow according to specializations in the convection industry, i.e. textile-cutting, hemming, sewing, packaging, etc.

The future potential of this spatial organization depends on the prospect of the convection industry, or other competing industries. The responsiveness of the community to challenges and opportunities as these occur, and the industrious nature of this community, should be taken as potential energy to direct the future development. Therefore, specific problems that may have occurred in the kampong, such as environmental deterioration because of the above mentioned transformation process, need to be solved in appropriate and participative ways.

KEYWORDS

*Kampong, Spatial Organization,
Jembatan Lima, Jakarta*

INTRODUCTION

The study of the kampong as a working and living environment can be seen in the work of Jo Santoso, among others. In his work on the concept and history of Javanese towns since the kingdom era, Santoso (2006: 126-134) demonstrates that such an integration¹ was a necessity and to the interest of the rulers. As the source of power and authority, the rulers placed their followers of different professions to work and live in different kampongs near the palace. From an etymological point of view, for instance, it can be traced that *Kampung Pandean* and *Kampung Ketabang*, both in Surabaya, are the settlements of blacksmith and bamboo craftsmen (as building materials), respectively. This study, however, does not indicate whether the kampongs themselves stay as they were, or also transformed over time. Clifford Geertz is perhaps the first to describe the process of social transformation of the *desa* (village) to become a kampong in an Indonesian town. From field research conducted in 1952-1954 in a small town, Mojokuto (pseudo name) in East Java, he formulates three major aspects of kampong transformation², i.e.:

“**First**, there was the emergence of a new, semi-modern occupational structure which allowed and encouraged people to move off land and into non-agricultural work. **Second**, there was the atomization of the traditional forms of village social life within the kampongs as the agricultural basis of community integration disappeared, and, coincident with this atomization, the emergence of new forms of social organization to combat it. **Third**, there was a partial dissolution of village political structure and also a partial re-orientation toward urban political leadership. In brief, it was a process of re-adaptation to a new living environment, not simply of dis-integration”.

Unfortunately, this study does not indicate how an urban kampong actually transformed spatially, or what were the spatial implications of this transformation process.

This current study aims at mapping the process and results of an urban kampong transformation in a rapidly growing Jakarta. The practical importance of this study can be seen in the recent election of the governor of Jakarta. One of the most debated issues among candidates is (the future of) the kampong – whether to condemn

them and wipe them out, at least partly, to make way for new development to take place, or to re-develop the kampongs with a better design and layout. A better understanding as to how kampongs, along the course of history, transform themselves in the face of the challenges and opportunities they are confronted with, would guide policies towards a better outcome.

JEMBATAN LIMA

Jembatan Lima, a *Kelurahan* (sub-sub district) in the *Kecamatan* (sub-district) of Tambora, Jakarta, is chosen as locus of this instrumental case study. Jembatan Lima is chosen for its uniqueness in providing a better understanding regarding the phenomenon of kampong transformation – as an integrated working and living environment. As the smallest administrative unit of city government in Indonesia the *kelurahan* will also be taken as the unit of data collection.

Until the early 1950s, Jembatan Lima was nothing but swampy land with scattered houses. There were five bridges that gave the area its name – “jembatan lima” means five bridges. However, as the nearby trade center of Petak Sembilan and Glodok continued to grow and became a dense environment, people started to seek a place of good access and relatively close to the place of their economic activities. Jembatan Lima is only 1,6 km away by road from Petak Sembilan, and another trade center, Tanah Abang, is 6,1 km by railway. The 1950s and early -60s had seen the

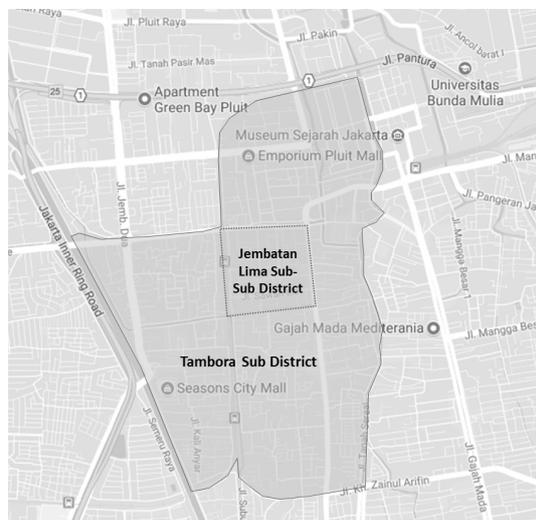


FIGURE 1 Location of instrumental Case Study (Source: basic map is taken from googlemaps, 2017)

growth of Jembatan Lima with the settlement of residents working in Petak Sembilan, together with migrants coming from surrounding regions in Java and Sumatra and looking for jobs. In the population density map of the Master Plan of Jakarta, 1965-1985, Jembatan Lima in 1965 is indicated to have a population density of 300-400 persons/ha³.

From the eighties up to now a new type of development took place in Jembatan Lima. Quite different from the previous era, when economic activities of people in Jembatan Lima were mainly in agriculture and small scale trading of daily needs, this time entrepreneurs of Jembatan Lima started to produce commodities of wider use: confection. This new development transformed the kelurahan to become an industrial (and trading) kampung. Some of the indicators:

a. Increasing number of population

In the last 40-50 years Jembatan Lima has been a densely populated area. Although the population growth has been interrupted by economic and/or political turmoil, steady population growth seems to have taken place. The following table shows this population growth (table 1).

Detailed scrutiny reveals, however, that there was a yearly population growth dynamic. Between 2003 and 2016, for instance, there were several years of population decline, even though on average the population grew 2,06 % per year.

Population decline has also taken place following the 1998 economic (and socio-political) riots in Jakarta. At that time, all foreign workers who used to work in the area, fled. Packed together in an area of 46,31 ha, the density in 2016 has become

FIGURE 2 Population and population growth of Jembatan Lima, 2003-2016 (Source: Central Bureau of Statistic, Processed by Team, 2017)

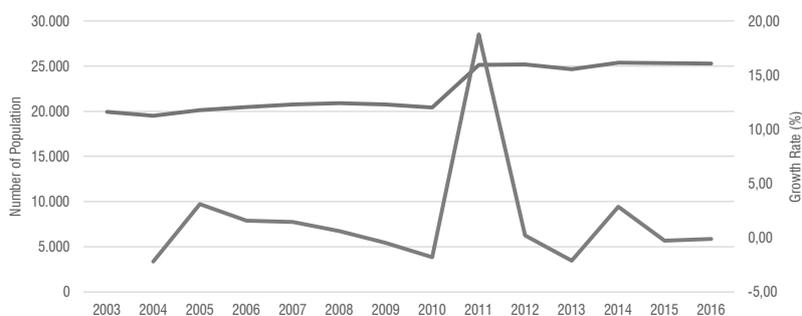


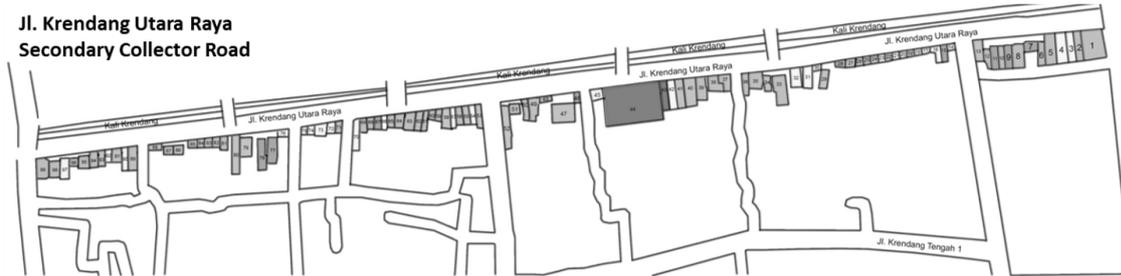
TABLE 1 Population of Jembatan Lima and Tambora, 1960 – 2010 (Source: Compiled from Many Sources, 2017)

	1990	2000	2010	2014
<i>Kelurahan</i> Jembatan Lima	23.726	19.593	20.412	25.377
<i>Kecamatan</i> Tambora	263.607	229.253	236.974	268.523

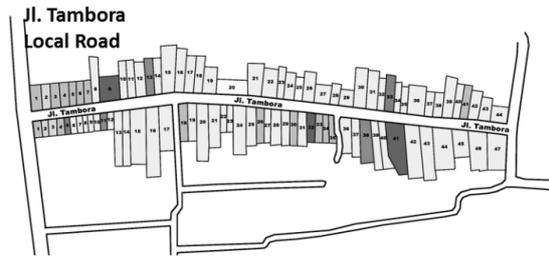
TABLE 2 . Population growth of Jembatan Lima, 2003-2016 (Source: Central Bureau of Statistic)

Year	Number of Population	Growth Rate (%)
2003	19.932	
2004	19.503	-2,20
2005	20.128	2,09
2006	20.449	2,05
2007	20.752	2,01
2008	20.877	0,60
2009	20.780	-0,47
2010	20.412	-1,80
2011	25.125	18,76
2012	25.173	0,20
2013	24.650	-2,12
2014	25.377	2,86
2015	25.310	-0,26
2016	25.283	-0,27

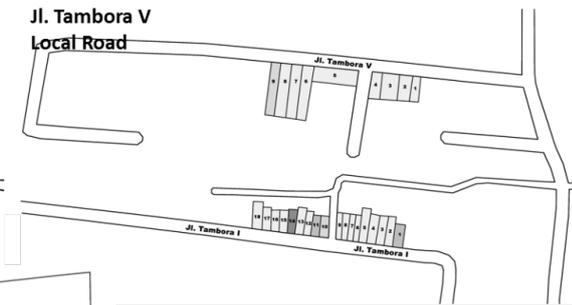
**Jl. Krendang Utara Raya
Secondary Collector Road**



**Jl. Tambora
Local Road**



**Jl. Tambora V
Local Road**



**Jl. Sawah Lio and Laksa 1
Local Road**

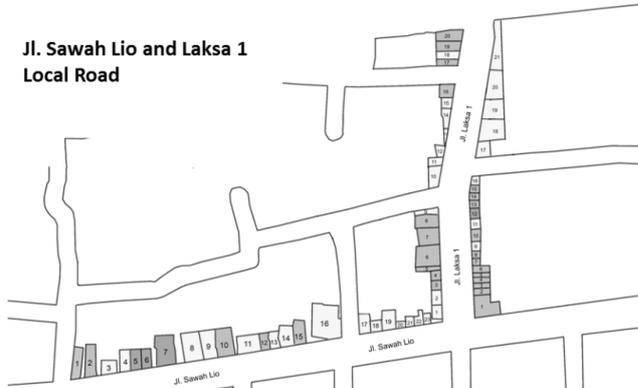


FIGURE 3 Land Use Characteristics in Jembatan Lima (Source: Field Survey, 2017)

546 persons/ha.

b. Increasing buildings density

Implication of the above is the increasing density of buildings. Mostly one- to two-story buildings – only a few three- or four-story buildings – along small kampong pathways, the impression of Jembatan Lima is a dense settlement with a dynamic-industrious community. Formal statistics show that the land use is: 78,26% houses, 10,46% industry, 10,43% shops or warehouses and nil park or open space.

c. Increasing number of buildings used for commercial purposes

Of the houses, most of them are also used for other purposes, such as *warungs* (small shops) or rented houses. Most of the three- or four-story

buildings are used both for residence and for convection production. Typical utilization of the buildings: first floor is used for the family; second and third floors are used as convection factory.

The following map and table show typical land use as seen from the pathways of Jembatan Lima (Figure 3 and Figure 4).

As indicated above, the main driver of this exponential growth was the insertion of the convection industry into the kampong. Local entrepreneurs, seeing business opportunities in this labor-intensive industry, developed the businesses utilizing their assets, including the house as a workplace. During this era, markets for convection produced in this kampong were not only domestic, but also international. At the peak of this era, i.e. at the mid of 1990s, beside

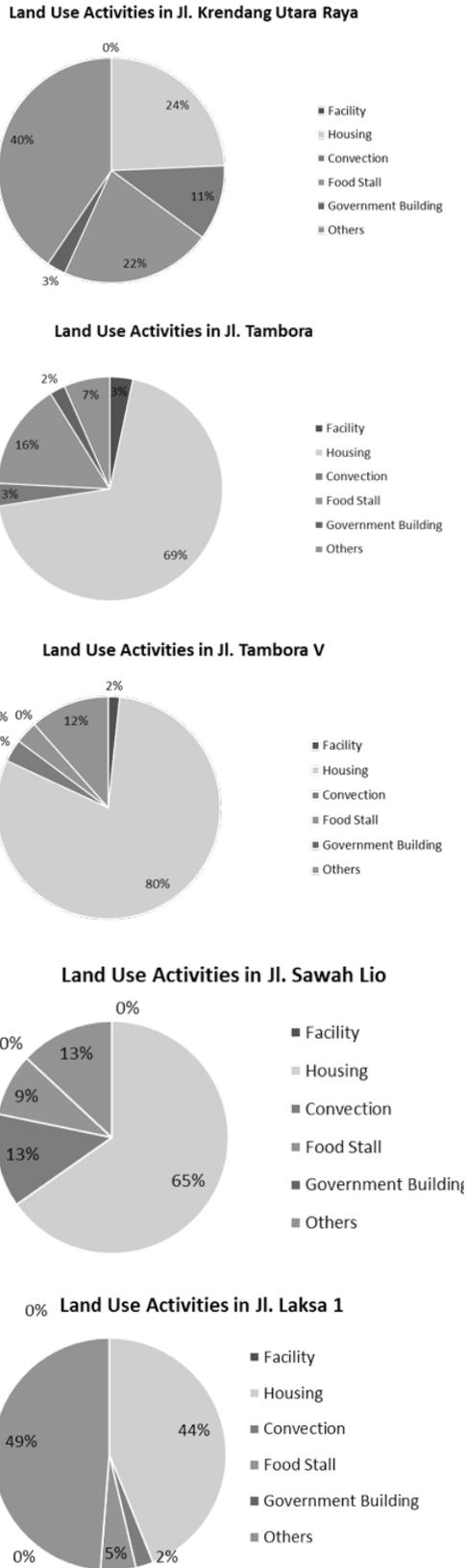


FIGURE 4 Land use characteristics percentage in Jembatan Lima, 2017 (Source: Field Survey, 2017)

domestic labor, more than 100 foreign workers were also employed here. Consequently, this new development encourages the changing of the houses to become 2- and mostly 3-story buildings, where, typically, the ground floor is used privately by the owner, second (and third) floor is used for work place.

Sources of labor are mainly from the flock of immigrants from the hinterland, notably West Java and the southern part of Sumatra, who came to live and work in the kampong. At the early stage, when the number of workers was small, they could also live in the workplaces. So, the entrepreneurs could pay their workers low wages and the workers could still be able to save to send part of their income to their families back home. Later, some type of specialization took place: the owner's house is only used for private living and as a workplace, while the workers live in separate dorms – whether provided by the owner or not. Other specializations are that different groups of families are involved in different stages of the production process: cutting, hemming, sewing, and packaging, as well as providing houses for rent.

RESEARCH METHODS

Methods used in this research are mainly chrono-spatial mapping and socio-demographic analysis. Chrono-spatial mapping is a method where changes in land use, over a period of 50 years or more, are mapped and analyzed. This analysis is supported by a socio-demographic analysis to unveil the forces behind the land use changes. Observation and some in-depth interviews are also conducted to develop stories and understand the ramification behind these developments (shown in table 3).

TABLE 3 The transformation process of the kampong

Steps	Techniques	Operationalization
1	differentiate the kampong following examples of typical street	Take 3 types of street within the kampong as examples
2	map the transformation process following the changes of the house as an integrated place of working and living	Survey of houses where people live and work. Identify changes that had been made.
3	find regularities in the way people change their houses.	Develop typology of changes. Explain the reasons

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The transformation process of Jembatan Lima as an integrated living and working environment is covered with two areas of analysis. **First**, the transformation of previously bare or less productive land use to more productive ones, notably settlement and commercial buildings. **Second**, transformation in the internal structure of particular buildings to become much denser and/or multiple-use buildings, such as residence-factory buildings.

Transformation Type-1

Since the 1950s, the residents of Jembatan Lima had been working in the Petak Sembilan and Glodok trade areas. Its closeness to the trade areas made this *kelurahan* attractive. Likewise, the influx of migrants, notably from the hinterland of West Java and southern parts of Sumatra, seeking for job opportunities, made the population density even higher.

Two processes took place between the 1950s and -70s – a few events took place afterward. **First**, the process of buying and renting parcels of land belonging to landowners. Less productive land, such as rice paddy fields and land used to produce concrete brick at Sawah Lio later transformed into residential areas or other uses. **Second**, the occupation of land belonging to the state, such as land along the railroad and river banks. There were eras, such as during the aftermath of the social turmoil of 1965 and 1998, when the state relatively compromised against the pressure of

landless urban inhabitants .

The driver of this transformation, as mentioned above, is notably immigration.

Transformation Type-2

Transformation type-2 is the transformation of existing buildings into much denser and/or multiple-use buildings. This type of transformation occurs when bare or less-productive land is no longer available or becoming scarce. To accommodate the ever-incoming migrants and the business opportunities in the convection industry, entrepreneurs of Jembatan Lima utilized and modified their existing and, sometimes, only asset, i.e. the house, as both residence and factory.

Examples of house modification are as follows (Herawati 2014: 58-61):

1. 70 m² house (two-storey)(figure 5):
 - First floor is used for family (1 bed room, living room and service area)
 - Second floor is used for convection
2. 120 m² house (two-storey) (figure 6):
 - First floor is used for family (1 bed room, living room and service area)
 - Second floor is used for convection
3. 240 m² house (three-storey) (figure 7):
 - First floor is used for family (1 bed room, service area and living room-cum-office)
 - Second and third floors are used for

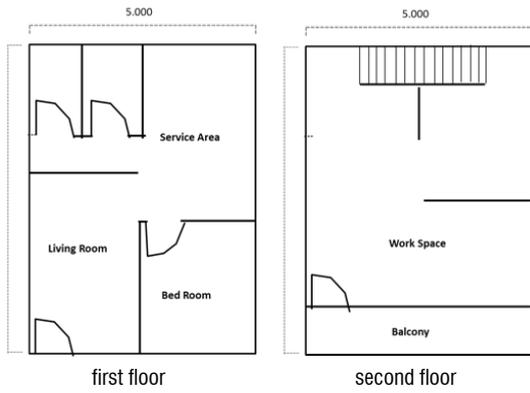


FIGURE 5 Example of 70 m² house (two-storey building)
(Source: Herawati 2014: 58-61)

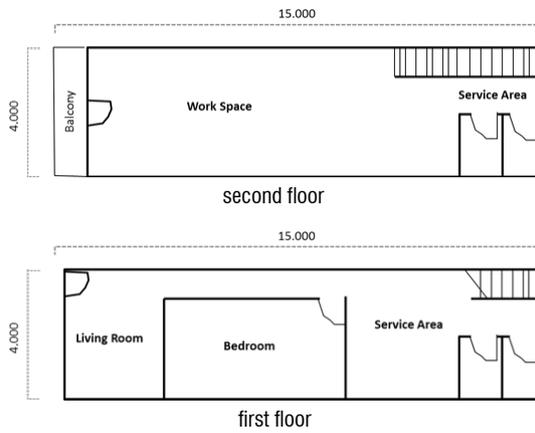


FIGURE 6 Example of 120 m² house (two-storey building)
(Source: Herawati 2014: 58-61)

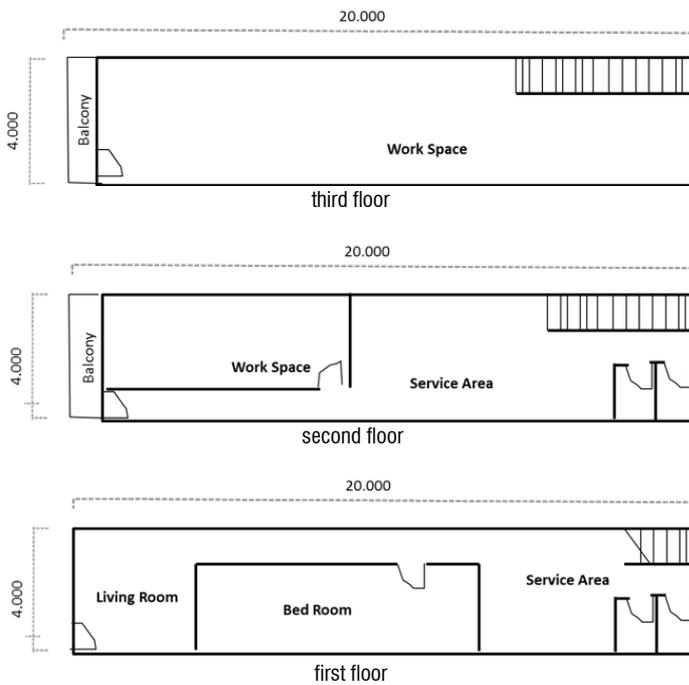


FIGURE 7 Example of 240 m² house (three-storey building)
(Source: Herawati 2014: 58-61)

TABLE 4 Buildings function: Detailed spatial plan (RDTR of 2011) vs development reality (2015) (Source: Compiled by Writers, 2017)

Detailed Spatial Plan (RDTR 2011)	Reality (2015)
Buildings with commercial function are only located along Jl. Tb Angke, Jl. KH Mansyur and part of a smaller road, Jl Stasiun Angke	Buildings along the administrative boundaries of <i>Kelurahan</i> Jembatan Lima (Jl. Tb Angke, Jl. Stasiun Angke, and Jl. Kali Krendang) are all functioning as commercial
Residential function is located in the middle of the area and covers about 80% of the <i>kelurahan</i> .	Buildings that are located in the middle of the area: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mix function: commercial, residential-convection, residential-rented houses/dorms, and mini market - Pure residential function only covers about <u>30% of all buildings in the <i>kelurahan</i></u>

convection (working hall plus service area)

Problems of most house-cum-convection buildings are lack of sufficient air circulation, limited lighting, and insufficient working spaces. This creates poor working condition.

While transformation type-1 was mainly changes of bare land or less-productive land to become residential or other uses and therefore can easily be observed and recorded, transformation type-2 quite often is not well recorded in official documents. Consequently, what is written and mapped in planning documents is quite often different from what can be seen in the field, as shown in the following table (Table 4).

Drivers of transformation type 2 are mainly the growth of the convection industry and other related businesses, such as room-renting, transportation and logistics, warehouses, shops selling related materials, etc. The convection industry itself has grown into many specialized businesses, such as cutting, hemming, sewing, packaging and even collectors of convection remains.

The process of this type of transformation follows 3 stages. **First**, when the entrepreneurs of Jembatan Lima began to enter the convection

business, they usually became sub-contractors of other big players. They supplied parts, or took small contracts from the main contractors. During this stage, the main source of labor were members of the family; in a few occasions, such as when demand was high, labor from outside the family was hired. The place of work was mainly in the house. This stage especially took place in the late 1960s and -70s.

Second, business was getting established and Jembatan Lima started to be known in the convection business circle. Many entrepreneurs of Jembatan Lima managed to become main contractors. During this stage entrepreneurs began to have relatively permanent employees because the demand for skilled labor was high. Consequently, the place of work also expanded to the second or even third floor. This stage took place during the 1980s and -90s.

Third, due to the expansion of markets to also cover many parts of Indonesia and overseas, entrepreneurs of Jembatan Lima started to specialize themselves in various different aspects of the work in the chain of the convection business, such as cutting, hemming, sewing, and the growth of other related or supporting businesses, such as packaging, transportation, logistics, etc. Stage three takes place from the

1990s up to now.

Stage two and three overlap in that there is no clear line demarcating them. During these two stages, a cycle of boom and bust, such as in 1998-99, also took place.

IMPLICATIONS

One of the impacts of this dense and relatively uncontrolled development is the poor quality of the settlement, especially the risk of fires. In a study by Sardiyo (2010) – who was himself a member of the West Jakarta fire fighters brigade – he concludes that the level of security against the danger of fire in Kecamatan Tambora, including Jembatan Lima, is poor. In the five years period between 2005 and 2009, for instance, there were 46 incidences of fire – only second to *Kecamatan Cengkareng* in West Jakarta. From these 46 fires, 2 incidences (4%) were contributed by *Kelurahan Jembatan Lima* (Sardiyo 2010: 60). Among the causes of most fires in the area are: high density of buildings, the wide usage of fire-prone building materials, the use of old electrical wiring, reckless behavior of the residents. Beside those, a number of other factors specific to the work of fire fighters, such as limited or non-availability of fire hydrants, lack of organized residents who are knowledgeable of fire-fighting procedures and techniques, etc. are also contributing to the danger.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of *Kelurahan Jembatan Lima* as an integrated working and living environment involves the following:

1. Two transformation processes took place in the last 60 years or so, namely transformation of bare land or less-productive land into residential and other urban uses; and transformation of existing buildings into much denser or multiple use buildings. While

the former transformation process took place mainly during the 1950s and -70s, the latter transformation process took place since the late 1960s up to now.

2. Drivers of these transformation processes were, **first**, the in-flux of migrants from surrounding trade centers, notably *Petak Sembilan* and *Glodok*, who sought places to live, and those from the hinterland of West Java and the southern parts of Sumatra. **Second**, the insertion of the convection business into *Jembatan Lima*;
3. Currently, *Jembatan Lima* has been growing into a more specialized mode of production in the convection industry, differentiating cutting, sewing, hemming, and even packaging. Some supporting or related businesses are also growing, namely transportation-logistics, room-renting, etc.
4. The spatial implications of these transformation processes are tremendous. From a swampy area with scattered houses, *Jembatan Lima* transformed into a dense settlement with multi-story and multi-use buildings. This development has not been guided properly by spatial planning endorsed by the city government. Therefore, on the one hand, standards of health and security are not met in the settlement. However, on the other hand, *Jembatan Lima* is a clear example of an industrious community, where the energy to revitalize itself has been demonstrated. This energy, with proper leadership and trust, may be transformed into a strong social capital for a better future.

NOTES

1. Of course, the term “integrated” here is only used in a limited context, i.e. that both working and living are conducted in one place, namely *kampong* or even house. Integrated in a broader sense, i.e. the existence of close functional relationship between the two activities, is not implied, at least at the beginning of this study.
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Hybrid Live-Work Architecture in Brazil: Learning from the Peripheral Neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro

**Ana Slade
Guilherme Lassance**

Postgraduate Program in Urbanism (Prourb),
Federal University of Rio de Janeiro,
Brazil

ABSTRACT

The residential architecture produced in Brazil remains mostly tied to a monofunctional paradigm. The repetition of a standard formula that addressed the market interests does not contemplate the diversity and transformation of Brazilian ways of life. Besides, it corroborates the preservation of a radical opposition between center and periphery, characterized by an unbalanced distribution of resources. As a result, there is a clear socio-spatial segregation and the creation of dormitory suburbs which imply a daily commuting reality for a huge part of the population.

This research consists of an investigation on suburban houses in Rio de Janeiro which are informally transformed to accommodate multiple activities from living to workspaces. The suburb of Rio de Janeiro has vast areas of lots generally occupied by single-family houses. In these areas, the need to increase the family income associated with the lack of infrastructure, including local commerce and facilities, fosters the development of an informal economy which in turn transforms the built environment itself.

A fragment of one of these peripheral neighborhoods is analyzed in this paper through the mapping of commercial and professional activities that take place in single-family homes. The urban environment of streets in the same neighborhood that are deprived of such activities is compared to the streets in which they happen. Data on population income, unemployment rates, distance to work and land use legislation are also analyzed and discussed.

The investigation consists of considering the social and spatial effects of an informal economic activity within the formal city. The suburban houses are analyzed as a privileged space to observe and acknowledge a local way of life, intrinsic to a specific social and economic reality. Both spatial and building solutions are thereby recognized and valued as a reference to think about alternatives to the way housing projects and city planning itself have been defined.

KEYWORDS

Periphery Neighborhoods, Live-Work Architecture, Urban Planning

INTRODUCTION

Major paradigm shifts in the organization and planning of cities are deeply related to the conformation of the workspace and its relation to dwelling. In the pre-industrial period, the domestic space was used for both the activities of living and working mixed in the family environment. The new mode of production, industrial capitalism lead to the spatial separation of dwelling and workplace and urban planning principles started to be based on the spatial segregation of functions.

The proletarian suburbs, strictly residential areas, were then born, and the live-work typology was abolished along with small-grain diverse and mixed uses. After decades of planning based on functional zoning, criticisms of the modern city were expressed. Among other authors, Jane Jacobs claimed that, since the 1960s, diversity and density are necessary to achieve vitality and safety in the city. Rio de Janeiro, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, despite a still slow process of industrialization, went through deep transformations to the foundations of its economy and systems of production. Economic shifts generated intense population growth and related increase of precarious dwellings. The desire to transform the image of the city, to embody the expression of a modern capital, drove the displacement of the lower and middle-class population away from the city to its surrounding areas. However, no development project emerged to serve the displaced proletariat unlike the utopian models of 'Garden City' or 'habitat ideology' in France (Lefebvre, 1991 apud Fernandes, 2011, pp. 30-31). The suburbs grew instead predominantly without planning and were characterized by processes of subdividing former farmland into small urban plots coupled with the spatial segregation of activities; thus, generating extensive strictly residential areas.

While in the United States, interest in hybrid uses reemerged with critical reevaluations of urban planning policies based on functional zoning, in Rio de Janeiro, regulations signed in the 1970s – which have not yet been substantially revised – were still very much influenced by the modern principles of use segregation (LASSANCE et al, 2012, p.37). Despite legislation and because of opportunities arising from a lack of inspection, along with a scarcity of infrastructure and local

facilities, home-based informal entrepreneurial activities have begun proliferating in these suburban residential neighborhoods.

Such activities – and their impact on the urban space in the residential suburban neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro – are the phenomenon analyzed in this article. The spontaneous transformation of the suburban house and relationships of spatial and building solutions to local lifestyle are considered by valuing non-hegemonic innovative practices produced by different individuals and socio-spatial contents. By doing so the research reveals a suburban reality beyond the scarcity and economic dependence which often form the narrative used by locals to describe Rio's suburbs (Fernandes, 2011).

The suburban residents' everyday practices- their ways of doing- are analyzed as a reference through which to consider alternative housing policies and the city planning strategies. In understanding these informal entrepreneurial activities within the formal city, the present research opens up a territory of the ordinary production of the city and its architecture that designers and planners often do not consider (Walker, 2010). The suburban houses are analyzed as a valuable space to observe and to recognize a local lifestyle specific to a social and economic reality in which the dwelling is often associated with professional activities and income generation.

THE 'SUBURB' OF RIO DE JANEIRO - FROM THE ARISTOCRACY TO THE PROLETARIAT

The concept of suburb in Rio de Janeiro has changed over time, absorbing a singular local connotation (Soares, 1960; Fernandes, 2011). Its current definition exists in direct contrast that which prevailed until the late 19th century, when it referred to the outskirts of the city and remained associated with farming activities, a rural retreat for the aristocracy (Fernandes, 2011, pp. 53-55). Even after the construction of the first railway line in 1858, it remained, for a few decades, a site of social status. At this time the plans for the outskirts of Rio were similar to those of the modern rail suburbs of Europe and North America, created for the middle and upper classes (Fernandes, 2011, p.57).

However, from the beginning of the 20th century the attributes related to the concept of suburb in

Rio de Janeiro changed (Fernandes, 2011, p.44). Faced with the ideological needs of a capitalist society and the development of major urban reforms, the suburb obtained a sense of social stigma as it began to be associated with the neighborhoods served by the train lines used by the lower classes. From this point, discriminatory policy was adopted to deal with the periphery. The process of “opening the suburbs to the proletariat” (Abreu, 1987, p.15) then began and the trinomial “train / suburb / proletariat” – a typical depiction of the suburb in Rio de Janeiro (Fernandes, 2011, p.143), arose. In this context, the social and spatial segregation of the proletarian suburbs developed. In these neighborhoods the workers arranged themselves with little to no State intervention in the social domain for the first three decades of the 20th century.

FROM FARMS AND RURAL PROPERTIES TO LAND PARCELLING FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

“The suburb came to be occupied by the proletariat because of the imperative of the accelerated growth of the city, of the migration flows, of the real estate dealers who promoted the parcellation of the farmland in order to transform it into new urban developments that were cheap because of the lack of infrastructure”. (Fernandes, 2011, p. 151)

The process of urbanization of the many peripheral neighborhoods known today as suburbs of Rio de Janeiro began in the 1860s. Led by land-owning families, the auctioning of individual parcels or big plots of land was triggered by the opportunity to transform the land into a “commodity” (Pechman, 1985, pp. 125-126). Population growth and the consolidation of the urban fabric of the region did not take place until after 1890 accompanied by the strong growth of passengers embarking on suburban trains. This increase of ridership was coupled with a rise of real estate ventures leading to the densification of the periphery and expansion of the city limit (Pechman 1985, 127).

Until the middle of the 19th century, the economy of Rio de Janeiro was in the shadow of the colonial system, based on plantation and export with the secondary sector having a marginal role. After 1840, coffee became the country’s largest source of wealth, a condition that triggered the creation of railroad lines that were initially devoted to cargo freight. In the

last three decades of the 19th century, due to the crisis of the coffee production (mainly due to the abolition of slavery), investments in agriculture started to be transferred to the city; thus, helping the development of crafts, industry and other urban activities (Pechman 1985; Abreu 1987). The strengthening of the secondary sector in these circumstances resulted in an intense migration of freed slaves and recently arrived European immigrants. The new abundance of labor helped create the emerging urban economy but also led to a major housing shortage (Pechman, 1985, pp.21-22). The population of Rio de Janeiro grew exponentially between 1870 and 1920, from 235,381 to 1,147,599 inhabitants¹.

The housing crisis associated with the development of train and tramway systems, and the existence of a vast farmland area in a state of economic stagnation were determining factors for the beginning of the intensive occupation of the suburbs (Pechman, 1985, p.42). The central area became increasingly tumultuous and dense. The wealthier strata moved to neighborhoods around the historic center (then known as the suburbs, but no longer today) in search of isolation (Pechman 1985: 15). The poorest population remained in the central areas, where jobs were concentrated, and tenement houses proliferated (Pechman, 1985, pp.15,22).

Attempting to escape from the increasingly high rent in the central areas, the emerging middle class formed the first main social layer in the initial stages of the occupation of the railway suburb. An opportunity had presented itself for them to buy a small piece of land and acquire the ownership of their dwellings (Pechman, 1985, pp.14, 42). In the city centre, as well as in some suburban areas which had mixed-use development along their main streets, rail or tramway lines, the ‘sobrado’ was a dominant typology. The ‘sobrado’ (Figure 1) is a live-work typology, which combined a commercial store on the ground floor with independent access to the second floor, where the owner’s family lived. Many of the merchants and professionals who moved to these suburbs early in the 20th century lived in a ‘sobrado’.

In the second stage of urbanization of Rio’s periphery, as transportation became more accessible, the poorer strata of the population joined the middle class in these suburban railway

neighborhoods. Many houses were then built for rent by independent owners and real estate companies. (Pechman, 1985, pp. 40-43).

TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER PRODUCERS OF THE SUBURBAN SPACE

“These suburbs do not have their own existence, independent from the center of the city, on the contrary, their life is common, their relations very intimate and frequent” (Aureliano Portugal, *Jornal do Comércio*, 20/06/1904 apud Pechman, 1985, p.53).

The suburbs consolidated along the four main axes of the railway lines, in addition to the quite dense network of tramway lines that “sewed” together the space between the first areas occupied concentrated around train stations (Pechman, 1985, p.52).

We can conclude that the residential neighborhoods that are the object of this study were a repository of houses, the result of the parceling of land understood as a mere commodity, which served to ‘store’ the massive working class selling its labor in the most central and now privileged areas of the city (Bonduki; Rolnik, 1979). The suburban region is now composed by a patchwork of formal and informal settlements (*favelas*). Among the formal developments, one can find many strictly residential neighborhoods created by developers far away from the train or subway stations. The increasing proportion of isolated and underserved communities led to the replacement of tramway lines with bus lines and the highly profitable business of monofunctional housing development was entrenched and continues to be the model of

urbanization in Rio’s periphery.

CASE STUDY: RESIDENTIAL FRAGMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF IRAJÁ

Home-based informal activities are a common trait in the peripheral neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro. The proliferation of such activity is stronger in areas dominated by single-family homes that are distant and disconnected from any major center or commercial hub. The case study presented here gives an illustration of a typical situation in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

The determining factor in the selection of this area as the case study area, from the many others initially mapped was the issue of security. After contact and conversation with local agents, the area was pointed out as the safest one to conduct our field research. The case study on-site survey was first made by walking on the streets of the chosen urban fragment and observing the boundaries between public and private spaces. Visible work activities were mapped along with signs on facades and sought to identify activities that promote interactions in public space, in a variety of ways. During this stage, we also observed the number of passers-by and occurrences of people staying and interacting on the sidewalks. The initial mapping of work activities was complemented with an internet survey of service and product advertisements. During the second stage, a survey was carried out in some of the establishments that were found to promote greater interaction with the public space and behave as spaces of community gathering. In this phase, we observed the dynamics of these establishments in relation to the street and the internal layout of the houses, and interviews were

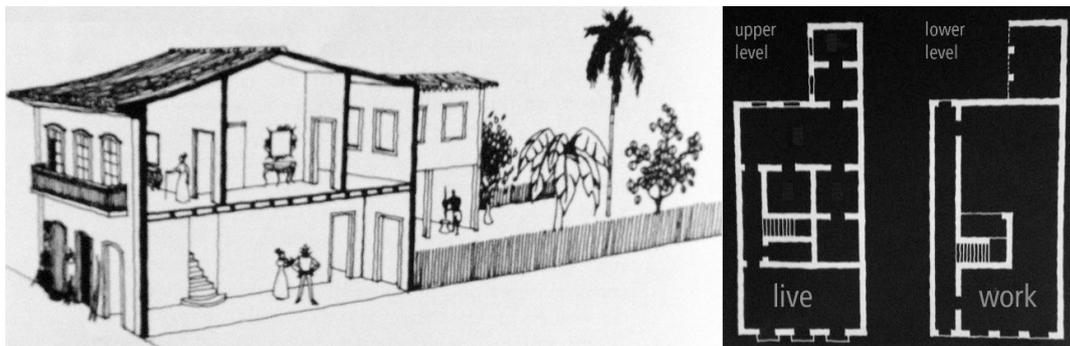


FIGURE 1 The ‘sobrado’

conducted with owners and customers.

The district of Irajá is located in the Northern Zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the most populous area of the capital which consists of 87 districts where 42% of the city's population live and which presents the highest population density (10,185 per km²)². Average income rate in Irajá in 2000 was 262 US\$ (R\$ 473.39)³, the Northern Zone being the region with the lowest average income per household (R\$ 1,362.00 or 756.66 US\$) in Rio with only 28% of households earning more than 5 'minimum wages'. However, it is the region with the highest proportion of employees with a formal job contract (57.9%) and 20% of workers are self-employed. In 2015 the unemployment rate was 8.3%, a figure that has been increasing throughout the country in recent years. The unemployment rate for people 14 years old and greater in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro was 6% in the first quarter of 2015 and has been rising steadily reaching 14.3% in the first quarter of 2017.⁴

LEARNING FROM THE SUBURB HOUSE TACTICS

The scarcity of formal local shops and other facilities, as well as spaces for social gathering in the neighborhood, combined with the need to generate income, becomes an opportunity for the development of an informal economy.

Although local legislation does not allow mixed use development, or the majority of business activities associated with residences; monitoring

by public authorities is rare, allowing for the proliferation of informal markets in the public space. This makes the environment more conducive to the experimentation of spontaneous solutions. These urban peripheries are therefore a favorable ground for the proliferation of informal *tactics*. The concept of *tactics* is used here according to Michel de Certeau's definition that distinguishes it from *strategy* (Certeau, 1984, pp34-39), which he refers to as the calculation (or manipulation) of power relations, a Cartesian attitude, typical of modern science, politics and military action. *Tactics* on the other hand are defined as calculated actions determined by the absence of a proper locus, therefore they occur on and within a terrain imposed and organized by the law of an external power. A *tactic* does not have the option of operating as part of a general plan:

"It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids. What it wins it cannot keep. This nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment. It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse. In short, a tactic is an

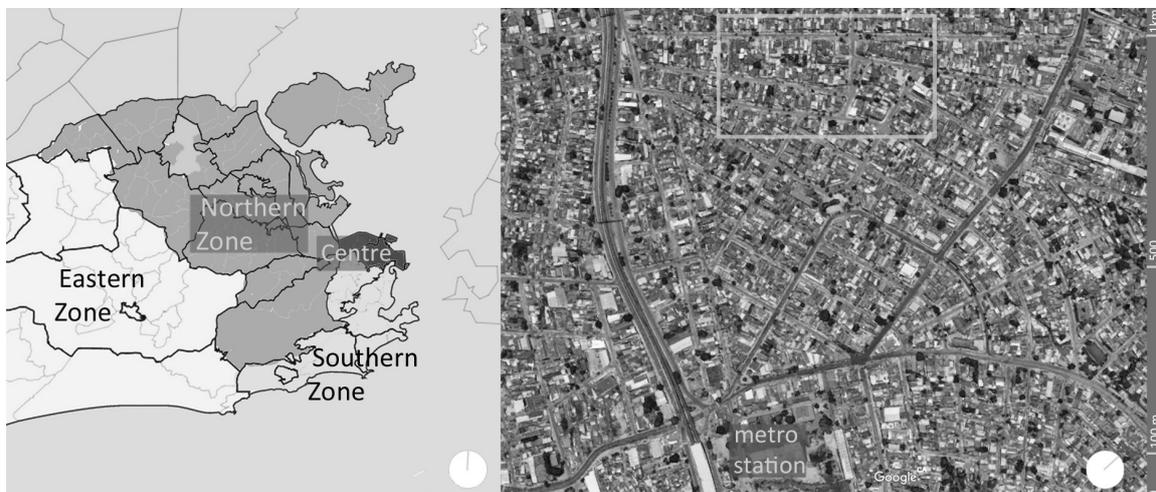


FIGURE 2 Study area in Irajá district, Rio de Janeiro.
(Source: Author with base from Google Earth)

art of the weak." (Certeau, 1984, p. 37)

According to Certeau:

"in the technocratically constructed, written, and functionalized space in which the consumers move about, their trajectories form unforeseeable sentences (...). Although they are composed with the vocabularies of established languages (...) and although they remain subordinated to the prescribed syntactical forms (temporal modes of schedules, paradigmatic orders of space, etc.), the trajectories trace out the uses of others interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop." (*La Culture au pluriel*, 1974, pp.283-308; *Actions culturelles et stratégies politiques*, 1974, *La Revue nouvelle*, pp. 351-360 apud Certeau, 1984, p.xviii).

The built environment of the neighborhood of Irajá is therefore analyzed considering two layers. The first layer refers to its existing morphological elements, dominated by the repetition of a basic unit: the urban lot, approximately 8 to 10 meters wide by 25 to 50 meters deep, occupied by single-family houses and surrounded by narrow streets and sidewalks. Added to this physical context is a second layer, formed by users' responses to the physical environment in which they perform their everyday practices. We can then observe two distinct scenarios on the streets of the studied neighborhood.

The first scenario is of numerous private coexisting realms (Figure 3), each of them in its own lot and disconnected from each other: walled houses, with a very clear physical demarcation of the border between public and private environments. The street demonstrates a lack of public maintenance and functions only as a means of circulation to reach the private spaces of the houses. In this first scenario, the walls are the dominant element of the landscape serving to reinforce the separation of previously established private plots, and there is no place for the 'common'. The observation of this scenario where life tends to be restricted to the private realm of the house refers to questions raised by Guy Debord (1961) in his critique of modern society:

"The new prefabricated cities clearly exemplify the totalitarian tendency of modern capitalism's organization of life: the isolated inhabitants (generally isolated within the framework of the

family cell) see their lives reduced to the pure triviality of the repetitive combined with the obligatory consumption of an equally repetitive spectacle. (...) Someone posed the question, 'What is private life [vie privée] deprived [privée] of?' Quite simply: of life itself, which is cruelly absent. People are as deprived as possible of communication and of self-fulfillment; deprived of the opportunity to personally make their own history." (Debord, G. *Perspectives For Conscious Changes in Everyday Life, Internationale Situationniste #6*, Paris, 1961).⁵

In the second scenario, a fundamental component transforms the urban environment, making it essentially different from the previous one. We refer here to the presence of entrepreneurial activities: a window is opened, a sign is placed, an awning is deployed over the sidewalk or small porch attached to the house to sell some product or service in the residential neighborhood (Figure 4). They are subtle operations that proliferate within the structures of the system and silently subvert the monofunctional nature, responding to various economic, cultural and social demands. Such devices, understood as tactics, modify the *status quo* of these neighborhoods by promoting the interaction between private and public spaces.

These practices are related to the 'house' in terms of physical property, transforming the building to accommodate workspace. However, they also produce a transformation of family and community as they are interwoven with local lifestyles and reimagine social interactions beyond the walled family structure into the street and neighborhood. Inviting neighbors to ring the bell and interact with the family life they promote even more transformative interactions. Overhanging covering, or small added sheds, proliferate across local streets forming spaces of



FIGURE 3 Street in the residential neighborhood of Irajá, as an illustration of 'scenario 1'. (Source: Google Street View)



FIGURE 4 Home-based informal activities in the residential neighborhood of Irajá, as illustration of ‘scenario 2’.
(Source: Author with base from Google Street View)

greater integration between public and private domains. Breaking both the formal and informal barriers segregating domestic and public spaces there is a blurring of borders and a transitional space is, with the quality of the ‘in-between’ (Hertzberger, 1996) encouraging users to stay on the sidewalk and to use it as a common space (Figures 5, 6 and 7).

The overhanging coverings are deployed in front of the houses - on the frontal set-back or even outside the private plot, on the public sidewalk. They are also built on the top of the houses, transforming the existing flat roof slab into a living space. They are often used as a shelter for productive or commercial activities, but they are, above all, spaces of sociability. Solving practical and functional issues, overhangs extend the space of the house enabling small-scale entrepreneurial activities and promoting social and cultural practices of community interaction previously repressed in the strictly residential streets. No longer is the border between street and private realm reinforced by physical and visual barriers

FIGURE 5 Mapping of home-based informal activities in a fragment of the residential neighborhood of Irajá, Rio de Janeiro.
(Source: Author with base from Google)



(Figures 6, 7 and 8).

In areas where streets are populated by such entrepreneurial activities, urban life is activated, offering more favorable conditions for certain daily social practices. On our on-site visits we noticed many signs of social practices such as: observation of the street life, greetings, informal conversation and coexistence between neighbors, providing greater appropriation of sidewalks. As an example, some of the residents reported that the street where the 'patty factory' is located - which offers a communal porch to the street where neighbors usually sit and chat -, is safer than another street on the other side of the same block where there is only residential use and higher incidence of robberies. It can be observed, in the close vicinity of the overhanging porch, the existence of an even older habit of the suburb of Rio de Janeiro to place chairs on the sidewalk in front of the residential houses, a now near lost tradition in the streets with predominantly residential and walled houses.

Under the overhanging coverings, made of tubular iron structure or even pvc tubes and lightweight roofing tiles, or plastic canvas, or plastic tarpaulins, we find products for sale on display, professionals repairing appliances or manufacturing artifacts like metal frames while they take part to the street life and greet their neighbors, and also residents sitting in chairs, chatting on communal porches alongside spaces of productive activity. (Figures 4, 6, 7 and 8).

Another important commercial activity that thrives - and according to reports of the residents creates spaces of leisure and social life in these neighborhoods - are "biroskas" (Figure 8), an informal bar where beer and pastries are sold and barbecue is prepared on weekends while clients sit at tables on the sidewalk.

These practices are demonstrations of the knowledge of these users, they are anonymous "arts of practice" that invent ingenious creations, giving hope that, in the interstices of the imposed codes, they can give life to spaces that are the result of the imposed technocratic system, by resignifying them. Through small subversions with no purpose or determined political goals, they improve the otherwise alienating everyday life with "wonders" as "ephemeral festivals that arise, disappear and reappear." ⁶

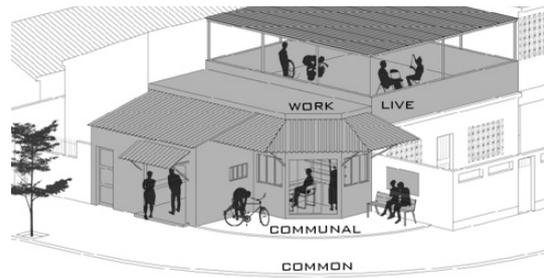


FIGURE 6 Scheme 'Manicure and Tadoo' home based in Irajá, Rio de Janeiro (Source: Author; Collaboration: Daniel Moraes)

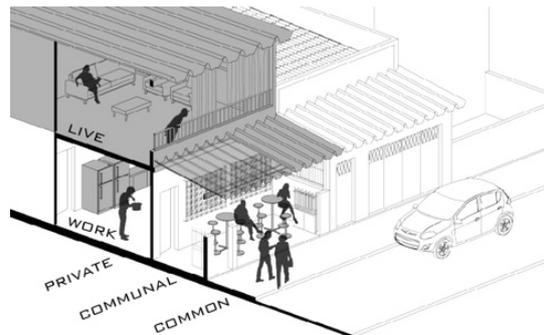


FIGURE 7 Scheme 'Patties factory' home-based in Irajá, Rio de Janeiro (Source: Author; Collaboration: Daniel Moraes)

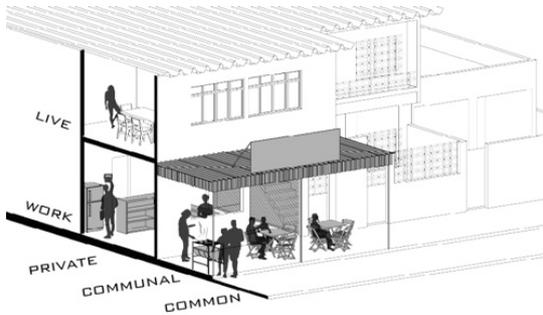


FIGURE 8 Scheme 'Birosca' home-based in Irajá, Rio de Janeiro (Source: Author; Collaboration: Daniel Moraes)

RESULTS

Despite the precarious process of formation of the analyzed urban fabric, the characteristics of its built environment - narrow lots, densely built, 1 to 3 floors, buildings aligned to property limits or with small front garden space (which results in a continuous urban facade) - are not restricting home-based entrepreneurial activities and therefore the development of fine-grained mixed-use neighborhoods in the peripheries of Rio. Despite a functional zoning legislation that does not allow commercial and residential uses to coexist in the same plot, the socioeconomic context combined with inoperative monitoring by city administration has stimulated home-based informal productive activities. The result is the transformation of some areas into hybrid environments, which helps to break the fragmentation and homogenizing character of functional zoning codes. Home-based informal productive activities in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro boost a local economy and transform the daily routines of its residents and their built environment. In response to

unforeseen demands by urban planners, they create devices that are more conducive to the social life of their users. Triggered by the need to generate income, they help to improve the common: creating small shops and facilities within walking distances; shifting interactions of the houses with street life, creation of spaces of encounter and collective interaction among the residents; intensifying the use of the sidewalks, activating urban life and transforming of the street into a more inhabited, cared for and safe space. Spontaneous cultural and social practice demonstrates that residents are looking for alternative to the bucolic spaces created by functional zoning in these residential suburban areas. Communities are being transformed, through occupant adaptation into busier streets which promote social interaction and entrepreneurial activities between inhabitants.

CONCLUSIONS

The transformations, or 'arts of practicing', in the suburban neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro by its inhabitants are valued as important clues to possible city planning and housing policies. They demonstrate alternatives to monofunctional housing developments- to single-family townhomes within gated communities - a model of housing and city that continues to be repeated in Brazil while contributing to the formation of increasingly segregated cities.

The home-based work lifestyle that develops spontaneously in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro meets idealized strategies in developed countries across the world by authors such as the American Thomas Dolan and the British Frances Holliss. The proposal of a multifunctional live-work unit is approached as a strategy at the city scale, since it can affect the optimization of resources and reduction in the demand for transportation, as well as in the qualification of urban space in suburban neighborhoods. The concept of 'Zero Commute Housing' indicated in the title of Dolan's book (2012) refers to architectural typologies that are able to reduce the need for individual or collective transportation, whether for work or for other daily activities. The potential of use related to productive activities is also valued by Dolan for the vitality of the neighborhoods rather than the choice of strictly residential neighborhoods.

Holliss (2015), in turn, calls for a review of how buildings and cities are thought of, in the face of informational capitalism and the unprecedented number of women in the labor market. She suggests, therefore, that it is a pressing issue that the changing of individual lives is strongly linked to the transformations of the ways buildings and whole neighborhoods are conceived. She also champions the social, economic and environmental benefits that the encouragement of the 'workhome' could provide (Holliss, 2015, pp.168-197).

However, Holliss also points out that in England, as in many countries, both building and urban regulations are still based on a monofunctional paradigm, and this is still a major drawback. "Regulations rooted in the industrial past discourage this working practice and as a consequence severely restrict the possibility of developing buildings and city districts appropriate to contemporary home-based employment practices, in part, generated by informational capitalism. Changes to planning frameworks, property taxation systems and tenancy agreements

in social housing are urgently needed. They would help bring this practice and these buildings out from the shadows" (Holliss, 2015, p.165).

The analyzed tactics proliferating in the suburbs of Rio are finally valued by the demonstration that these small-scale changes, undertaken out of ingenuity and intrinsic to local ways of life, are able to alter the urban environment. As we have demonstrated, changes to the home alter the dynamic of urban life, transforming a neighborhood and community. Lessons learned from these ordinary actions, coming from the common man are illustrative of possible alternatives to reimagine the city.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. Pechman, 1985, p.21, based on the research "Dos Cortiços, estalagens e casas de cômodos à formação dos subúrbios - 1870/ 1930" (From tenement houses to the formation of suburbs) coordinated by Ribeiro, L. C. Q. Ribeiro, PUR/UFRJ, 1983.
2. Source: Painel Regional: Rio de Janeiro e bairros / Observatório Sebrae/RJ. Rio de Janeiro: SEBRAE/RJ, 2015.
3. Source: Dados básicos: IBGE-microdados dos Censos Demográficos 1991 e 2000.
4. Source: IBGE, Diretoria de Pesquisas, Coordenação de Trabalho e Rendimento, Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios Contínua, March 2017. http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/indicadores/trabalhoerendimento/pnad_continua/. Site visited on 05/18/2017.
5. Originally presented by tape recording in May 1961 at a conference of the 'Group for Research on Everyday Life' convened in Paris by Henri Lefebvre in Knabb, K., 2006. *Situationist International Anthology*.
6. CERTEAU, Michel de. *La culture au pluriel*, 1974, Paris Christian Burgois, pp.244-245 apud GIARD, Luce. Apresentação: História de uma pesquisa in CERTEAU, 1984, p. 18.

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Urban and Rural Tourism Destinations: Opportunities for Tourism Development to Promote Sustainable Urban-Rural Linkages

Wita Simatupang

Tarumanagara University,
Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Tourism destination is more than just a space, it is a place where the economic sphere of tourism forms landscape, interacts with the social and environmental sphere. Indonesia has been accelerating its tourism developments with national supports and investment. We can see examples of small fishing town transforming to a bustling urban tourism destination, such as Labuan Bajo (95.410 visitors: 2015) and Bajawa, both at Flores, and Waisai at West Papua. The paper seeks to find out relationships between urban and rural destinations.

Urban destinations are entry points for the region. It requires natural resources from the hinterland thus opens up opportunities for local products. In less developed region, however rural areas in the hinterland does not yet have the capacity to cater for their adjacent urban destinations; then goods and services have to be brought in from a distance. In Labuan Bajo, recent research (2016-2017) found out that nearly 80% of non-agriculture products of hotels in urban areas are provided from distant islands. Tourists also mentioned difficulties to find local products as souvenirs and expected more information on tour products in the villages. The reasons for this are many, but the most striking ones can be highlighted: (1) post production process to develop the product into tourist quality standard is often lacking, (2) poor supporting infrastructure, and (3) village communities do not yet have entrepreneurship to establish partnership with tourism business.

Often, urban destinations accelerated development in their region by mostly relying on resources from distant regions; are unaware of the opportunities and fail to develop sustainable buyer-supplier linkage to their local regions. The increasing demand of tourists could also become agent to improve existing condition in the urban area itself. Instead, in many cases supporting facilities and major infrastructure works are concentrated in contained resort. Urban destination is often simplified as urban quarter for tourists to visit, which is developed as an enclave; sometimes physically, socially, and economically fragmented from its context.

KEYWORDS

Tourism, Destination, Local Economy

Urban destinations and rural hinterland can be developed

as a network; where rural suppliers fulfil needs of visitors in urban destinations. Development of urban tourism destinations can become centre of facilities for visitors both to urban and to surrounding rural areas. The paper will explore how these dynamics occurred in some of Indonesia's tourism destinations; and to what extent this relation can accelerate the local economic development of the region.

INTRODUCTION

Many studies of urban development have focused on urban or rural areas as two polarities; several scholars yet also highlighted the interdependencies between these two areas (Friedmann, 2011; Satterthwaite and Mitlin, 2001, Douglas, 1983). Similarly, discussions on tourism development have also more focused in rigid division between urban tourism destination and rural tourism destination (Hermantoro, 2014). This division classically simplified urban and rural destinations based on the characteristics of attractions, tourist activities, and tourism facilities; where the first one has more built-up attractions (museums, art centres, shopping centres, castles, etc.) while later has more natural attractions.

There is an increasing evidence that large urban agglomerations are disproportionately benefitting from these development (Pike and Rodriguez, 2016; Mayer, Habersetzer, and Meili, 2016); while rural regions are facing larger challenges to benefit from and to get engaged in these development. Development has been concentrating in urban areas; with the tendency to convert rural areas to form larger urban agglomerations rather than to channel benefits to existing rural areas. This has led to increasing spatial disparities particularly between urban and rural areas. In the case of urban tourism destinations, spatial disparities include concentrated development of infrastructure and high end facilities in urban areas, which turn into discrepancies of land value between urban and rural areas. Such spatial disparities have also encouraged economic disparities between urban destinations and rural areas (McGee, 1987).

Cities and urban areas consume resources and produce waste from rural areas at their peripheries, as has been discussed by many readings (Satterthwaite and Mitlin, 2001, Douglas,

1989) It has creates a resources conflict between urban and rural areas (Campbell, 2003) and rather a strong tension between urban and rural. However, both also have interdependencies to each other; both need each other for their survival.

Recent discussions on entrepreneurship (Heike, Habersetzer, and Meili, 2016) argue that urban and rural can have better relationships with equity of opportunities and supporting to each other. Urban-rural linkages might have the potentials to decrease the impact of spatial disparities through their ability to create economic opportunities in rural regions. Increasingly urban-rural linkages are seen to help rural areas diversify their economic and ensure urban areas access to critical resources. Urban-rural linkages encourage rural regions to become more appealing for rural communities to stay and keep their livelihood in rural areas; thus reducing rate of migration to urban areas. The paper would like to discuss about the dynamics occurred in urban destinations and their linkages to their surrounding rural regions and rural destinations; and to what extent this relation can accelerate the local economic development of the region.

RESULT

Tourism is currently one of the largest growing economic sectors in the world. As reported, international tourism represents 7% of the world's exports in goods and services, after increasing one percentage point from 6% in 2015. Tourism has grown faster than world trade for the past five years (UNWTO, 2017). Asian tourism shows the most up striking trend amongst others. Similar with its positive trends in outbound travel, its international arrivals also shows strong growth for many destinations in Asia and the Pacific this year. The region is leading worldwide inbound growth, with international tourist arrivals (overnight visitors) up 9% through September or well ahead of the 6% growth achieved in 2015 (idem).

Tourism destination is more than just a space, it is a place where the economic sphere of tourism forms landscape, interacts with the social and environmental sphere. The paper is part of continuous work and research in Indonesia which accelerate about how tourism development can promote more sustainable urban – rural linkages.

The points in this paper are developed from our works in several tourism destinations in Indonesia, but the paper will take case of Flores, East Nusa Tenggara as an illustration.

Labuan Bajo is located at the western part of Flores Island. It is the main entry points for Komodo National Park, as well as one of key entry points for Flores Island together with Maumere and Ende (see map below). Tourist arrivals to Labuan Bajo in 2015 reached 95.410 people with annual growth of 30% (2012-2015). This data refers to tourist arrival records to Komodo National Park; because most visitors to Labuan Bajo come for Komodo. Therefore it is arguable that the real tourist arrival number of Labuan Bajo is even higher.

When an urban area becomes tourism destination, it becomes point of entries for tourists and centre of tourism facilities. Tourism has always been Indonesia's main economic sector, yet currently Indonesia has been significantly accelerating its tourism developments both by channelling national supports from multiple ministries and attracting large investment to destinations. Ministry of Tourism during its National Tourism Coordinating Meeting on 4th May 2017 explained its 10 main development action priorities. On territorial basis, efforts would be focused on Top-10 Priority Areas, which were selected from the countries' 88 strategic tourism destinations. Few of these 10 destinations are mature destinations, such as Lake Toba (North Sumatra) and Borobudur (Central Java);

but mostly are emerging destinations such as Labuan Bajo (Flores) and Wakatobi (South East Sulawesi). We can see examples of small fishing town transforming into a bustling urban tourism destination, such as Labuan Bajo and Bajawa, both at Flores, Wakatobi at South East Sulawesi, and Waisai at Raja Ampat. Although urban sector or tourism is not yet the main economic sector in West Manggarai district, it has increased significantly in the last 3-4 years compared to non-urban sector. To compare, Construction sector has increased by 7.03% (2014-2015) while Agriculture only grew by 2.90% in the same year¹.

Emerging tourism destinations creates new market for at least (1) new attractions and (2) supporting products. It is argued here that tourism, particularly in urban destinations can create many economic opportunities not only for itself but also for it surrounding rural areas. Amongst others, the first is by creating demand to develop new attractions in the adjacent rural areas close to urban centres. The new attractions, developed based on its uniqueness, can later turn into rural tourism destinations. The second is by developing supporting products as local souvenirs to be offered to urban destinations.

This trend is also driven by current paradigm which shifts travel pattern all around the world. ABTA (Association British Travel Agents), a world known association in this industry argued in its Travel Trend Report 2017 that current tourists have several new travel patterns. Amongst these, city break firmly has become as people's favourite holiday type. Wider availability of new and lower cost flight services is making longer journeys more attractive and comfortable, thus urban holiday makers now are going long haul, which create increasing travels to urban destinations in distant regions. There is also an increasing drive for healthier lifestyles affects the choice of holidays, thus micro-adventure is a key component of this trend. Micro-adventure is defined as 'small and achievable active activities, for normal people with real lives. Moreover, tourism market has also shifted from general mass tourism to specific interest tourist to more environmentally and socially conscious travelers. Already in 2008, ABTA Tourism Market surveys showed that 77% of British travellers would like to experience local culture and foods. Its recent survey also found out that 75% saying that the environment and sustainability is an

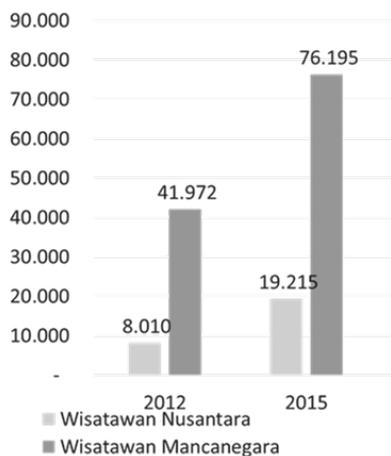


FIGURE 1 Tourists arrivals to Labuan Bajo (2012-2015)

important consideration in their choice of holiday destination: increase of 61% from last year (ABTA, 2017).

Our interviews with more than 150 tourists in Labuan Bajo in 2016 showed that foreign travellers currently spend most of their activities in komodo watching (84% of foreign travellers and 39% of domestic travellers). However, it also showed that foreign travellers are very interested to other new activities, such as exploring local culinary, staying at homestay in the villages, participating in daily activities of local people, participating in rituals or traditional ceremonies, and learning to play traditional instruments. Similar trend is also shown by domestic travellers, yet they also showed high interests in shopping for local products for souvenirs (81%).

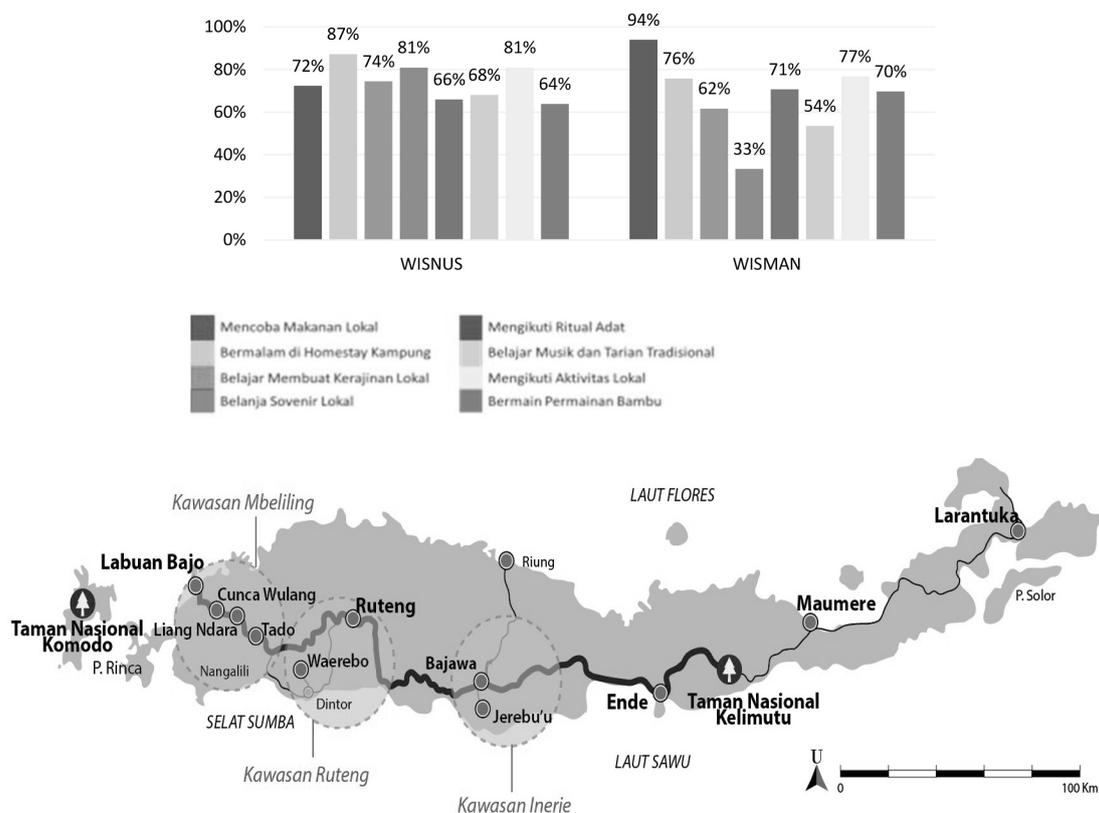
Komodo National Park at the western part and Kelimutu National Park further East has imaginary formed what is called an ecotourism corridor of Flores (NZ Aid, 2007). Flores Island, consisted of 8 districts, has rich ethnical diversity.

Along this corridor there are traditional villages; some still strictly force their traditional beliefs in daily life, architecture of traditional houses and kampongs and houses (Simatupang et al., 2016), some villages have changed slightly but still have not loosen their charm as traditional Flores settlements. The orange coloured circles show areas where there are concentration of traditional settlements along this corridor.

Classically, travellers moves from one main attraction, which is their main reason to come, to another attractions; or from one destination to another destination. With the exception of slow travellers, they will usually keep their length of stay as effective as possible, which is the minimum time required to visit the main attraction. In Flores, classically travellers move east to West from Kelimutu NP to Komodo NP or vice versa; and stayed at Flores main cities like Labuan Bajo, Ende, or Maumere. Until recently (Lion Air introduced new flight route between Labuan Bajo-Ende and Labuan Bajo – Bajawa in 2015), driving was the only means of transport between these urban destinations.

FIGURE 2 Flores Island, main and secondary Cities, and main transport corridors (Source: Indecon, 2017)

Few villages along this corridor had received



travellers, therefore there was evidence that they can benefit out of tourism; however many more were still off the map. Villages were poorly accessible and were not well known by tour guides and tour operators, therefore they had never been included within travel itineraries offered to market. On the other hand, village communities lack capacity to provide tourism services such as guiding or information.

Local communities, governments, and civil society organizations had initiated to develop these villages as new attractions along Flores tourism corridor. The effort was not easy but the result was expected. Efforts were made by increasing capacity of local communities to provide tourism services; as well as improving provision of information and access for both end (village as suppliers and tour operators/tourists as buyers). Strengthened management capacity and skills of local communities resulted in significant increase of visitors coming to tourism villages. Some of these villages marked substantial increase of visitors (Indecon, 2017). As number of visitor increases, local communities had also developed new tourism-related jobs and income, such as local guide, providing rooms as homestays, and performers. At the moment, there is no sufficient data at district level which can relates tourist arrivals at main cities with the increase of tourist arrivals in the villages; however visitor surveys in 2016-17 showed a strong relation. About 30% of travellers interviewed in Labuan Bajo had visited traditional villages in Flores and was very interested to explore further of these villages and culture if they had had more time (Indecon, 2017).

There was fear from few local leaders that such “extension” of tourism to rural areas will only lead to degradation of cultural values and natural assets due conversion of agricultural uses into urban based tourism facilities. Although there is an argument that sustainable tourism can support traditional villages to preserve its culture by sharing it to the world citizen thus creating a wider public awareness on it; but there was also criticism from preservationist that tourism will encourage the villages to lose their authenticity due to the needs to cater new demands. Waerebo, for instance, was visited only by about 600 visitors in 2012 and now hosted more than 5.000 travellers in 2017. There is a strong demand that tourism development

must ensure preservation of local resources and local characteristics, as well as avoiding make urban type attraction in rural areas. Measures such as institutional development and village tourism planning, as well as visitor management procedures for local organizations and code of ethics for visitors had been implemented to ensure that development of sustainable tourism in these rural areas would support rural communities to sustain their culture and living environment. Local tourism organizations were established in some villages, such as Riang Tana Tiwa at Liang Ndara and LPBW at Waerebo (see map). These organizations are managing both visitors to the village and service provision, such as homestay and meals preparation; making administrative records, as well as managing income and benefit distribution to wider local communities. Waerebo, for instance, distribute 23% of their income from tourism to repair and improve their traditional houses, and 6% to support their elderly and community rituals (LPBW, 2016). However, finding the balance between tourism development, natural and social preservation is nearly an endless discussion ; and the effectiveness of planning and policy measures to encourage sustainable tourism is generally believed, yet still to be proven.

Increasing tourism development is potential market for Flores local products. It creates demand not only for tourism facilities, such as accommodation and restaurants; but also supporting products. It is argued here that if this demand can be fulfilled and catered by local industry; or micro, small and medium enterprises run by local community; or community based production groups; therefore tourism will help to promote local economic development and create sustainable linkages between urban destinations and their surrounding rural areas. However, this is not always the case. Market linkages between tourism industries and rural communities hardly exist: tourism-generated business cannot find local business which can cater their needs for local products, while tourists also mentioned difficulties to find local products to purchase.

Increasing tourist arrivals also encouraged growth of new hotels and restaurants. In western part of Flores, growth of tourism industry is concentrated in Labuan Bajo. From 49 properties in 2011; number of hotels increased to more than 60 hotels in 2014 with total 870 rooms²; while number of

restaurants increased from 40 restaurants with total capacity 1.000 seats to 72 restaurants in 2015³. This data still excludes houses which are informally used as lodges or live aboard facilities.

In Labuan Bajo, in order to cater needs of daily ingredients; vegetable and fish are available at local markets; but several products need to be purchased from other islands such as meat, onion, and lettuce. Hotel managers confirmed that although availability is an issue, but reliability of local industry to provide these goods on time and accordingly to certain agreed quality standard, is the main barriers. Local farmers, fisherman, and other local suppliers often cannot maintain good communication with these buyers; who often decide to go for other options which although might be more expensive but more reliable. Recent research (2016-2017) also found out that nearly 80% of non-agriculture products of hotels in urban areas are provided from distant islands. For processed products, such as cheese, milk, sauce, and many others; hotels and restaurants are fully dependent of supply from Surabaya and Bali. At the moment, there are a few small home industries that can provide pastry, cookies, and chips; however taste and variety are still very limited. Ironically, although Flores coffee is world well known, but many hotels in Labuan Bajo still use coffee products from outside Flores. Again, although availability is an issue; but quality of products, such as taste, hygienist, and packaging, is the main barriers. Only until past few months, local small scale industries start to improve this and sell coffee products at local markets in better quality and packaging.

City is a location where production, consumption, distribution, and innovation take place. Urban destinations are entry points not only for themselves but also for the region; they are also the centre of facilities for the region. It requires natural resources from the hinterland to cater for tourists. Rural entrepreneurs are economic agents who might be able to connect urban and rural areas and create linkages between them. Research of Mayer focused on entrepreneurs who stayed or moved back to rural areas by maintaining close relationships with their urban based partners or clients; thus creating beneficial urban-rural linkages. While this research examines hoe economic opportunities from tourism at urban destination can provide chances for rural communities to develop added values to their

local resources and local knowledge, thus creating more sustainable linkage between urban and rural areas. Nevertheless, this is not yet the case in less developed regions. Local workers cannot provide appropriate tourism services and many products have to be brought in from distant region instead. Here, rural areas in the hinterland lose their opportunities to engage in tourism development and such urban-rural linkages had not yet had the capacity to cater for their adjacent urban destinations.

Rural areas are producers of raw materials. In Flores, it ranges from agricultural harvest, wood, bamboo. Communities in rural areas also usually still practiced their local craftsmanship in making handicraft, which is mostly for daily purposes. However, there is lack of post harvesting processing and creative design of these products. Crops are sold right after harvesting in relatively very low price; at maximum process is drying under the sun. These products would have more monetary value if they are processed into semi-finished products or finished products. Handicrafts were made only for domestic purposes, therefore the design and size do not match to tourists market preferences; and even if they do they are most of the time not ready to sell.

Our temporary results indicate that availability of resources turn out not to be the largest challenges after all compared to lack of capacity. Farmers in West Manggarai rural areas sell their harvest to collectors who come to pick up harvest from villages; or to large collectors at small urban centres. Products are sold right after harvest without post harvesting process or with minimum process such as sun drying or hand-peeling. Cashew harvest is sold as dried unpeeled cashew nut, while coffee harvest is sold either as green bean. By these collectors, many of these products find their way to outside Flores; and ironically some of them return to supermarket shelves at Labuan Bajo and Maumere in the form of finished products. Classically, local craft souvenirs would be hand woven fabric called tenun. The production now faces major challenges. Skills remain in the old generation and hardly find its way down to younger generations. Although sometimes it is a must for local women, but weaving is no longer popular amongst youngsters as professions. Moreover, there is hardly any innovation and design improvement to sustain and to revive local craftsmanship as local

community products. Similar to local harvest products, semi-finished crafts like leaf-woven mat and tenun is sent to distant regions and find its way back to souvenir shops in Labuan Bajo or Maumere. Communities in rural areas often lack capacity to develop their local harvest or local craftsmanship into finished products which can be purchased by travellers, either agriculture based, fishery based, forestry based, or crafts.

This lack of capacity is much larger in less developed regions like Flores, Papua, or Sulawesi; compared to more developed regions like Java and Bali. Although few research also shows that similar situation also occurs at deprived areas in Java. In Flores, few community groups had started to develop simple end-user products to be offered to travellers, such as packaged coffee beans; yet all local producers confirmed that both their human resources and their production capacity are far below what is required to fulfil the demand. Knowledge about minimum requirement and standard operational procedures for production such as hygiene, toxic materials, etc. is low and often insufficient to allow rural communities to make good quality products. Our temporary results also confirm our hypothesis that lack of entrepreneurship hinders such urban-rural linkages to take place. There is hardly any communication and product knowledge for hotels, restaurants, shops, and other tourism based facilities. Industries are reluctant to establish business partnerships with rural communities because they cannot be ensured on the reliability of the services.

Rural communities also lack main infrastructure to allow them making economically sound production. Development has been concentrating in urban areas; with the tendency to convert rural areas to form larger urban agglomerations rather than to channel benefits to existing rural areas. Transport accessibility, electricity, and clean water are main infrastructure which are often lacking. In the case of Flores as tourism destinations, development of infrastructure and high end facilities are concentrated in city of Labuan Bajo and often have overlooked rural areas. Electricity is still minimum at peripheries of Labuan Bajo and further out to the hinterland. This creates problem when rural communities need to use tools and machine to produce goods. Transport development has not yet accessed Kuwus, which happen to be most remote area from Labuan

Bajo yet also the richest village in terms of local harvest. Without this basic infrastructure, transportation, electricity and clean water supply, local small and medium scale is difficult to maintain an effective operation. Production and distribution cost will be too high and local community products cannot reach a competitive price. In this case, such spatial disparities have enlarged economic disparities between urban destinations and rural areas.

If we look again the map of Flores above, development of rural regions along Flores tourism corridor as new attractions and as community based home industries for local products; will not only create linkages between main cities to their surrounding villages; but also encourage development in smaller secondary cities such as Ruteng and Borong either as distribution points for local products or transit cities for travellers. The character of current travellers, even those in urban destinations, is willing to explore to multiple attractions or multiple destinations and to include a manageable adventure into it. This creates opportunities not only for rural regions as discussed above, but also the surrounding secondary cities. Despite of flourishing development in Labuan Bajo or Ende, Ruteng (previously the island's capital) remain as a cool and calm city, who mainly acts as distribution point for local agriculture products from villages to collectors. It had hardly developed neither attractions nor facilities; despite being in the centre of tourism corridors. Just recently, a changing in government structure has fostered more progressive thinking in getting engage and taking advantage of both passing-tourists and growing tourism industries in Labuan Bajo (west) and Ende (east). Urban destinations and rural regions can be developed as a regional network; where urban tourism destinations create demand for local products and services and rural suppliers fulfil needs of visitors in urban destinations. The implementation of planning and policy measures to accelerate engagement of these secondary cities into the tourism map is still yet to be proven.

CONCLUSION

Urban or rural areas have been discussed as two polarities; but both also have interdependencies. Similarly, discussions also focused in division

between urban and rural tourism destination; rather on their relationship. Urban agglomeration has led to increasing spatial disparities between urban and rural areas, which also encouraged economic disparities between them. Urban and rural can have better relationship with equity of opportunities and supporting to each other. Tourism development can promote this more sustainable relation by creating many economic opportunities not only for itself but also for it surrounding rural areas. Current travel patterns suggest more environmentally and socially conscious travellers with more interests on learning local culture and exploring natural areas in more responsible ways. Emerging tourism destinations creates new market for at least (1) new attractions in the adjacent rural areas close to urban centres. The new attractions, developed based on its uniqueness, can later turn into rural tourism destinations and (2) supporting products as local souvenirs to be offered to urban destinations.

Measures such as institutional development and village tourism planning are crucial for ensuring development of sustainable tourism in these rural areas to support rural communities to sustain their culture and living environment. Finding the balance between tourism development, natural and social preservation is nearly an endless discussion; and the effectiveness of planning and policy measures to encourage sustainable tourism

is generally believed, yet still to be proven. Main challenges to promote this urban rural linkage are: (i) Lack of capacity, both to develop and manage new attractions and to develop products, (ii) Lack of essential supporting infrastructure such as water and electricity, and (iii) lack of entrepreneurship.

Urban destinations, surrounding secondary cities and rural regions can be developed as a regional network; where urban tourism destinations create demand for local products and services and rural suppliers fulfil needs of visitors in urban destinations.

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NOTES

1. Manggarai Barat dalam Angka 2013, 2014, 2015.
2. Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, 2014.
3. Indecon, 2016, Report EU Innovative Indigenous Flores Ecotourism for Sustainable Trade (INFEST), unpublished.

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Work in Progress: Mapping the Urban Economy of Co-Working Spaces in London

Ignacio Uliate-Parada

Sociology Department,
London School of Economics,
United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

New technologies have disrupted our urban economies, re-arranging both production and consumption chains, in a way that citizens can be part-time producers, suppliers and/or providers. The former has given rise to alternative forms of labour, self-employment and entrepreneurship within cities, as well as alternative and new types of workspaces, changing the traditional relationship between offices, neighbourhoods and housing. This research is a spatial analysis of co-workspaces and its relationship with the urban space; trying to figure out how London's labour landscape is changing due to entrepreneurialism and co-working spaces. In doing so, the dynamic relationship is analysed between Space, Labour and People in a cross-scale analysis that comprehends City, Neighbourhood, and Building scale.

Presenting London as the larger hub for entrepreneurialism in Europe, and adopting social mapping, ethnographic observation, and census data analysis, the main effects of the co-workspace phenomena are studied. Firstly, it addresses the emergence of co-working in a city scale perspective, arguing that this is not related solely to Silicon Roundabout, but it is increasing all over the city. Secondly, it addresses the neighbourhood scale focusing on Brixton, as a neighbourhood that is driven by different forces than Old Street, presenting different kinds of entrepreneurship and businesses. Through urban data analysis and ethnographic observation, it is shown how those co-working spaces are part of an ecosystem that influences the surrounding areas, especially among minority communities. Lastly, a co-workspace itself is analysed, and its entrepreneurial dynamics, affordability and business success.

KEYWORDS

*Urban Labour, Co-Working spaces,
London, Social Mapping, Minority
Communities*

INTRODUCTION

The subprime mortgage crisis of 2008 changed the economic structures of our cities in many ways (Glaeser, 2012; Katz, 2013; Cohen and Muñoz, 2016; McWilliams, 2016; Sundararajan, 2016), modifying the composition of urban economies and how they relate to physical space. Therefore, this crisis has produced uncertainty and subsequent shrinking of investment and reduction in formal job offers in urban areas (Sundararajan, 2016). The process is also aligned with a global 'casualization' of the workforce, resulting in an increase in self- and part-time employment as well as entrepreneurship. As a result, significant numbers of highly-skilled and educated members of the labour force are finding themselves engaging with entrepreneurialism and ventures outside of the formal job market (Bryce, 2017), modifying the labour landscapes of our cities. Furthermore, this crisis has disrupted land markets, increasing property values in metropolitan areas, giving way to collaborative economies outside the conventional forms of work, where space is a shareable resource (Sundararajan, 2016). Additionally, new technologies, such as cloud storage and digital platforms, are allowing freedom of choice to work anywhere, at any time, disrupting the relationship between workspace, leisure and living (Cohen and Muñoz, 2016; McWilliams, 2016). Those three major trends – job supply, technology and the emergence of collaborative economies – have led to the proliferation of co-working spaces, as a response to job casualization and the unaffordable nature of workspaces. Although the sharing of workspaces is not new, the co-working phenomenon differs in many ways from the traditional office, even when it is shared. Instead of paying rent under a long-term contract, co-workers pay a membership on a weekly or monthly basis. This membership gives them access to a complex set of amenities, from super-fast internet and printers to professional and social events, networking, and even beauty shops and gyms, among endless other amenities. This pool of resources helps entrepreneurs to reduce the initial investment required to begin a venture, thereby assisting entrepreneurs in the early stages, creating communities around the services offered. Since membership is on a monthly or weekly basis, it allows entrepreneurship to shrink or grow rapidly; responding to their emerging needs (CBRE, 2015). Within this flexibility of

membership, co-working spaces offer a broad range of services, from the most basic one as 'Virtual Office', through hot and dedicated desks, up to the classic private office.

This study engages with the complexities of the emerging co-working phenomena, exploring the strategic and spatial practices adopted by co-workers. Focused on London, where more than 400 co-working spaces exist (MOL, 2017), it will address how the proliferation of co-working spaces has transformed the labour landscape of this particular city. This study is going to present a cross scale analysis, comprising the city, the neighbourhood, and domestic spaces. Each of these different scales shows different and particular dimensions of the relationships between co-working spaces and the built environment. This research examines the different dimensions of the phenomena as interconnected features rooted in the structures and patent processes at different scales, exploring the strategic and social practices adopted by members of co-working spaces. In doing so, mixed ethnographic techniques will be used, such as social mapping and census data analysis, ethnographic observation while attending events and through the occasional use of co-working spaces, as well as semi-structured interviews with users of those spaces. This investigation is structured as follows: first, this research explores different approaches of entrepreneurship and their role within urban economies. Then, the cross scale analysis is presented, regarding co-working spaces in London, engaging with the city as the symbolic space, the neighbourhood in Brixton as the collective space, and co-working – The Impact Hub – as the domestic space. Finally, the paper concludes with the main findings of this research.

ENTREPRENEURIALISM IN TIMES OF COLLABORATIVE ECONOMY

One of the main changes in urban economies in the last three decades is the automatization and recapitalization of manufacturing economies (Harvey, 1990; Parker, 2001; Thurik, 2009), triggering a decrease in manufacturing jobs due to automatization, and increasing the proliferation of self-employment, entrepreneurialism, and small businesses. Economists have attributed the rise of entrepreneurialism to the intensification of global competition that has led to a market fragmentation (Thurick, 2009); thus, the

customization of industries breaking into smaller ones. Besides, the process of self-employment and entrepreneurialism also correlates with public policies promoting entrepreneurship. These policies see entrepreneurship as an engine that fosters growth and employment. Many scholars argue that the creation of small businesses can lead to economic growth, and consequently the creation of new jobs and a decrease in unemployment (Birch, 1979; Birley, 1979; Reynolds, 1987 cited in Alvarez & Barney, 2000; Zoltan, Audretsh and Storm, 2009). As well, entrepreneurialism is seen as an engine that promotes innovation and opportunities in unstable economies (Mises, 1949 cited in Alvarez & Barney, 2000), explaining the rise of this alternative form of labour after the last recession in 2008. Nevertheless, there has been a change in the perception of entrepreneurialism after the liberalisation of developed markets, which has changed the perception of the contribution of small business and self-employment to city economies (Thurik, 2009). If, formerly, there was confidence in big corporations as job generators, it was believed that small business would die out, victim of its inefficiency. (Schumpeter, 1942; Galbraith, 1956; Bell, 1960; Chandler 1977, 1990 cited on Thurik, 2009). However, the importance of small business and entrepreneurship has increased notably since the seventies in Europe and North America (Ibid). There has been a shift not only in the economic perception of small business and entrepreneurship but also in the policies regarding them, rewarding innovation and risk taking (Parker, 2001), going further than providing pure protection to maintain their viability (Thurik, 2009). In doing so, governments have increased grants, loans and funding to start-ups or entrepreneurship as an investment (not an expense) encouraging a generation of new businesses, by strengthening people's abilities to start their own ventures.

Although entrepreneurialism has always existed, the traditional way of doing business has been disrupted by new technologies and collaborative platforms, increasing the spectrum of this form of labour due to flexibility, and demolishing the barriers to begin a venture (Parker, 2001; Oackley, 2014; Sundajaran, 2016). Co-working spaces emerge in this scenario, as collaborative economies aimed at tackling this instability, providing affordable workspace, and connecting people to make better use of skills and resources,

allowing them to engage with entrepreneurship (Clarence, 2015). That being said, there is a tension between the concept of entrepreneurial economy, which aims for flexibility and innovation, versus the managed economy relying on control and stability (Parker, 2001).

As Jacobs (1969) argued, a geographic environment is essential for promoting knowledge externalities that lead to innovative activity and subsequent economic growth. An understanding of the entrepreneur's locality, environment and geography is crucial to determine the urban economy of this phenomenon. In that sense, Massey (1995), in her book 'Spatial Division of Labour: Social structures of the geography of production' argues for a new division of labour, as a re-arrangement of the social relations that constitute the "*economic space as the product of the differentiated and intersecting social relationships of economy*". This disclosure of the importance of the "*economic space*" as a relational scenario, where the different elements that constitute labour, relates (or not) to each other linking its mutual constitution, emerges with more relevance faced with the presence of new employment patterns. That being said, this economic space represents a new pool of relationships among actors and places, as well as new ways of spatial and social organisation, which can lead to new forms of inequalities, dominance and dependence as well. Behind the changes in spatial labour structures, are the variations in social and economic fabrics, what Massey (1995) has called 'Spatial Structures of Production'. These spatial changes are just a response to wider economic and political issues, within a conflictive social process, beyond the requirements of capital.

MACRO PERSPECTIVES: LONDON

Mapping the distribution of co-working spaces reveals that this phenomenon is no longer exclusive to the Silicon Roundabout, but has spread all over the city. In central London, there is a concentration of 175 co-working spaces, specifically alongside the Silicon Roundabout, London's Tech City - Digital Cluster. What began as a tech and digital phenomenon in this area, providing services to the offices and businesses allocated in the City of London (McWilliams, 2016), has spread throughout the city, fading out up to the very edges of London. The map in figure 01 confirms the spreading

of workspaces, as well as allows differentiating 3 rings of this typology. From the above, it is possible to conclude that co-working spaces are not necessarily accommodating businesses related to digital companies providing services to corporations allocated in the City of London. Instead, we are facing a phenomenon of changes in the labour landscape, whereas co-working spaces are accommodating a myriad and different kinds of businesses. The process of maturing of these kinds of workspaces has turned into profitable real estate investment (McWilliams, 2016), providing workspace to big companies as well. That means that some corporations are allocating branches or subsidiaries within those spaces since the infrastructure is ready to be used for the workforce at a cheaper starting point (McWilliams, 2016). This trend happened specifically around Shoreditch; meanwhile NGOs occupying co-working spaces as headquarters are visible all over the city, being a phenomenon that is not exclusive to innovative companies or entrepreneurs.

The prices to be paid by entrepreneurs to get a fixed co-working desk in London are on average between £300 and £400 per month, whereas 19% of the existing co-working spaces in London offer a dedicated desk for over £400 per month. Once mapped, the most affordable co-working spaces' distribution (less than £300) shows that they follow the same space pattern; they are distributed homogeneously all over the city with no significant distinction between different neighbourhoods, without exacerbating the existing neighbourhoods' inequalities (figure 02). Although it could be argued that co-working spaces are following real estate patterns across London, since they are also a response to the high land prices in London, they are at the same time standardising the value of a fixed desk across the

city.

Even though co-working spaces are spread across London, they are not distributed equally and do present some gaps, leading to a certain clusterization. As stated above, the biggest concentration of co-working spaces is alongside Shoreditch and the Silicon-Roundabout. However, other groups of co-working spaces are recognizable that are not related to Tech City, instead representing their own units. Areas such as Farringdon, at the very edge of the city of London, King's Cross and St Pancras, Soho, and South Bank present a concentration of co-working spaces that are still close to the traditional office areas, but not on the Silicon Roundabout. On the other hand, the traditional offices and business areas like the City of London, Fleet Street, St Paul's or Covent Garden, do not have significant presences of co-working spaces. As a result, the emergence of co-working spaces across London responds to the existence of post-industrial areas, and are well connected to the traditional business areas of the city. The combination of available and inexpensive land, as well as the opportunity to be adjacent to the traditional office areas, creating symbiosis, interaction and easy access to the traditional forms of labour, has influenced the proliferation of co-working spaces in Central London.

However, another kind of clusterization was observed that is not related to the relationship and symbiosis with London's traditional business areas. In South London, a necklace of co-working spaces that comprises Vauxhall, Clapham, Brixton, and Peckham showed up, configuring what this research has called The Southern Necklace. All these areas have transport hubs that connect easily with central London, as well as a tradition of self-employment and proliferation of



FIGURE 1 Co-working spaces distribution



FIGURE 2 Most affordable co-working spaces distribution

small businesses (Hall, P 2002; Hall, S 2015). In addition, the emergence of co-working spaces in this Southern Necklace occurs in areas historically deprived with significant numbers of ethnically diverse communities (Hall, 2015). When we observe the distribution of self-employment in London, the areas that comprehend the Southern Necklace of co-working spaces present rates of self-employment above the 16%. In the particular case of the Borough of Lambeth, it shows a self-employment rate of 20%. Those maps of the proliferation of co-working spaces with the share of self-employment and professional occupations suggest that this is a new phenomenon, whereas highly skilled people are engaging with ventures and enterprises outside the traditional forms of work, reconfiguring London's labour landscape. Mapping and overlying the major mobility infrastructure of London: railways, over and underground, with the current location of co-working (figure 03), it confirms the concentration of co-working spaces alongside transport infrastructure. Hence, areas that constitute transport hubs such as Waterloo, Brixton, and King Cross have a significant number of co-working spaces in its surroundings. In the same way, edge areas as Richmond, Chiswick, West Ealing, or Sutton, although they do not have significant numbers of co-working spaces, present the kind of workspaces associated with the existence of mobility infrastructure, in spite of how far they are from traditional business areas. On the other hand, areas as East Ham, Thamesmead or Eltham in the East, lacking major transport infrastructure, almost do not have co-



FIGURE 3 Co-working spaces distribution and major transport infrastructure

working spaces.

MESO SCALE: BRIXTON

Brixton is characterized by a past of wealthy communities in the 19th century, to become later a working-class area because of the disruption of trains and public transport. Brixton has been since then a thriving economic area with a mix of public buildings, residential areas and big department stores (Howarth, 2002). During the 1980s, several riots took place there, and the crime rates increased significantly, stigmatising the neighbourhood (Howarth, 2002). However, configured as the intersection of major transport infrastructure and as a reference point in South London, Brixton has recently shown a shift in its population composition, with significant numbers of working age international migrants. The above is reflected in the increase in Non-UK National Insurance numbers in the area (Lambeth, 2016), enhancing the diversity of the area. This has materialised in a complex cultural and ethnic mix, resulting in an effervescent and thriving community, where more than one hundred languages are spoken (Howarth, 2002).

Brixton has remained the densest area of Lambeth, as well as one of the most deprived (Lambeth, 2016). Although there has been a significant decrease in deprivation in recent years, Lambeth is still the 14th most deprived borough in the United Kingdom, and Brixton is the most deprived area within the borough, being one of the 10% most deprived areas of the nation in 2010 (Lambeth, 2016). In spite of the professionals coming to this area, and the regeneration process carried out in the neighbourhood, there have been no improvements for the original and long term community (Lambeth, 2016). Using four wards that make up the area: Brixton Hill, Tulse Hill, Ferndale and Coldharbour, the 2011 National Official Labour Market Statistics were analysed to reveal the labour landscape of this area, and the drivers of the increase in self-employment and entrepreneurship within Brixton. These statistics show a shift in the characteristics of its population. From 2008 to 2013, there was an increase of 9.7% in professional occupations, whereas medium-skilled occupations presented a 2.9% decrease, and low skilled occupations dropped by 7.2% (Lambeth, 2016). Those figures not only represent a significant shift in the labour landscape of the area, showing an increase

in highly educated residents, but a different trend from the rest of the country. The above is reinforced by shares of self-employment in the area. The area presents higher rates of self-employment than the rest of the country and London, with 20% of self-employment, whereas the average for the city is 17.6%, and for the country was 14.7% in 2015 (IPPR, 2016).

Regarding gender composition of the labour landscape of this area, there are more women than men in employment in Brixton. Similarly, the share of women engaged with entrepreneurship is 3 points higher than the average for England and Wales, and 1,2 points higher than the average for the borough, whereas according to the literature, women are less likely to engage in ventures and entrepreneurship (Denacker and Cakin, 2014). In addition, women in Brixton also present extremely high rates of part-time jobs, double the number of men in this scheme of labour. Regarding employment figures, the Trust for London stated that although the unemployment rate decreased by 2% from 2011 to 2014 (the lowest unemployment rate in 10 years), the proportion of low paid residents has increased by 6% (ECORYS, 2015). Furthermore, if we analyse the unemployment rates by ethnic background, the difference between the White population and the ones with Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds are abysmal. 85% of the white working age residents are employed, while only the 66% of the Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds are in employment (ECORYS, 2015).

Taking into account the increase in self-employment, the percentage of women working part-time and the decrease in unemployment because of the increase in low paid jobs, it illustrates the casualization of the labour landscape in this area, in spite of the increase in education and skills. Even though there are no clear figures regarding entrepreneurship, the combination of self-employment and the increase of small business in the area give us a hint of the scale of these phenomena. Besides, the number of people engaging with entrepreneurship in Brixton, where there are significant numbers of highly skilled professionals with diverse ethnic backgrounds, frames the demographic composition of these phenomena in this area.

MICRO SCALE: DOMESTIC SPACE

Co-working spaces often take place in refurbished buildings, using open spaces in an organic office layout creating an environment that can foster innovation and communication among the members (Duffy, 2007). These open workspaces have been a tradition in offices since the nineties, mainly driven by new technologies that enable people to work without a fixed position (Turner, Galvin & Myerson, 1998). Within this typology, Impact Hub has been hosting entrepreneurs since 2005, now with more than 100 hundred co-working spaces and 15,000 members worldwide. The Impact Hub has three locations across London, each of them with different characteristics. The one at Westminster is characterized by hosting big company branches, whereas the one at Islington has entrepreneurial and innovative ventures, meanwhile the one at Brixton, with 220 members, is distinguished by its community involvement, which is reflected by different programs held at this Hub. These programmes are looking for fostering neighbourhood projects that “make Brixton a more economically sustainable area in the future” (Community Catalyst, 2017), as well as “individuals who besides being in search of a job want to engage with the community” (Ibid). Brixton’s Hub has several programs aimed at enhancing both the collaboration of co-workers and a sense of community, which are not present in every Impact Hub worldwide. Illustrated by the program called Echo, which consists of an exchange of skills trading hours of work. In addition and in a broader scale, the Hub also promotes the engagement with the community outside the Hub. Every Monday night the ‘Open Project Nights’ is run, which is aimed to improve neighbourhood conditions, and promote and incubate ideas that would shape both the community and the neighbourhood (Community Catalyst, 2017).

The above is also aligned with the drivers that make people engage with their own business in this Hub. Plenty of them mentioned during the interviews that they have been involved with entrepreneurship in order to create solutions that would help people from different perspectives. Among the businesses working at the Hub, there are businesses committed to nutrition and lack of food, sexual education, mental health, community involvement, among other social interests. Cohen and Muñoz (2016) have described this specific kind of venture as Civic Entrepreneurship. These

kinds of businesses are rooted in taking existing social problems within their communities and providing an entrepreneurial business solution. Analysing the hub's active members, almost 50% of them could be classified as Civic Entrepreneurs.

In spite of the civic profile of business within the hub, and programmes available to engage the community, the demographic composition of this workspace does not reflect one of the most ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in London. Analysing the current member list of the Hub, only a quarter of them identified themselves as non-white. Additionally, it shows different shares among women and men. A third of the women members of the Hub are of a non-white ethnicity, whereas only a fifth is from an ethnic group. That being said, the so-called Civic Entrepreneurship within Brixton's context is being carried out mainly by white people, representing 4/5 of this type of business within the hub, which does not reflect the diverse community of the neighbourhood.

For the members of the Impact Hub that were interviewed, the co-working space is seen as an environment that promotes and facilitates social interaction and networking, in order to enhance business opportunities and complexity. These additional aspects of mutualism are seen by the members as an agora to collaborate and deliberate, and make use of the space as a networking arena, either to enhance contacts, or pool services that can be provided by other members. At the core of this, there is an economic imperative, to share and pool common resources not only from the Hub, but from its members, generating symbiosis among the different businesses. In that sense, members get involved in co-working spaces as a way to get access to business services provided on a friendly, non-contractual basis. However, this mutualism that allows entrepreneurs to rely on a collaborative economy of skills, has its limits. In this sense, there is a gap between the expectations versus the reality of the common resources that can be pooled among the Hub's members. Basic services such as design, spreadsheets or casual advice are commonly exchanged in this economic space. Nevertheless, more complex needs, such as franchising, certifications and technological improvements are left behind in this collaborative economy. Thus, access to this economic space, networks and exchange of skills does not ensure a prosperous business, or demolish economic

barriers.

CONCLUSION

Exploring the urban economies of co-working spaces, this study has provided a myriad of perspectives regarding this new workspace typology as one of the physical manifestations of the recent changes in our urban economies. It gives a broader scope for the relationship between labour and space, highlighting the controversies, debates and constraints of co-working spaces and the promotion of self-employment and entrepreneurship in recent years. Furthermore, it relates the entrepreneurial phenomena, through co-working spaces with their locality, showing a sense of its geography and implications within the labour landscape, across the manifestation in different scales, presenting the interconnected features of co-working spaces within London.

Mapping techniques have revealed that the co-working phenomenon is not solely related to the Silicon Roundabout, but it is spread all over London, showing clusterization alongside post-industrial areas of the city, as well as being connected to large transport hubs, denoting a continued interdependence with traditional office areas. This spread also shows a homogenization of co-working spaces' affordability, where no significant difference in its value was found in its different locations. Mapping discovered a Southern Necklace of co-working spaces in south London, which unlike the rest of the clusters, is not immediately adjacent to Tech City. This necklace comprises a group of co-working spaces aligned with the major transport infrastructure, across highly deprived areas of London, with diverse ethnic communities. Deep in the Southern Necklace, Brixton's economic profile was studied, engaging with its demographic composition. It was noted that the area is facing a turning point, with a sharp increase in professional occupations, and the reduction of low skilled employment among its residents. However, behind these figures are significant amounts of part-time jobs, and a decline in salaries, calling for a casualization of labour, which increases among women and people with black and minority ethnic backgrounds. Finally, addressing the domestic and interior social practices, a co-working space engaging with the local community was studied, as well as the developing sustainable solutions for the area. Within this workplace, it was found that

almost half of the hub members are engaging with civic entrepreneurship, focusing their ventures on solving social problems from a business perspective.

Taking everything into account, co-working spaces present the dichotomy between the freedom to work and the casualization of it. On the one hand, these economic spaces offer homogenised affordable spaces across the city, tearing down the barriers to starting a business, creating thriving and symbiotic environments for companies to grow. Additionally, to some extent, they also enhance an internal and external sense of community and social cohesion. The above is bridging the financial and knowledge constraints that entrepreneurs find in the early stages of a business. On the other hand, it seems that this scheme is not reaching every level of society. If in the beginning, the ones who are not skilled are the people missing out growing opportunities, within this context those who may have the skills but cannot afford to take the risk of entrepreneurialism may stay out of this paradigm. Whereas, in spite of the efforts of the hub to engage with the local community, its composition does not represent the neighbourhood's diverse community, whereas just a few co-workers present black or minority ethnic backgrounds. Although it has been established that co-working spaces can remove obstacles to start business ventures, there are some other functions that cannot be achieved for a particular portion of the population. When we observe the rates of unemployment and part-time jobs, it is mostly composed of women, immigrants, and people with minority ethnic backgrounds. This portion of the population has a more restrictive set of capabilities, hence cannot afford the risk of starting their own ventures, having to manage more than one job at a time. Taking that into

account, governments and investors are willing to finance or promote entrepreneurship assuming the risk, but at the same time diversifying its investments and loans over several companies (Zoltan, Audretsh and Storm, 2009). Otherwise, for the founder of the company, there is risk implied which cannot be diversified. As a result, the ones who are not willing or cannot take the risk stay outside of the scope of this scheme. Therefore, this entrepreneurial economy is not for all, and the roots of the company founder, their background, resources, and willingness to take risk involved in entrepreneurialism. In that sense, co-working spaces, as a tool that demolishes barriers to creating businesses, do not constitute a mechanism that can redistribute resources in a more efficient and fair way, since they represent just a portion of the population. It has to be noted as well, that co-working spaces are the economic spaces resulting from major social and economic trends, and replicate the same urban problems such as inequalities, segregation and casualisation of jobs in urban areas.

There is still an immense scope for discovery regarding the relationship between labour and space, and more specifically for the relationship of urban entrepreneurs and the city. Further investigations should explore aspects that are beyond the scope of this study, such as if the trends found in this neighbourhood are replicable in adjacent ones with similar characteristics. As well, further studies should address variables related to the quality of employment within entrepreneurship, and the transient aspects of these kinds of spaces and their projection over time within neighbourhoods.

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Hiroyuki Shinohara
Melody Yiu

Department of Architecture
and Built Environment,
Faculty of Science and Engineering,
University of Nottingham Ningbo China,
China

ABSTRACT

Over the last 30 years, the development of Chinese cities has been focusing on the creation of new districts and urban centers with rapidly expanding boundaries, meanwhile, existing inner-city areas were somewhat left behind but also unintentionally preserved as a result. However, upon economic slowdown (including reduction in central government development funding), cities can no longer afford to commit themselves to these resource-intensive expansions, and the attention is returning to the regeneration of inner-city areas. With the changes in housing policy and a lack of comprehensive planning, the inner-city neighborhoods have gone through stages of ad-hoc transformation, resulting in a layered condition with patches of urban fabric. There are constructions of different times, with various building typologies and uses overlaid or juxtaposed to one another. While there is certain vitality in this type of urban fabric, the poor condition of its aging infrastructure is becoming an issue of urban development and regeneration.

351

KEYWORDS

*Patchwork City, Urban Morphology,
Chinese Urban Regeneration, Inner City,
Open City*

This paper studies the patchwork urban condition of the remaining inner-city area of Xiaowen Alley, in the Haishu district, Ningbo, China. This area has an urban fabric constituted of fragments from the pre-modern time to the present. Through field observations and documentation, the research examines the juxtaposition and collision of urban form and typologies, analyzes its frictions and instability as conditions of its public and social spaces. The study reviews the “patchwork city” phenomenon and proposes a perspective to view urban regeneration for the many Chinese cities to be redeveloped.

INTRODUCTION

In the past few decades, the booming Chinese economy has accelerated the urbanization process with urban areas expanding quickly and far beyond their traditional city boundaries. The open market policy has promoted the opportunity where real-estate development seeks an efficient business model for a quick return of capital investment through urban development. An optimistic speculation of the economic development and a market for new urban lifestyle has encouraged this formula-driven development and allowed the developers to archive their financial goals. Particularly in city center regeneration, the dominating large-scale development in a “one type fits all” model that caters to wealthier urban dwellers is breaking local networks of the traditional spatial structure. Thus the city fabric is becoming fragmented and inconsistent with a homogeneous urban landscape - where existing communities bonds are weakened, if not broken altogether, and increasing social disparity becoming more apparent. Expansion through single-function zoning principles and the private vehicle-dominated master plans also set living and working apart, with an increasingly obvious environmental impact resulting from these resource-demanding developments.

As the economic climate in China is starting to change along with Central Government directions, urban planning policies began to divert from expansion through increasing land supply for new development into preservation and regeneration of previously urbanized land. The one-off development strategy does not guarantee developers an easy return anymore. Furthermore, other social and environmental issues caused by the past urbanization model are surfacing and these pose questions in how cities are being built. Urban China is at a critical point to reconsider its development towards a sustainable future with a holistic view of social, political, economic and environmental perspectives.

Ningbo, as a modernized city that was built through rapid development by increasing urban land, is no exception and will need to transform its development approach. The resource-intensive urban development is causing an increasing environmental and social burden with an impact beyond the city boundary, and a search for

alternative urban scenarios and processes of urban (re)generation deserve more attention. This paper is a brief attempt to reimagine our inner city that responds to existing conditions, to provide an alternative direction different from the idea of renewal on tabula rasa and/or replace existing fabric with imported urban form.

THE INNER-CITY PATCHWORK: REPOSITORY OF URBAN TYPOLOGIES

The old walled-city of Ningbo dates back to the Tang Dynasty, enclosing the current city center area. While the city wall was demolished in the 1930s, some remaining parts of the pre-modern urban form can still be found today with traces of the dwelling pattern of the ancient town in the historic center. The city center area is developed largely according to the old fabric dating from the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and its current condition is formed as a result of further transformation through modernization with some of the traditional residential structures remaining intact.

‘The shape of the traditional city has faded into a multiple landscape’ as (MG) describes ‘the process, which is happening on a world scale, is one in which the city has stopped being an enclosed area and has come to manifest itself as a combination of multiple and fragmented remnants.’¹

Xiaowen Alley in the Haishu district of Ningbo’s old city center, which we take as a case study area for this paper, is an amalgam of urban construction mixing remnants from the past and more recent years. The current urban fabric is the result of transformation through the process of modernization, made up of mostly residential structures, dating from the Qing Dynasty to the present. Except for a few buildings of cultural significance, the area is unintentionally preserved (or rather ignored) during the past decades of rapid urban development as the city expanded into the urban peripheral zones.

‘Like a patchwork on the land, the crystalline shape of the primitive city erupts in a heterogeneous spread of splash and hollows.’²

The urban fabric of the Xiaowen Alley area is a collection of fragments with building typologies from different periods without apparent cohesion, a patchwork-like condition on urban land. The



FIGURE 1 Typologies of the patchwork fabric: Courtyard houses with multi-story apartments behind (left), standard multi-story flats (middle), residential towers (right)

physical construction of the area is currently in dense urban form, the characteristic of which can be described in three major urban housing typologies, which represents their political and economic paradigms respectively. The socio-spatial structures and morphological configurations regulate living and working patterns and reflect the social order of their particular times in history. Therefore, through the understanding of these typologies chronologically, the evolution of ideas of a normative private/public relationship can be traced.

TYPE I: PRE-MODERN REMNANTS - THE TRADITIONAL COURTYARD HOUSES

Dwelling settlement in Jiangnan Style (the typical architectural style in South China below the Yangtze River) is the oldest urban morphology in the area. It is a traditional urban settlement pattern spontaneously formed in feudal society, and most of the remaining constructions today are built during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) and the early Republic era (1911-1949) based on the settlement pattern of previous dynasties. The major form is a repetition of single- or two-stories houses with a main courtyard and typically flanked by three buildings per household. The layout has a consistent spatial hierarchy of the entrance hall to the reception area and main family room, with the ladies' (or guest) quarter and servant space arranged according to social class around the common courtyard. It is a formation that follows the social order of the time. The urban composition is one of compact clusters along narrow lanes forming the neighborhood, and was originally bounded by rivers and streams

until these were later covered by the construction of roads in the 1950s.

The old city center of Ningbo was largely remained during the early New China socialist era up to the late 1980s, when urban construction restarts in respond to the open market policy and Ningbo was granted the status as one of the open commercial ports. Parts of the old city center were then demolished to make way for modern industry and housing. The surviving north part of the old city along Xiushui Street and Xiaowen Alley is currently zoned as historical district with 42 courtyard houses and 8 cultural relics listed for heritage preservation. This tangible cultural heritage is regarded as a valuable urban resource as the city is being regenerated.

As part of the current urban life, sociability is accommodated by the spatial structure, fusing interior and exterior spaces. The spaces from the lanes to the courtyard then the buildings are successively interconnected, and the transition between private and public space is gradual. It is a permeable urban morphology in which private and public space, therefore the private/public life, is overlapped. This spatial arrangement facilitates social interaction through physical encounter between neighbors along the lanes and in the courtyards, which animates public life with casual activities of chatting, playing or doing business. The building threshold facing the courtyard is shaded and naturally ventilated, making it a comfortable place for social interaction and gathering. The active public domain encourages small (or sometimes informal) businesses along the lanes and around the courtyards. Pharmacies, hostels, barbershops, small restaurants and corner stores create a micro-cycle of local commercial activities, which has been the model of this neighborhood through different times in history.

In this typology, sociability is enhanced by the urban morphology, where the private and public realm overlaps and in return activates local exchange.

TYPE II: HOUSING AS COMMODITY - STANDARD MULTI-STORY FLATS WITH COMMERCIAL FRONTS

Following the reform policies allowing voluntary migration, there was an influx of residents returning to or moving into the cities. The newly constructed multi-story housing flats accentuate the traditional urban fabric of this inner city area, with a further propelling force of the real-estate industry after the land reform in the early 1990s. Residential development was considered as a non-productive activity during the pre-reform planned-economy period and housing was provided in minimal standard as social welfare. In the last few decades of the socialist market economy, allocation housing by state-enterprise is gradually replaced by commodity housing, where private developers come into play at an accelerated pace and the old urban landscape begins to change drastically.

The multi-story flats observed in the study area are evolved from the socialist era standardized housing but improved to accommodate diversifying lifestyles and market demand. More stories are added to increase floor space and the slab blocks are organized in the most compact way to maximize density. These units have better provisions for living quality with variation and flexibility in functional configuration. The housing compounds are planned to include public services and commercial storefronts that are placed along the perimeter to accommodate food markets, shops and community services for both local and nearby residents. The streets are animated with daily activities, where residents would stop by for groceries on their way home, chatting with neighbors or the fruit seller about local affairs. The local economy is vibrant because of compact development with sufficient number of residents as consumers.

This typology allows for loose connections between the private and public realm. Balconies of the flats facing the public area in-between housing blocks become a transitional space and as a buffer of private and public activities, and the building is low enough to allow for glimpses of individual life from the public space at ground

level. Community services are allocated along the main internal road with interfaces that define the public zones. Standardized buildings and their repetition create spaces that are simple and loose. Over time informal additions such as garden chairs brought by residents onto the street and internal roads form communal places for chatting, there are also ad-hoc constructions on the balconies and sheds in some vacant public area, where individual differences are expressed on the unified façades, forming accents of individuality within the overall visual uniformity. This basic modular configuration also allows for incremental replacement or development over time according to the needs and preference of current residents.

TYPE III: CAPITALIST VENTURE – HIGH-RISE RESIDENTIAL TOWER ON PODIUM

The way to increase urban density takes different forms in response to the changing market conditions. As individuals began to see investment value in housing with greater freedom in choices of accommodation, new types of residential products appear to stimulate consumer demand. For the sake of land conservation on compact urban parcels and as a forward-looking form of modernization, the high-rise residential towers emerged in more extreme forms beginning from the late 1990s. The 30-stories residential towers rise amidst the context of low-rise and mid-rise buildings as an iconic image. This new typology is composed of high-rise towers with street-front podiums that support commercial activities, similar as in the case of the adjacent slab-flat compounds but in larger scale.

In this typology, private and public spaces are clearly attributed in the morphology of the massing, with private space (residential units) in the vertical volume and public zone (commercial) in the horizontal podium. The spatial distinction represents a change in social attitude towards public life, in favor of more privacy for an individual, instead of collective, lifestyle. These dwelling units have higher standard in spatial quality and ample living space for a private life, equipped with multiple function rooms, en-suite bedrooms, kitchen and dining area, and they are, as a notion of a modernized lifestyle, served by elevators. The residential compounds are still connected with public life, with larger retail spaces for businesses that bring customers

beyond the immediate neighbors. Spaces are functionally distanced within this morphological configuration, with separation of different uses in a larger scale.

These large-scale developments have a stronger impact on the urban fabric visually and spatially. The presence of the buildings of this scale is dominating and creates a sharp contrast to the existing urban landscape. The chunkier mass also requires further setbacks from the streets, which breaks the continuous spatial definition by building frontage that was characteristic for the neighborhood. As private car ownership is prevailing especially in fast growing second-tier cities such as Ningbo, insufficient parking became an issue in the old neighborhoods. Parked cars constantly occupy the area from the street to the building, and the flow of pedestrian movements and activities are often interrupted. Apparently, similar typologies of large-scale Tower-Podium development would be built on adjacent vacant lots in the near future, as part of the current regeneration plan for this area.

Besides these three residential types, there are several industrial and commercial establishments in the area from earlier development stages, such as the Poker Factory and the Water Purification Equipment Factory from the 1980s and the Zhongshan Hotel that was renovated in the early 2000s and originally a 1960s state-owned guesthouse. As a whole, the Xiaowen Alley area contains various building typologies representing the different historical periods of the city. Construction of each building type was conducted separately in time without a comprehensive development plan. As a result, the urban fabric

is gradually converted into an agglomeration of typological fragments. With a lack of cohesive stylistic formation and no organizing framework, it might appear to be chaotic, yet the precipitated urban fragments in building and street pattern resulting from the historic transformation processes create a rich patchwork, with layers of spatial, and therefore social, differences.

DYNAMICS OF PATCHWORK CITY - AN EXPERIENTIAL CROSS-SECTION

Walking through this patchwork neighborhood is an experience of movement that opens up to different senses at each turn of the corner. The dynamic here is a complex one that cannot be described in a single word, and it is insufficient to comprehend the entire system by any one element in isolation, as the patchwork condition requires a simultaneous reading of co-existing typologies. The unplanned growth of the patchwork city has resulted in fragmentation of urban forms, yet it is this particular morphological condition that allows for positive opportunities in building up urban dynamics. The following narrative would suggest, while there are apparent chaos and instability, the patchwork neighborhood existing in a certain spatial order, which could lead to an exuberant new form of urbanism. There is a loose connection between these fragments in temporal engagement, where they are “stitched” together as a piece of patchwork that give the particular meaning to the neighborhood. The spaces are in constant transition and transformation.

Entering the narrow and meandering alleyways of the pre-modern urban fabric is a journey to the past, where the traditional way of living is still



FIGURE 2 Xiaowen Alley in patchwork of different urban typologies (Source: Google Earth)

conceivable. As the inner-city courtyard houses have become residence of multiple families instead of one private household, there is usually limited space for each unit and the residents would carry out domestic activities in the semi-public open courtyards. It has become a place of multiple interest and social encounter, where the overlap of public and private life at the loosely defined boundaries. At the street intersection there are vegetable stalls laid out on the sidewalk, the street vendor's temporary occupation of pedestrian walkway results as a contested space of sales activities and passage, yet together they contribute to a lively scene of local street life. The activities continue around the corner into the perimeter storefronts of the multi-story flats, where products (and activities) overflow into the streets from their minimal and shallow shop space. The multi-story residents were designed as a gated-community typology, although nowadays they are mostly open and accessible for residents as well as the public. Without predefined program in the open space between residential blocks, multiple acts of appropriation is happening in this semi-public zone, from the individual vegetable gardens on public terraces to gathering area formed by the residents' own furniture arrangement in the common alley. While these are in reality informal occupation of public space with potential safety hazard, they occur as small but not insignificant ways to create conditions for social interaction to build the sense of community. Passing through the residential compound and the old courtyard dwellings, one's view instantly opens up at the intersection in front of the high-rise residential towers. While inside the compact and dense

urban fabric, the gigantic scale of these towers goes almost unnoticed, yet once reaching the street opening, the ample space resulting from high-rise set-back gives a contrasting impression to the congested community clusters. However, the permeability (and porosity) through various urban patches is disrupted at the towers, where the movement is blocked, by the truly gated residential community with no public access.

This is a typical description of one of the many possible experiences through the area, which demonstrates an empirical understanding of the nature of typological fragments in agglomeration and the diversity in experience that it displayed. It is not for the purpose of romanticizing a nostalgic image in resistance to growth, but rather to provide an insight of the current urban condition. The collection of fragments can therefore be read as "a patchwork of linked reality; of conflicts and tensions..." as described by Gausa. It is a reality of currently sub-standard living condition without proper planning, and the livelihood inhabit within the patchwork were maintained voluntarily or involuntarily. However, this condition has also created the "attractions, fostered precisely by the potential for mobility, interchange, and displacement"³.

The "patchwork" condition was originally discussed in the context of sprawling urban expansion in metropolitan-scale, with the work of Dutch architect W.J. Neutelings in the late 1980s. It is a response to the negatively perceived urban fragmentation, where "(t)he patchwork instead is composed by patches, a series of entities everyone with its own identity, arranged together in a superior unity."⁴ Developing from Neutelings' "patchwork metropolis" model to read conflicting urban (fragment) condition in a collective and mutually beneficial view, here we attempt

FIGURE 3 Public life in the patchwork city: daily washing at the courtyard house (left); play and greet at the entrance of multi-stories residential compound (middle); temporary vegetable stalls along the sidewalk (right).



to explore further and to set up a conceptual framework for the reading of patchwork condition in the high-density urban-scale territorial context. This is a perspective that would be particularly relevant to the current challenges of inner-city regeneration.

It is to envision an alternative for urban transformation from within, taking a position against common practice that begins with clearance and demolition, and treats the site as *tabula rasa* for “renewal” development. While urban fragmentation connotes negativity of incomplete or conflicting situations, from the experiential narrative one could begin to see that the incoherence by fragmentation actually possesses great potential for a bottom-up and democratic approach to the making of urban space. Building uses can change over time, and typologies with inflexible form-function would quickly lead to obsolescence, as economics and political circumstances affect and stimulate new social behavior, it will require urban typologies to adapt to it. In the inner-city area, demographics of residents are evolving and a renewed private-public relationship can emerge and take shape in the housing typologies illustrated above. The question then is, what can the patchwork condition offer to the city as it progresses into future changes?

OPEN CITY: LIBERATING TYPOLOGIES FOR CHANGE

Unlike the modernist understanding of the city with specific functions and clear boundaries, the contemporary city is characterized by its openness introduced through weakly connected fragments. The inner city patchwork condition is reflecting the qualities of this contemporary “openness”, where the overall urban form appears to be broken (fragmented) into different typologies, yet they are subtly related and linked as patches stitched into a functioning whole. This is an urban composition that values the individuality of the fragments while recognizing their relationship and synergetic effect, where the fragments are “patches” - the constituency of the patchwork. It is an incremental and democratic approach to urban regeneration, as oppose to the apparent unity created by the top-down, or sometimes authoritarian, master plan.

The normative approach developed for efficiency

in China’s urban practice during last decades is to replace existing urban fabric with large single-function parcels of shopping malls, corporate towers, and gated-communities. This might have been economically successful in terms of development index or gross floor value, yet it has only solved a part of the problem but ignored or concealed other dimensions of social and urban issues. To regenerate the inner city with a conventional approach will eliminate public life of how people used to live and work. Therefore, recognizing the patchwork condition would allow a more embracing perspective to view the city and its regeneration process, which provides opportunity to explore the instrumentality of fragmental typologies and their inter-relationship as a positive force in urban development.

Richard Sennett describes that most cities are currently closed systems with a fixed form-function relationship, which might stimulate urban growth as it replaces the existing urban fabric with new development activities, but it is “brittle” and inflexible to sustainable growth. He proposes that the city should work like an open system. “In this rather dissonant way, growth in an open city is a matter of evolution rather than erasure.”⁵ The three main attributes of Sennett’s Open City concept are “ambiguous edge”, “incomplete form” and “unresolved narrative” – which are also the qualities that can be found in the inner-city patchwork condition. As we explore the potentials of patchwork city for urban regeneration, the Open City framework could provide an insight for an approach to the fragmental conditions.

The courtyard clusters are formed in compact organization, different structures were built over the century in addition to historic houses from the republic era. The original boundary of individual houses is transformed into a “membrane” condition – the edge that is not a separator but where interaction happens, a porous border that invites different groups to transgress. As Sennett describes the quality of “ambiguous edge”, the boundary between different fragments is not clearly defined and is permeable in the patchwork condition, for example, the walled alley could become active zones of exchange between adjacent patches. The 1980s flat-slab residential compounds were built in standard for basic accommodation to be quickly reproduced in large quantity. Although they do not possess distinct

architectural feature to gain preservation status, yet the simple form and structures allow for relatively feasible morphological transformation to adapt to new social needs. It could be done in small-scale as renovation of a single flat, or repurpose of the whole building as many of them were built as worker dormitory and owned by state-enterprise. This is an example of the patchwork condition as flexible “incomplete form” that could evolve and sustain through changes.

The patchwork city condition is not one that is master-planned with an “ultimate vision” and a fixed image of the final urban form. It reflects the third quality of an Open City as “unresolved narrative” and the non-linear development. It is a dialogical sequence where clarity is not the goal, and the emphasis is placed on the discoveries during the process. It allows an open view of city-making where multiple players will guide the transformation of the urban form incrementally and with rolling evaluation. In operational terms, actual transformational opportunities lie in interchanging, retrofitting by preserving, recycling and displacing existing buildings upon the user’s needs.

Putting together this collection of building types into the network of flux is essential for the consideration of revitalization of inner-city districts, with the view of its residents as a multiplicity of social beings. The accessible and usable public domain would allow different individuals and groups to interact and open to the possibility of confrontation and exchange, where they become part of the urban life. The looseness that occurs at the junction of adjoining housing blocks and residual spaces in-between buildings becomes a site for informal occupation that is inherent to the patchwork fabric. Therefore, the conceptual framework for the Patchwork City would value the loose connection between contrasting urban conditions. As “stitches” between patches, they could play the role to stabilize, and in the same time mobilize urban fragmentation to form a new type of urban/social relationship.

CONCLUSION

This paper looked at the inner city condition of Chinese city, as it is becoming more important as the process of urban development moving into the phase focusing on city-center regeneration. In

Ningbo old city center and the case of Xiaowen Alley, the urban fabric is fragmented as it was built through different time and development ideal, into contrasting typologies lack of apparent connections. However, if we look at it with the Patchwork City perspective, each of these fragments can be viewed as “patches” with value in their individuality, while the loose connection among them allows juxtaposition and layering in a way that the city can be renewed incrementally without total displacement. In the Patchwork City ideal, the fragmentation of urban fabric can be conceived as and transformed into positive attribute to the city.

The grids-and-axis master plans have exhaustively expanded the urban boundary by converting resourceful land into consumable real estate. In the name of growth and efficiency, the process has displaced or ignored existing conditions and inhabitants, particularly in the past few decades in accelerated pace. At this moment when the Chinese cities begin to realign its development policies back to city-center regeneration, this paper attempted to provide a reading of the inner-city as a patchwork, to imagine an alternative approach for the development and renewal of Ningbo old city center, as well as many other Chinese cities with similar urban condition. The patchwork city is a phenomenon resulting from the way cities are developed over time, a condition of site in which diversity of life is not only expressed, but instrumental to transform the city with openness. The instrumentality of the agglomeration of fragmented building typologies in the Patchwork City may not be the most efficient in pure economic sense, but it embraces complex relationship of the economic, the social, and the environment at work together, which require an equally complex range of perspective and responses. The Patchwork City in this sense is a process of evolution of the city where it can be understood as “ecosystem,” it is continuously redefining the public/private, live/work, legal/illegal, top-down/bottom-up and social/economic relationship through typological transformation, resulting in a spatial configuration and situation where multiplicity, temporality and simultaneity of lived human experiences are expressed.

This study was initiated with the objective to seek an alternative view to look at the inner-city condition, with intention to expand the understanding of urban ideals against the

currently prominent development model during the last decades of Chinese urban expansion. A working framework for the actual transformation is remained to be formulated; more detail analysis is to be continued with further investigation.

NOTES

1. Gausa, M.
2. Gausa, M.
3. Gausa, M.
4. Pisano, C.
5. Sennett, R.

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Exploring the Interrelation between Street Trading and Urban Form in Dhaka: a New Morphological Approach

**Nabanita Islam
Ye Zhang**

Department of Architecture,
School of Design and Environment,
National University of Singapore,
Singapore

ABSTRACT

Street trading covers the buying and selling of goods and services in areas outside defined markets which are not dominated by home based enterprise (Brown, 2006). Despite being an everyday phenomenon (Tonkiss, 2015) and fare share holder of informal economy (Chen, 2012), street trading suffered a long legacy of debate in terms of their necessity and position in the city. Most of the literatures on informal economy highlight the legal (Hudson and Wehrell, 2005; Soto, 2000), economic (Geertz, 1963) and social aspects (Boisot and Child, 1996; Spicer et al., 2000) of street trading. There is a lack of substantial studies on street trading from morphological perspective or in terms of urban form attributes, which, as Dewar and Watson puts forward, has a fundamental impact on the spatial pattern and intensity of small scale economic activity (Dewar and Watson, 1990).

This paper aims to develop new methodological framework for measuring spatial distribution of street trading and their relations to formal attributes of the built environment. This will be achieved based on systematic exploration of literatures driven towards clarifying the phenomenon of street trading and identifying relevant urban form attributes and concerted integration of available urban form analysis methods. The new framework will be verified through a case study of Dhaka, one the densest and emerging megacities of south Asia. This city has turned into a major economic hub where street trading exists as an everyday component (Etzold, 2016), but mostly unexplored in terms of its spatial manifestation. In addition, the interweave of organic and planned morphological patterns throughout its history of development and the resultant rich urban fabrics make Dhaka a fertile testing ground for this study.

This study is expected to project a new way of studying the morphological aspects of street trading in high density context of south Asian cities and to inform the future planning and policy decisions.

KEYWORDS

Street Trading, Urban Form, Dhaka

INTRODUCTION

One of the essential human objectives among all is the economic processes or income generating activities, a fair share of which are concentrated within the global cities, are of informal nature and a resultant of accelerated urbanization in the twenty-first century. Street trading is the most representative, but also the most debated group among such informal economic activities within urban public spaces.

Apart from the ambiguity around the definition of street trading and the denial towards the very essence of these activities as ordinary, day to day practice; the most important pivotal point for this study as argued by Post (Post, 1992), is the aspatial character portrayed by most of the literatures on “informal economy”, or “Urban Informal Sector”. There is a tendency to illustrate street trading activities as “floating, kaleidoscopic phenomenon, continually changing in response to shifting circumstances and opportunities”(Duk, 1983) and that their spatiality cannot be mapped and measured in relation to built environment. This leads to the major focus of this study which is to investigate the interrelation between the spatial distribution of street trading within urban public spaces and urban form attributes of the built environment.

The question might arise as to why is it so important to understand the spatial logics of street trading in relation to urban form. The answers to

this question leads us to several directions. Firstly, the Urban Livelihood Framework developed in 1990 by Department for International Development and the livelihood analysis of street trading in four cities by Brown (Brown, 2006) highlighted physical capital in the form of access to urban public space in key trading locations, and infrastructures e.g. stores, wall spaces etc. as essential assets of the informal actors (Figure 1).

Secondly, as Dewar and Watson (Dewar and Watson, 1990) puts it forward “The spatial structure and form of urban areas has a fundamental impact on the ability of small businesses to survive and grow . . . [It] has a major effect on the spatial pattern and intensity of economic activity (particularly small scale, economic activity) because it determines the pattern and intensity of population movement, and hence spending power.” The proponent of ‘The ecological city’ concept, Terrence McGee (McGee, 1973), argued for the recognition of the structural logic or space-occupying patterns of the lower circuit or the base of the economy. Without such recognition, he argued, attempts to interfere with lower circuit land-use zones through relocation, licensing or education campaigns are counter-productive.

Unfortunately, apart from a handful of research attempting to observe the link of a few urban form attributes such as land use and pedestrian movement to the spatial distribution of street trading in qualitative manner (Duk 1983, Bromley 1978, Kim 2015, McGee 1973, McGee 1977),

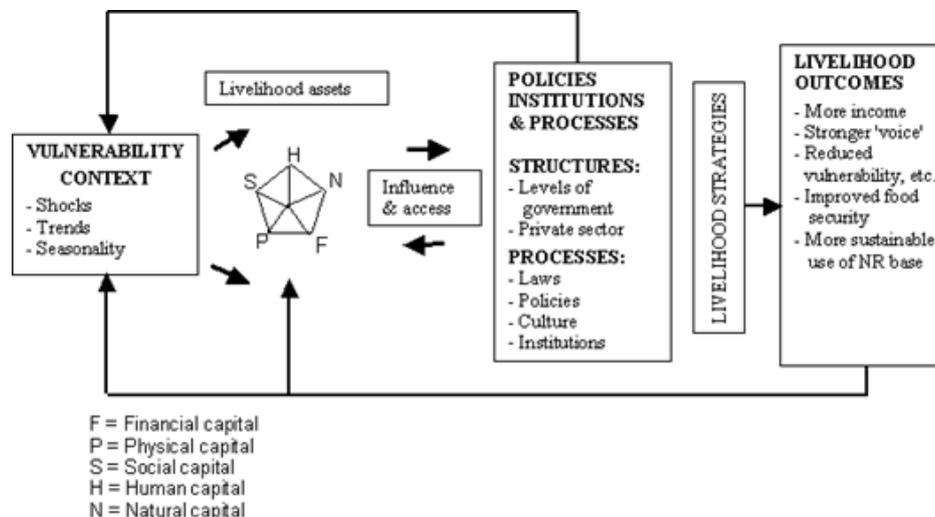


Figure 1 Livelihoods Framework (Source: DFID, 1999)

significant gaps can be observed in systematic quantification of the urban form attributes in relation to the density and distribution of street trading. This brings forward new opportunities of considering this interrelation through the urban morphological lenses. Considering what Batty stated, "...Cities now must be looked at as constellations of interactions, communications, relations, flows, and networks, rather than as locations" (Batty 2013), it has become essential to search for a new integrated methodological framework for measuring spatial distribution of street trading location in connection to form attributes of the built environment. This will be achieved based on systematic exploration of literatures driven towards clarifying the phenomenon of street trading, identifying the research gaps in existing approaches and concerted integration of available urban form analysis methods.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY: STREET TRADING AND URBAN FORM ATTRIBUTES

Before attempting to understand the interrelation between street trading and urban form attributes, it is important to specify the phenomenon in question.

Among many categories of informal economic

activities within the classifications proposed by Becker (Becker 2004), Brown and Lloyd-Jones (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002) and Bromley (Bromley, 2014), street trading receives the maximum attention from the relevant authority for their dominant presence in urban spaces like, streets, squares and unused or underused lands. However, 'Street economy', 'street workers', 'street traders' or 'petty traders', 'street markets', 'street vendors' or 'hawkers' are many of the terms that are simultaneously applied to describe the informal economy activities that operate on streets. So it is important to clarify the justification of choosing "Street Trading" as a terminology and also its definition. In the book "Contested Space", authors like Brown (2006) and others have used the term street trade to cover the phenomenal range of goods and services that can be bought on a city's streets with a specific focus on street trading in areas outside defined markets which are not dominated by home based enterprise. 'Street vendors' or 'street vending' is another popular term used to describe those who fan out further from street markets to forestall customers walking in towards the market, often selling goods on the street and can be classified into stationary and mobile vendors (often known as 'hawkers') (Pratt, 2006). In the policy document by National Policy of India, NCEUS (2006), the term urban vendor is defined- "...as a person who offers goods for sale

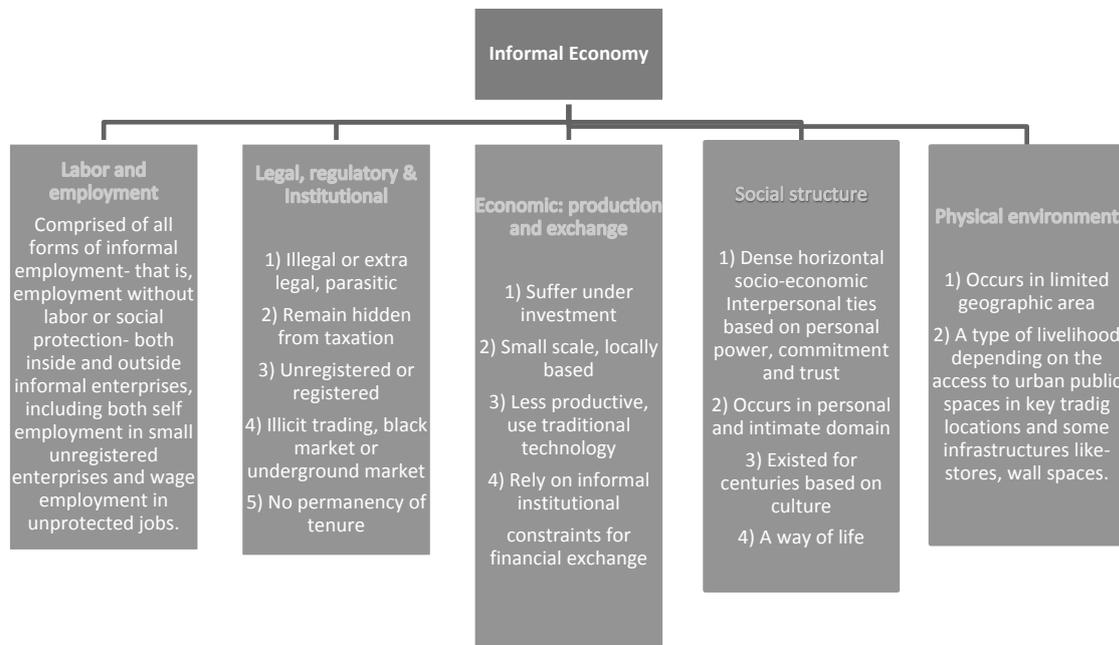


Figure 2 Five dimensions of Informal Economy, Source: Constructed by Authors

to the public without having a permanent built up structure, but with a temporary static structure or mobile stall (or headload). Street vendors may be stationary by occupying space on the pavements or other public/private areas, or may be mobile in the sense that they move from place to place carrying their wares on push carts or in cycles or baskets on their heads, or may sell their wares in moving trains, bus etc.”

Although similar in scope, the literary explanation of street trading and street vending implies different extent of activity for these two terms. According to Cambridge Dictionary, the term vending implies “the selling of goods” whereas, trading means “the activity of buying and selling goods and/or services”. From this perspective, the term ‘trading’ implies the full range of the economic activity involving the sellers/vendors traders and the buyers or the people moving through the city spaces.

For further clarification of the definition of street trading, a close introspection and analysis of the definitions of informal economy is required for projecting some common characteristic features defining street trading under five broader dimensions, namely labor and employment; legal, regulatory & institutional; economic; social structure and physical environment (Figure 2).

Among all the dimensions, the common characteristics under the heading of socio-cultural and physical dimensions together reveal some indications towards how the street trading might organize themselves within an intimate communal scale and limited geographic boundary (Boisot and Child, 1996); (Spicer et al., 2000), (London and Hart, 2004); (Li et al., 2009). The particular implication of this attribute for this study would be the search for an identifiable geographic boundary for operation of street trading that might later help to define the boundary of data collection, mapping and measurement. However, the definitions explored so far are unclear about the other spatial dimensions of informal economy, a gap which demands further research. Bromley (Bromley, 2000), identifies the location of trade as streets and other related public axes such as alleyways, avenues and boulevards; and Mitullah (Mitullah, 2005) describes street trade as activity which takes place “outside enclosed premises or covered workspace” on street pavements, sidewalks, bus stops and other public places.

The characteristics observed through the elaborate discussions previously can be summarized through a comprehensive definition that captures the multiple dimensions of street trading. Through a careful analysis of the above definitions, the study prefers to define street trading as- The activity of buying and selling goods and services-

- In areas, outside or around defined markets, which are not dominated by home based enterprise.
- With a temporary static structure or mobile stall (or headload)
- May be stationary by occupying space on the pavements or other urban public spaces or may be mobile in the sense that they move from place to place carrying their wares on push carts or in cycles or baskets on their heads
- Operating within a limited geographic boundary
- Devoid of permanency of tenure or property rights,

On the other hand, ‘Urban form’ is described in a number of different ways in the different approaches that are broadly complementary and do not represent insuperable barriers (Oliveira, 2016) . Both Lynch (Lynch, 1958) and Kropf (Kropf, 2009) classified urban form attributes under three broad categories- Built physical form; human activities and movement; and time. Physical environment can further be segregated into land use, built form and movement network. Built form includes indicators like density of spacing and building; size and height of the buildings; and shading. On the other hand, movement network comprises of density and geometry of streets; and path surface condition attractiveness of place. This study will look into the possibilities of integrating those strands of urban form attributes that are typically influential in terms of the occurrence of any kind of economic activities within the city into an integrated methodology. But for limiting the scope of pilot test, only movement network will be examined in relation to the spatial distribution of street trading.

In the later part of the study, this will guide the process of identifying urban form factors affecting street trading activities and also the review of available urban form analysis tools.

STREET TRADING AND URBAN FORM ATTRIBUTES OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT: EXISTING APPROACHES OF INVESTIGATION AND GAPS

The discussion on the relationship between street trading and built environment has mostly channeled in two major directions. First, the relationship is framed as a politics of space between the street traders and the city authority where street traders struggle to reclaim their right to urban space through accession, contestation. However, in most of the cases, they are perceived as intrusion and evicted by the city authority as a measure of reclaiming and beautifying urban spaces. However, for this study the political aspects of street trading within urban public spaces will be largely ignored.

The second direction of discussion comprises literatures in the domain of geography, planning and urban design that attempted to frame this relationship as a process of mutual interdependence where, instead of perceiving urban space as a property of contestation, they considered urban space as an essential container of street trading activities. These studies emphasized the importance of knowledge about spatial distribution of street trading location within urban spaces and their relation to urban form attributes as a major tool for facilitating both the allocation of this traditional livelihood and the enhancement of urban environment. For this study, the second direction of discussions will be adopted to project a new way forward towards measuring the spatiality of street trading through researching the variety of approaches implied.

GEOGRAPHIC APPROACHES

The spatial phenomenon of street trading within urban spaces has been interpreted in various terms such as- location or locational choice, spatial distribution and geographic boundary mentioned by Henry (1987). There are significant studies in the field of geography, planning and spatial economics that attempted to measure the spatial distribution of street trading location in terms of different density measure and different scale of the city; and also identified the influential urban form attributes affecting the density of street trading. The literature review in this section will try to trace the discussion following these three aspects of spatiality- density of street trading location, scale of analysis and identifiable

attributes.

The study on incorporating street trading into city planning in the city of Varodara, Ahmedabad, reveals the importance of quantifying the density of street trading in order to relate them to urban form attributes. The density of street trading can be measured in terms of street trading /km length of road or street trading/road junction. Road junction has been identified as a significant spot for congregation of street trading with 40 percent of the total vendors locating at junctions which cover only 10 percent of the total length of major roads (Dalwadi, 2010). However, there are other unexplored methods of estimating density for this type of activities.

Scale of analysis is another important aspect of investigating the impact of urban form attributes on density of street trading. Yonn Dierwechter in his 2002 article discusses a body of scholarship that directly links spatial theorization, informal sector dynamics and planning practice. He highlights that the spatial distribution of street trading is influenced by small scale elements in the urban terrain and can be analyzed through small focused maps at micro scale following the theoretical paradigm of Behaviorist school of thought. This observation is further strengthened by the findings of the study at Varodara, Ahmedabad (Dalwadi, 2010) that each type of street trading activities contains their own influence zone, one which links back to the identifiable geographic boundary mentioned in the last section. But as per Dewar and Watson (Dewar and Watson, 1990), the principal proponents of the concept “Malleable city”, the spatial distribution of street trading can also be understood through analyzing the spatial structure of the city at a meso scale.

Some of the highlighted urban form attributes that have been found to be influential for the spatial density and distribution of street trading location are residential location, followed by proximity to customers and then land prices (Duk, 1983); hierarchies of commercial centers, movement routes and land-use zoning (Dewar and Watson, 1990); the public transport links and the density of pedestrian movement (Roever, 2014); and population density and road width (Dalwadi, 2010).

The above discussion highlights the necessity of approaching the relationship between urban

form attributes and street trading at different scale. The current pool of literatures demonstrates the gap in addressing this comprehensiveness. In terms of urban form attributes, most of the studies discussed above addressed different form attributes in a disjointed manner. Also, understanding the spatial distribution of street trading in relation to the movement network of the city through a disaggregated approach appears to be an unexplored field. This leads us towards exploration of the existing methods in urban morphological approaches to identify the appropriate method of analyzing the relation of movement network to the spatial distribution of street trading.

MORPHOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The morphological study of urban built environment comes as an immediate response to the concern by Dewar and Watson (Dewar and Watson, 1990) that the spatial distribution of street trading can be understood through analyzing the spatial structure of the city at a meso scale. Historically different morphological approaches have emerged for studying urban form, classified differently by different scholars. Kropf (Kropf, 2009) classified the major morphological approaches in to four categories based on various features of physical form as pertinent to their investigations, which has been later adopted by Oliveiri (2016). Considering the gaps in understanding the interrelation between street trading and movement network identified earlier, this study adopts configurational method, or in other words network analysis method because of its scientific and quantitative basis of investigating urban form and spatial structure. This method deals with the line (movement), space (land use) and their networks within

urban environment and can also be termed as “centrality analysis” as it deals with different centrality index to explain how activities concentrate and distribute in the city. Research has shown that network analysis measures can be useful predictors for a number of interesting urban phenomena such as the flow of pedestrian traffic on city streets (Hillier et al., 1987), and the distribution of retail and service establishments in urban environments (Porta et al., 2005; Sevtsuk, 2010). In case of street trading, Roever (Roever, 2014) demonstrated the concept of centrality that guides the concentrated distribution of street traders across the city and the public transport links and the density of pedestrian movement as integral factors to the pull of centrality. A further categorization of the selected approach can be made based on their unit of analysis, unit of measurement and analyzed attributes (Figure 3).

Among the broader categories or meso scale factors identified under urban form attributes, land use and movement network are the two most covered aspects by most of the tools under centrality-spatial analysis approach. Within the metric group Andres Sevtsuk, in his doctoral thesis “Path and Place: A Study of Urban Geometry and Retail Activity in Cambridge and Somerville, MA (Sevtsuk, 2010), addressed three important areas of influence on retail location choices namely- land use distribution in terms of proximity to transit stations and similar category of competing stores, proximity to the buildings with higher density within ten minute walking range, with higher between-ness effect and located at intersections or nodes. Although his focus is on the revealed location choices of established retail establishments, the logics explored might as well be applicable to the nature of street trading. In another study following the topological perspective, Rodrigo Mora attempted to trace down the distribution and growth of informal economy alongside large scale commerce through a syntactic analysis of Quilicura, Chile (Mora, 2003). The paper reveals that street markets or street trading “consolidate to supply goods and services to the neighborhoods that are distant from center and with poor standard of commerce, creating well defined zones of influence that do not tend to overlap between them which contradicts with the previous locational observations spatial distribution of street trading.

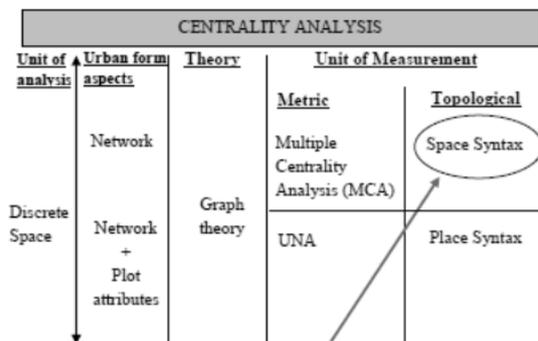


Figure 3 Matrix for categorizing urban form analysis approach

However, none of these studies focused on

the micro issues of urban form such as path condition in terms of surface and topography; and attractiveness of place. Using a case study on Bamako, Mali, Austin Kilroy argued that economic opportunities do vary by spatial location (Kilroy 2008) but often deny the established theories of centrality and also get affected by micro issues. One of her hypothesis was based on 'Movement economies', proposed by Bill Hillier (Hillier 1996), which states that under-integrated street networks and neighborhoods stunt economic opportunity which in case of Bamako is dominated by informal economic sector. Also, road surfacing determines patterns of urban movement more than spatial configuration. For these micro issues, a scoring system can be developed based on a scale of attributes and can be correlated with the occurrences of street trading later.

for network-centrality approach of investigating the spatial distribution of street trading. The framework incorporates the application of potential tools to analyze the interrelation between the variables such as density of street trading and urban form attributes under the scope of network analysis. Also, it allows to consider the relationship of street trading and urban form attributes from both meso and micro scale and also at both aggregated and disaggregated level. However, there is the risk of unmanageable number of data, simulation model, statistical analysis; and standard of comparison among these methods that requires specific set of strategies in terms of selected times, type of street trading, selection of unit and parameters of analysis and unit of measurement.

For the purpose of pilot study, this study will apply Space Syntax as a tool for understanding the impact of movement network on spatial distribution of street trading location from the topological perspective.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

With respect to the above discussion, this study attempts to propose a methodological framework

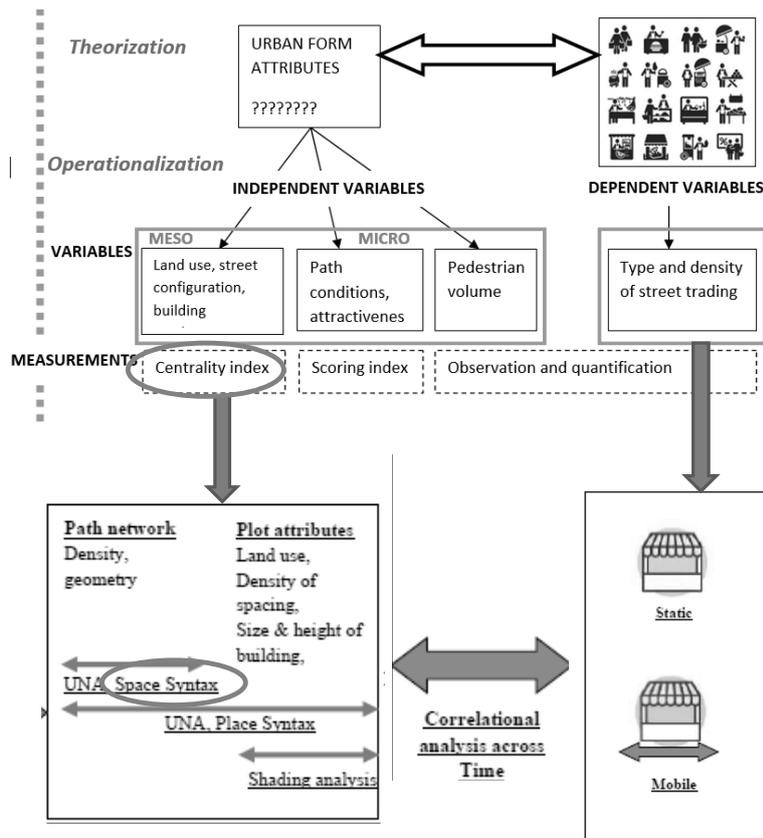


Figure 4 Methodological framework for analyzing urban form aspects influencing spatial distribution of Street trading

CONCLUSION

In way the phenomenon of street trading is conceptualized in the present academic discourse formed the background of this study to explore the spatial dimensions of their existences within the city spaces. This study is an attempt to demonstrate that street trading activities in cities can and should be understood in relation to the built environment and its vast array of form attributes. A systematic exploration into the existing approaches revealed the gaps in addressing the spatiality of street trading and a possibility of an integrated methodological framework that examines the relationship between street trading and urban form attributes across different scales of issues, aggregation and

boundary of operation. The initial intention of this study was to explore all the possible allies of urban morphological approaches that might analyze the urban form factors responsible for the spatial distribution of these micro economic activities. However, this study is assumed to have taken a partial exploration of this vast field of study which leaves the possibility of exploring the potential of other approaches. But it attempted to explore most of the acclaimed methods to date for understanding the scope of urban form analysis methods. This study is expected to act as stepping stone for formulating more intensive and customized framework for quantifying and analyzing the entangled position of street trading with urban discourse.

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Comparing Transformation of Deprived Mixed-Use Areas in Seoul: Community Building in Traditional Industrial Clusters?

Blaž Križnik
Ha-young Cho

Graduate School of Urban Studies,
Hanyang University,
South Korea

ABSTRACT

Cities in East Asia are some of the world's largest urban agglomerations. Their growth is a result of rapid economic and urban development, where little attention was paid to the environmental or social consequences in the past. In the aftermath of the global economic slowdown, these approaches do not work anymore, and cities are faced with growing social and economic uncertainties. Local governments are thus looking for new urban policies to address these uncertainties in a more comprehensive and sustainable way. Seoul is no exception in this regard. Seoul Metropolitan Government introduced new urban policies, which aim to strengthen social cohesion and contribute to more sustainable economic and urban development. Urban regeneration of deprived urban areas plays a key role in these efforts. This study takes Sangwangsimni and Haebangchon in Seoul as a case study to better understand the changing approaches of Seoul Metropolitan Government to transform deprived mixed-used areas and consequences of these approaches on traditional industries. The authors have conducted policy analysis and in-depth interviews with residents, local business, civic groups, experts and public officials, involved in the transformation of both localities. The research results show that the local government failed to recognise the importance of traditional industries in Sangwangsimni, which led to their decline. In Haebangchon, on the contrary, traditional industries are recognised as important assets, which will be preserved. This change came largely as a result of an emerging partnership between the local government and different stakeholders in the locality.

KEYWORDS

*Community Building, Haebangchon,
Traditional Industrial Clusters,
Sangwangsimni, Urban Regeneration*

INTRODUCTION

Cities in East Asia are among the world's largest urban agglomerations. Their successful growth is largely a result of rapid state-led and market-driven economic and urban development in the past, where little attention was paid to its environmental and social consequences. In the aftermath of the present economic slowdown, the existing approaches are facing their inherent limitations, which can on the long run undermine the capacity of cities to cope with hazardous social, economic and environmental risks (Hamnett and Forbes, 2011; UN-HABITAT, 2015). Local governments are thus looking for new urban policies, which can lead towards a more sustainable economic and urban development.

Seoul, the capital city of South Korea, is no exception. It experienced early industrialisation and urbanisation as a colonial city during the Japanese occupation. After having suffered the devastation of the Korean War, Seoul subsequently witnessed an unprecedented economic and urban development under a strong grip of the authoritarian regime from the 1960s to 1980s. Although the city gained a considerable local autonomy after the mid-1990s, the market came to influence its economic and urban development, which became increasingly speculative (Shin and Kim, 2015; Cho and Križnik, 2017). During the period of rapid growth the population of the city increased from 2.444.874 in 1960, to 9.645.932 in 1985. In 2015 10.297.138 people lived in Seoul, which accounts for one-fifth of the South Korean population. In this period, the GRDP per capita increased by thirteen times from 2,4 in 1985 to 33,2 million Won in 2014 (SMG, 2016).

Not everyone benefited equally from this. Over the past decade, social and economic disparities in Seoul widened, while parts of the city witnessed environmental degradation and urban decline (Cho, 2005; Križnik, 2011; Kang, 2012). For these reasons, the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) introduced new urban policies to strengthen eroded social cohesion and contribute to a more inclusive and environmentally balanced economic and urban development. Community-based urban regeneration of deprived urban areas was recognised to play a central role in these efforts to build a more sustainable Seoul (SMG, 2013). While the early attempts had focused on

environmental restoration or urban regeneration of smaller residential areas, a new approach was introduced in 2014, which addresses larger mixed-use residential, industrial and commercial areas. In this way, the local government aims to preserve traditional industries and promote a more comprehensive social, economic and environmental transformation of deprived urban areas (SMG, 2015a, 2015b). This approach contrasts starkly with the past when such areas were demolished and replaced with new apartment complexes and commercial districts (Kim and Yoon, 2003; Cho, 2008; Cho and Križnik, 2017).

This study takes Sangwangsिमni and Haebangchon in Seoul as a case study to better understand the changing approaches of SMG to transform deprived mixed-used areas and consequences of these approaches on traditional industries. Both localities used to be an important *traditional industrial cluster* (TIC), which over the past two decades underwent social and economic decline as well as considerable degradation of the living environment. While the transformation of Sangwangsिमni followed a market-driven approach (SMG, 2004, 2010a), which eventually resulted in a full-scale demolition of the locality, Haebangchon exemplifies a more recent approach, which aims to gradually improve the existing residential and productive fabric and integrate it with the new urban development (SMG, 2015a, 2017).

The authors have conducted policy analysis and in-depth interviews with residents, local business, civic groups, experts and public officials, involved with the transformation of Sangwangsिमni and Haebangchon in 2006 and 2017. The paper starts with a general overview of industrial clusters and discusses their social and economic importance in cities. In the second part, industrialisation and transformation of deprived mixed-use areas in Seoul are explored, followed by analysis and comparison of Sangwangsिमni and Haebangchon. Finally, research results are discussed and conclusions presented.

INDUSTRIAL CLUSTERS AND THEIR SOCIAL ROLE IN LOCALITIES

Spatial proximity was always important for industrial development. Industrial clustering and clusters (or industrial agglomerations), however,

increasingly emerged as a result of a structural transformation of the Western economies after the 1970s. These area-based forms of industrial organisation were seen as a response to the growing flexibilisation and specialisation of production and consumption in advanced capitalism (Porter, 1998; Kim and Short, 2008). Interdependent and complementary industries along with suppliers and services increasingly grouped themselves in localities to improve their competitiveness in meeting the changing market opportunities and demands (Rosenfeld, 1997). In this way, they formed specialised industrial clusters of “geographically proximate group[s] of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by commonalities and complementarities” (Porter, 2000: 16).

On the one hand, spatial proximity allows a more effective communication, collaboration and encourages knowledge transfers and innovations among businesses. On the other hand, it creates a critical threshold, which allows businesses to take a competitive position in regional, national or international markets. For this reason, they became a focus of urban policy, which often formalised industrial clusters as the so-called industrial parks, innovation districts, techno valleys etc. (Porter, 2000; Kim and Short, 2008). The formation of industrial clusters, however, is not always a result of formal planning and management, nor is it related to knowledge-intensive and high-tech industrial sectors alone. On the contrary, industrial clustering in traditional industries often takes place informally. These traditional industrial clusters gradually develop over a longer period of time as a result of daily face-to-face communication and collaboration, based on trust and reciprocity (Rosenfeld, 1997). Business relationships can affect interpersonal relations between businessmen, workers, clients and even residents when the TICs are located in mixed-use residential and industrial areas. In this way, they become not only dense productive networks but also social networks, which can strengthen social cohesion in localities. For this reason, TICs can have an important social role in cities (Nahm, 2001; Marrero Guillamón, 2010).

This is also the case with the cities in East Asia, where industries play a more central role in economic and urban life, compared to the

West (Hill and Kim, 2000). While major cities in the West had experienced an extensive de-industrialisation since the 1980s, East Asia underwent this process only recently. In result, industrial or mixed-use residential and industrial areas are still a common sight in many urban centres in East Asia. South Korea is no exception to the case. In Seoul, for instance, TICs in metal industries, tool manufacturing, textile and apparel industries, or printing, continue to operate in the very city centre since the 1960s (Nahm, 2001; Song, 2004; Križnik, 2015). Because of their central location and recent social and economic decline, these localities are now also facing de-industrialisation and speculative urban development similar to the West. For these very reasons, deprived mixed-use areas are gaining the attention of the state and civic groups as well.

TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIAL CLUSTERS IN SEOUL

Industrialisation and urban development

There was hardly any industry in the pre-modern Seoul. Early industrialisation started in the late 19th century and continued under the Japanese occupation of Korea. There were 318 factories in Gyeongseong in 1917, which were scattered throughout in a rather unorganised fashion, as the 1925 survey suggests (Lee, 2003).¹ The survey also hinted at the existence of not only larger well-managed factories but also at a growing number of smaller informal industries. In 1938 about 300 out of 1.300 industrial establishments in Gyeongseong had five or fewer employees. Small industries were Korean, while the Japanese mainly managed the larger ones (Jeong, 2007). The Japanese colonial government tried to regulate early industrialisation and urban development by designating about 5 % of the land in Gyeongseong for industrial activities (Lee, 2003). These were mostly located along the Jong-no – which was the traditional commercial centre of the city – Eulji-ro, Yongsan, the Han River and in Yeongdeungpo-gu. The latter became one of the first industrial clusters in the early-modern Seoul (Kim, 2013).

After the liberation, there were 1.297 industrial establishments in Seoul in 1946 (Lee, 2003). Many of them were fully destroyed during the Korean War. The new authoritarian regime, which took power in 1961, recognised the importance of industrialisation not only for economic survival and national security of the impoverished country but also for strengthening its own

political legitimacy (Pirie, 2008). Expansion and rapid industrialisation of the capital city were seen of key importance for meeting these aims (Cho and Križnik, 2017). For this reason, the national government started to develop large industrial complexes in Guro-gu after 1965, which together with the existing industrial areas in Yeongdeungpo-gu and Seongdong-gu, became the largest industrial clusters in modern Seoul (Figure 1) (Jeong, 1994).

This was also the time when not only larger industrial complexes were established, but also many TICs emerged (Nahm, 2001; Lee, 2003; Seoul Museum of History, 2009; Križnik, 2015). In some cases, like in Sangwangsimni or Haebangchon, these TICs were already formed earlier after the Korean War. This trend continued into the 1960s and 1970s when Seoul attracted several hundred of economic migrants a day, who often settled around these informal industries due to low rents and living costs, and plenty of job opportunities for unskilled workers. In this period, mining and manufacturing accounted for 32,8 % of total employment in Seoul, which was “the highest in its history” (Lee, 2003: 65). The late 1970s can in this regard be considered as the heydays of industrial Seoul (Table 1).

During the 1980s the manufacturing started to decline, signalling a forthcoming transition of Seoul from industrial towards a post-industrial city. From 1988 to 1998 the number of industrial establishments with five employees or more decreased by 13 %, while the employment in the industrial sector dropped for 56 % (Lee, 2003). Traditional labour-intensive manufacturing,

particularly metal and textile industries, was replaced with knowledge-intensive post-Fordist production (Cho, 1997). These structural changes resulted in a social and economic decline of TICs, although some – such as Seun Sangga and Changsin-Sungin areas – remained active until recently (Figure 1). In 2013, there were 58.551 industrial establishments in Seoul with 272.972 employees, which was two-thirds less than twenty years ago (SMG, 1998, 2016).

In the aftermath of the global economic crisis Seoul experienced a prolonged period of slow economic growth, which affected unstable job market, growing income inequality, unemployment and non-regular employment, number of businesses, and unequal competition between SMEs and large corporations (Seoul Institute, 2015). In response, the local government implemented diverse social and economic measures, which were on the one hand expanding provision of social welfare and addressing the negative social consequences of the economic slowdown, while on the other hand they provided economic and institutional support for prospective industrial and service sectors and introduced alternative economic models (Pan and Park, 2017). SMG (2015a: 39, 77) also recognised the need to protect, sustain and expand local industries not only “in terms of the social economy, but also to encourage [their] sustainability through strengthening of social community.” This had a direct impact on the TICs, where the approach shifted from market-driven towards a more comprehensive and balanced one (SMG, 2013, 2015b; Cho and Križnik, 2017).

Table 1 Establishments and employment in manufacturing and mining in Seoul (Sources: Lee, 2003; SMG, 1967, 1977, 1987, 1997, 2007, 2016; SMG, 2010b²)

	1938	1946	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005	2015
<i>Establi- shments</i>	1.300	1.297	1.709	2.868	5.560	13.636	20.294	70.034	61.247
<i>Employment</i>	40.000	48.602	85.479	150.000	495.000	840.000	1.115.000	792.000	502.000
<i>% of total employment</i>	-	-	-	19,3	25,7	28,7	23,1	16,2	9,8



Figure 1 Industrial establishments in Seoul with Sangwangsimmni and Haebangchon (Source: Blaž Križnik, 2015)

Transformation of deprived mixed-use areas

SMG used to promote a full-scale demolition and redevelopment of deprived urban areas in the past. Since the early 1980s, a “wholesale clearance led by private investment was the distinct feature of Seoul’s urban redevelopment policies” and was commonly followed by forceful evictions and displacement of residents and local businesses to make way for new residential or commercial districts (Kim and Yoon, 2003: 587). In result, many TICs have disappeared over the past decades. This was also the case with the New Town Development (NTD), which SMG (2005) introduced in 2002, with an aim to improve deprived urban areas and balance uneven regional development in Seoul. In practice, however, NTD was highly speculative and contributed little to a socially inclusive and environmentally balanced economic and urban development (Cho, 2005; Cho, 2008; Kang, 2012; Shin and Kim, 2015). Failure of such market-driven approach to address growing social, economic, and environmental disparities has prompted the local government to reconsider the urban policy and address transformation of deprived urban areas in a more comprehensive and inclusive way.

Urban regeneration became an integral part of urban policy in Seoul over the past decade (SMG, 2013). While urban regeneration of residential areas started in 2008 with the *Liveable Town-making Pilot Project*, the transformation of deprived mixed-use areas started in 2014 when the local government introduced the *Seoul-type Urban Regeneration Project (SURP)* (Cho and Križnik, 2017). 13 areas were selected as SURP

projects 2015 (SMG, 2015a). If urban regeneration was limited to smaller low-rise residential areas in the past, SURP was focused on larger and complex mixed-use areas, such as Changsin-Sungin-dong, Seongsu-dong or Haebangchon, as well as on the improvement of declining industrial and commercial areas in Seun Sangga, Nakwon Sangga and Janganpyeong (SMG, 2015a). These areas recently faced social and economic decline and deterioration of the living environment. Their improvement was linked not only with economic but also with social as well as environmental improvement of localities. SURP was prepared as a comprehensive and balanced approach, which aimed to boost local industries, create new jobs, improve built environment, recover communal life and safety networks, and strengthen the local identity of deprived mixed-use areas (SMG, 2015a). In this regard preservation and improvement of TICs was recognised for economic as well as the social and symbolic importance for localities.

To achieve these aims, SMG (2013) recognised



Figure 2 Metal and knitting workshops in Sangwangsimmni (L) and Haebangchon (R) (Source: Blaž Križnik, 2006; Su-kyoung Han, 2017)

the importance of building a partnership between the public and private sector, residents, and civic groups. Civic participation was recognised for its contribution to capacity building among the stakeholders, as well as for improving the legitimacy of the urban regeneration and local government. Moreover, early involvement of stakeholders was considered as necessary to develop site-specific approaches, which could effectively address particular problems in localities (Cho and Križnik, 2017). Community building became in this way an essential part of a successful transformation of deprived mixed-use areas in Seoul.

Urban redevelopment of Sangwangsimni through the New Town Development, 2002

Sangwangsimni used to be a traditional agricultural area located on the outskirts of the pre-modern Seoul.³ Due to its good accessibility and low rents, it attracted small industries and new residents during the early industrialisation of the city. The population doubled from 3.497 in 1916 to 6.848 in 1933. In 1949 there were already 15.474 residents in Sangwangsimni-dong (Seoul Museum of History, 2009: 22, 43). At that time the area was already characterised by small workshops with about two employees per establishment on average, which was significantly less than Seoul. Production depended on cheap but skilled manual labour and often outdated technologies. The profits were slim and the added value per employee was about a half of the Seoul's average (Križnik, 2015). The local industries were involved in steel grinding, moulding, tools manufacturing, plastic, textile and mother of pearl production. Metal and machinery-related industries, which accounted for 41% of all establishments in 2004, were by far the most important economic activity in the locality (Seongdong-gu District

Office, 2006). Considering their small size, dependence on manual production, outdated technologies and low profits, it is not surprising that many workshops were mutually dependent and strongly connected in dense productive and social networks. These were based on strong interpersonal trust and solidarity, which further “developed beyond economic interests and also influenced positively the everyday life in the area” (Križnik, 2015: 139).

Sangwangsimni faced a slow social and economic decline after the 1980s. From 1979 to 2004 it lost 27% of its population, which was largely a result of poor living environment and declining employment (Table 2). SMG (2004) named social and economic deprivation along with its proximity to the downtown as the main reasons to select Sangwangsimni as an NTD pilot project in 2002. *Wangsimni New Town* (WNT) aimed to transform the apparently deprived mixed-used areas into “environmentally friendly urban centre community in harmony with Cheonggye Stream” and into a “rural area in the heart of the metropolis, [...] a new community where residents of different generations and social groups could coexist” (SMG, 2005: 22). The major part of this 324.000 m² large urban redevelopment is already completed and the new residents and businesses started to move in. There were 26.599 residents in Wangsimni-Doseon-dong in 2016, twice the number of three years ago (SMG, 2016).

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Table 2 Population growth in Sangwangsimni, 1979-2014⁴
(Source: Križnik, 2015)

	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
Wangsimni-Doseon-dong	32.622	34.298	31.212	25.224	26.178	23.961	13.682	13.086
Wangsimni 1-dong	20.457	22.211	19.032	14.115	15.317	14.753	-	-

to select Sangwangsimni as an NTD pilot project in 2002. Wangsimni New Town (WNT) aimed to transform the apparently deprived mixed-used areas into “environmentally friendly urban centre community in harmony with Cheonggye Stream” and into a “rural area in the heart of the metropolis, [...] a new community where residents of different generations and social groups could coexist” (SMG, 2005: 22). The major part of this 324.000 m² large urban redevelopment is already completed and the new residents and businesses started to move in. There were 26.599 residents in Wangsimni-Doseon-dong in 2016, twice the number of three years ago (SMG, 2016).

Meanwhile, Sangwangsimni was fully demolished and the residents were evicted and displaced. Due to growing property prices, it is estimated that less than 20% of the original residents will be able to return to WNT (Kang, 2012; Cho and Križnik, 2017). The situation is even worse for the local businesses, particularly the small workshops, as none of them will be able to return to Sangwangsimni. The local government initially promised to build a so-called apartment-type factory to preserve a part of the traditional industries (Oh, 2002).⁵ This was later changed due to the apparent unsuitability of traditional industries for residential areas (SMG, 2004). In result, the local businesses were forced to relocate to other areas in the city and metropolitan region, or to close down, which eventually led to disappearance of the TIC in Sangwangsimni.

Urban regeneration in Haebangchon

Haebangchon is located in the centre of Seoul. It used to be covered by forest in the past, but after many refugees flocked in the area and settled around the former Japanese military base, it became one of the first shanty towns in the city (Jeong, Yeom and Jang, 1996).⁶ The settlement, which was soon relocated to its present-day location, has grown considerably after the influx

of North Korean refugees. In just two years the population doubled from 6.531 in 1947 to 13.458 in 1949 (Lee, 2003). New residents were reportedly working hard to earn for living in businesses related to the nearby US military base, Namdaemun Market and Seoul Station. Cigarette wrapping, in particular, provided for about 80% of all jobs at that time, largely due to high market demand, relatively simple technology and low production costs. This often involved entire families and demanded close cooperation between producers (Lee, 1966; Lee, 2000).

In 1961, the tobacco-related businesses were prohibited and the production shifted to textile industry. There were about 300 to 400 industrial establishments in Haebangchon during that time, which engaged about 70 % of the local workforce and accounted for about 30 % of the entire textile production in the country at their peak (Lee, 2000; Jeong, 2013; Kong, 2014). Goods produced in Haebangchon were mostly supplied to the Namdaemun and Dongdaemun markets. Production was based on small knitting workshops with slim profits. Their limited capacity urged them to collaborate to meet the market demands (Ecoprism, 2016). Many of them were located near the Shinheung Market, which became the commercial centre of the emerging industrial cluster. This attracted new workers and residents to Haebangchon due to plenty of job opportunities, low living costs and proximity to downtown Seoul (HBC URSC, 2017).

In the 1990s the local industries in Haebangchon faced an economic decline due to the expansion of apparel industry, an influx of cheaper products from China, and economic crisis in the late 1990s. Moreover, the large companies that used to outsource the work to the local business in Haebangchon moved their production to China, which gradually led to the decline of the industrial cluster in Haebangchon (Jeong, 2013; Kong, 2014). About 50 knitting and sewing workshops

Table 3 Population growth in Haebangchon, 1980-2015
(Source: SMG, 2017)

	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Yongsan 2ga-dong	20.660	20.696	20.813	17.762	14.884	13.285	12.926	12.267

are still active today (Ecoprism, 2016). During the 1990s deteriorating economy also affected population decline (Table 3). In the recent years, however, low rents and living costs attracted artisans and restaurants to open in Haebangchon, forecasting its slow economic recovery (Kong, 2014; Kim, 2017).

SMG (2015a) selected Haebangchon as the SURP project in 2015 to address its social and economic decline, as well as deteriorating quality of the built environment. Urban regeneration of a 332.000 m² large area aims to improve dilapidated housing, infrastructure and open space, to strengthen its local economy and social relations. *Haebangchon Urban Regeneration Support Centre* (HBC URSC) was established to plan, manage and implement the SURP project. HBC URSC also facilitates the civic participation of residents and local businesses through surveys, consultation, education and community workshops. Moreover, the so-called *Residents' consultative group* was established in 2015 to represent their interests in the planning and implementation process, which is further expected to strengthen trust and to contribute to community building in the locality (SMG, 2017: 116, 120).

In this process, local industries were recognised as one of the major assets in Haebangchon. The “revitalization of a decayed local economy” was listed among the main aims of urban regeneration, which is to be achieved through support and collaboration of knitting industry, promotion of cooperatives, and the establishment of shared marketing and online platforms (SMG, 2017: 83, 85). Moreover, the plan suggests connecting knitting industries with new social enterprises, artisans and civic groups, which have recently settled in Haebangchon to strengthen their assets, local brand and to create new jobs. The renovation of Shinheung Market is also planned for this year. Although little has been actually implemented so far, the local government expects to complete SURP in Haebangchon by 2020 (SMG, 2017).

COMPARISON OF SANGWANGSIMNI AND HAEBANGCHON

Sangwangsimni has a long history, which goes back for centuries. Haebangchon, on the contrary, was established only several decades ago. By the 1980s both localities nevertheless became major industrial clusters in Seoul. This similarity is not

coincidental. Sangwangsimni and Haebangchon are located in what used to be the outskirts of early-modern Seoul. During the rapid economic and urban development of the city, such peripheral areas attracted informal industries and low-paid workers due to proximity to the city centre and major markets, as well as due to vacant land, low rents and living costs. This was also the case of Sangwangsimni and Haebangchon until the late 1980s when both were known for bustling industries and lively markets, which mingled with densely populated residential areas (Lee, 2003; Seoul Museum of History, 2009; Jeong, 2013; Križnik, 2015).

Their heydays were over by the 1990s. Since then, both underwent a gradual social and economic decline and deterioration of the living environment. SMG (2004, 2017) tried to address these challenges and selected Sangwangsimni as a pilot project of NTD in 2002 and Haebangchon as the SURP project in 2014. Their transformation nevertheless took place against rather different economic and institutional backdrops. In the early 2000s, a period of strong economic growth fuelled speculative urban development (Shin and Kim, 2015). A decade later, Seoul is affected by an economic slowdown, which shifted scope and scale of urban development, and led to more inclusive urban governance at the same time (Cho, 2014; Cho and Križnik, 2017). SMG (2004, 2017) therefore took a different approach in transforming Sangwangsimni and Haebangchon with very different consequences on traditional industries.

Differences between TICs in Sangwangsimni and Haebangchon further affected the outcomes of their transformation. Previous studies show that traditional industries in Sangwangsimni were in a comparatively good shape before the urban redevelopment (Kim, 2010). There were 663 metal and manufacturing related industrial establishments in Sangwangsimni, which accounted for 44 % of local businesses in 2004 (Seongdong-gu District Office, 2006). These established not only strong productive but also dense social networks, which affected social cohesion and interpersonal trust in the locality (Križnik, 2015). On the contrary, there were only about 50 knitting workshops in Haebangchon, which accounted for 8 % of local businesses in 2016 (Ecoprism, 2016). This suggests a significant decline of traditional industries in Haebangchon,

which used to offer the large majority of jobs in the past. Their decline was one the reasons for a rather low social impact on the locality. Knitting Industry Association, with most of the knitting workshops in Haebangchon, shows little interest in urban regeneration and is only marginally involved in diverse communal activities. At the same time the residents, other local businesses and civic groups take a more active stand in advocating for the protection of traditional industries (SMG, 2017).

On the contrary, the Association of Wangsimni Workshops and Merchants was actively involved in communal activities and advocated for local businesses in Sangwangsimni (Križnik, 2015). SMG initially promised to preserve a part of traditional industries by building an apartment factory (Oh, 2002; SMG, 2004). While the association welcomed the proposal, private stakeholders – mostly landowners and construction corporations – considered it unacceptable. In their view, apartment factory would considerably deteriorate living environment. Their concerns were most likely more related to the negative impact of apartment factory on the property market in an upscale residential complex. Eventually, the local government ignored the local businesses and promoted a speculative urban development of the area, which was significantly unfair for many local businesses (Kim, 2010; Cho and Križnik, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Over the past years, the transformation of deprived mixed-used areas in Seoul has changed considerably. This paper outlines some of these changes and their consequences on TICs by comparing transformation of Sangwangsimni and Haebangchon. While WNT is a case of rapid speculative urban development, Haebangchon shows a gradual approach, where social and economic decline and degradation of living environment are addressed in a more comprehensive and balanced way. In result, Sangwangsimni was fully demolished, residents and local businesses displaced, while the TIC virtually disappeared. SURP in Haebangchon is, on the contrary, an on-going project, with little visible results so far. In this case, it is difficult to fully assess its consequences on the transformation of the traditional industries.

The main aim of the SURP in Haebangchon is, nevertheless, to support and preserve traditional industries. In a contrast to Sangwangsimni, where residents and local businesses were largely excluded from urban development, considerable efforts are made to build a partnership between the local government and different stakeholders in the locality. The study suggests that the resulting involvement of residents, local businesses and civic groups in planning and decision-making played an important role in recognising traditional industries as important economic and social assets in the locality. Moreover, their involvement also contributed to community building, which is another important aim of the SURP in Haebangchon.

An important question, however, which remains unanswered in this study, is whether and how the existing social networks in TICs could further contribute to community building in localities. The case of Sangwangsimni shows that the social networks, based on interpersonal trust and solidarity in traditional industries, can affect involvement of the residents and local businesses, and contribute to community building. Such social networks also exist in Haebangchon, but the study was unable to conclude whether they affected involvement of residents, local businesses and civic groups in urban regeneration, and contributed to community building. This remains an important aim of the follow-up research if one is to better understand the transformation of and community building in the deprived-mixed use areas in Seoul.

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NOTES

1. Gyeongseong was the Korean name of Seoul during the Japanese occupation of Korea (Clark and Clark, 1969).
2. Data prior to 1965 cannot be directly comparable as the sources are different. This does, however, help in illustrating the growth of manufacturing and mining in Seoul.
3. According to a legend, the King Taejo sought to establish a new capital city in Wangsimni. By divine intervention, however, the king's envoy was advised to look for another site about 10-ri (4 km) to the West, where the royal palace was later built. The initial location became known as Wang-sib-ri, which in Korean means 'go [for] ten ri' (Clark and Clark, 1969). This suggests that Wangsimni has a long history as a settlement.
4. Sangwangsimni corresponds to the former Wangsimni 1-dong, which was merged with Doseon-dong in Wangsimni-Doseon-dong in 2008. The table shows population for Wangsimni 1-dong until 2004 as well as combined data for Wangsimni-Doseon-dong. Haebangchon corresponds to the present-day Yongsan 2ga-dong (SMG, 2016, 2017).
5. The apartment-type factory is a particular building, where industrial workshops are placed in an apartment-like looking building alone or together with residential units. Such buildings, like the nearby Sungin Sangga Apartment, already originate from the 1970s.
6. Haebangchon in Korean literary means "liberation village", which refers to its establishment right after the liberation of Korea (Lee, 2003).

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Fair Building. Perception of Challenges and Social Responsibility of German, Austrian, and Swiss Architects in Global Practice on the Individual and Organizational Levels.

Clarissa Rhomberg

Institute for Architecture and Planning,
University of Liechtenstein,
Liechtenstein

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to investigate the impact and meaning of socially responsible behaviour for architects and firms in international construction practice. It assesses and evaluates how these issues are reflected and implemented by (1) the individual architect and (2) the organizational structure of architectural firms. This study brings together various theoretical streams from (1) sustainability research applied in building processes, (2) the role of ethics in global professional design services, and (3) corporate governance and business ethics as well as stakeholder theory in the global construction business. Empirically, it uses the instrument of argumentative discourse analysis (expert interviews, stakeholder analysis, and content analysis of reports). It examines the roles and capability of Austrian, German, and Swiss architects and architectural firms to act in a socially responsible way in a global and multicultural context. This study uncovers a rapid intensification of ethical challenges in contemporary global architectural practice. The findings shed light on the changing ethical role and social responsibilities of individual architects and firms.

KEYWORDS

*Sustainable Architecture, Global
Architectural Practice, Construction,
Discourse Analysis, Architectural
Ethics in Practice, Social
Responsibility, Shared Value Creation
in Construction*

INTRODUCTION

Although the process of globalization generates new work opportunities for architects, it has also created ethical conflicts. When designing, planning, and building abroad, architects and their firms not only deal with cultural differences, country-specific building regulations, and local working practices, but may also find themselves engaged in projects with construction sites that violates various labour laws and human rights (see Qatar: The dark side of migration: Spotlight on Qatar's construction sector ahead of the World Cup¹; Amnesty International, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2013; 2017; ILO, 2016). Even though architects are, generally speaking, not legally responsible for health and safety issues on-site because these are executed and monitored by construction companies, work activities still need to be considered in the larger social, economic, and ecological context of the production of space. In this context, it is crucial to understand the current social processes and dynamics on construction sites, as these reflect production patterns of contemporary urban spaces.

Architects and planners are key players in construction management and can contribute to more sustainable development by carefully considering the economic, social, and environmental consequences of their decisions (Othman, 2013). Their actions, among those of others, directly and immediately affect construction workers. Their choices have ethical, social, and environmental impacts (Amnesty International, 2013; HRW, 2016, 2017; ILO, 2016). Their decisions require reasoning processes on multiple stages, which involves the exercise of judgment rather than the "mere application of rules" (Campbell & Marshall, 2005, p. 199). Therefore, architects and planners are compelled to consider increasing environmental, economic, and social planning challenges in their practices (Desai, 2010; Fischer, 2010). In the context of this work, it is assumed that the social principles of justice and inclusiveness should be embedded in the concept of sustainable development in architecture and planning and further in architectural firms' global practice, as they are global leaders in sustainable development. This requires that governments incorporate these universal principles to design holistic policies that enable architectural firms to develop more sustainable designs, buildings, and processes

(Lafferty, 2004; Roome & Cahill, 2001).

Taking these observations into account, the basic normative premise of this study is that architects and architectural firms have a social responsibility regarding construction processes. Yet, it is assumed that this obligation is not currently fulfilled in practice. Even though there is today a growing awareness of the responsible use of resources (Wackernagel & Rees, 1996), as well as the environmental and social impacts of buildings, scholarly research has paid little attention so far to issues of social responsibility in construction processes. For this reason, this study seeks to assess how architects approach the field of social responsibility in global practice and how they position themselves regarding this issue. It attempts to find ways to combine the normative premise with experience from practice. In particular, this study focuses on German, Austrian, and Swiss planners and architects, as they are a vital part of the international value-added construction chain. There is growing demand for their design skills, know-how in engineering, project management abilities, and experience on matters of sustainability.

383

RESEARCH APPROACH AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study is to close the gap between normative ethical discourse and the depiction of daily practices in the field of planning and construction. The author's research interest is twofold:

1. Individual level: to investigate what social responsibility means for architects and architectural firms in the construction phase and how they already tackle challenges regarding related issues.
2. Organizational level: to assess architectural firms' understanding of social responsibility, the challenges they encounter regarding this, and their ability to contribute to responsible practice.

Following these research interests, in the context of this study, the research questions are:

1. What challenges and responsibility do architects perceive for themselves in the construction process of a global practice?
Individual level
2. What is the ability of architectural firms to

contribute to responsible practice in a global work environment? **Organizational level**

Building on these research interests and questions, this study aims to contribute to the as-yet widely unexplored research area of socially sustainable and responsible building processes and the role of architects and their firms therein. In general, this study aims to prove its relevance on (1) theoretical, (2) empirical, and (3) practical levels:

1. Theoretically, it initially adapts governance ethics and social responsibility discourses to the architectural field.
2. Empirically, it uses social science approaches to demonstrate research in architecture.
3. Practically, it develops insights on and evaluates the state of the art in architectural practice concerning social responsibility approaches.

The findings of this study are relevant at various levels, including improving the social dimension of construction processes while considering the needs of all stakeholders and the future education of architects and planners.

384

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

To build a robust theoretical foundation for this study and to cope with the complexity of this project, a broad variety of theoretical approaches from different disciplines is needed. The theoretical foundation is grounded on (1) the concept of sustainability, (2) professional ethics in architecture, and (3) the perspective of governance ethics and stakeholder theory. The social science approaches of governance ethics and stakeholder theory build on the understanding that construction is a polylingual and intersectoral process (see Wieland, 2014). All three theoretical strands are important cornerstones for this project.

(1) The concept of sustainability: Social responsibility is an integral part of the debate on sustainable development (WCED, 1987), but the definition of the term remains fuzzy (Dempsey et al., 2011). Therefore, the concept of social sustainability needs further clarification and contextualization (Boström, 2011, 2012; Murphy, 2012). Here, sustainability is understood in its entirety – the social as well as ecological and economic consequences of individual actions,

organizations, corporations, and societies (Droege, 2006, 2010, 2012; Boström, 2012) – and serves as the theoretical framework for an integrated model. The focus lies primarily on sustainable aspects within the process of producing architecture rather than on the evaluation of a building's economic, ecological, and social performance.

(2) Professional ethics in architecture: Architects are an integral part of the production of space, which can also be described as the “geographical organization of the production process” (McNeill, 2009, p. 4). The production of space is also a social process, especially in global practice. Furthermore, the profession of architecture is also affected by commercial, legal, and economic logic (Frampton, 1983; McNeill, 2006, 2009). Therefore, it is first essential to position architects as creators of space in both historical and contemporary contexts and to describe their social capabilities and engagement (Lepik, 2010; Mangold, 2015; Schön, 1983; Till, 2009). Second, it is imperative to reflect on the responsibilities and duties of globally practicing architects and their firms during work by referring to a code of conduct (RIBA, 2005).

(3) From the perspective of governance ethics and stakeholder theory: While rather paradoxical to the aforementioned economic interests, from this perspective, architectural firms are thought of as “social cooperation projects of the owners of resources for the purpose of mutual individual benefit and the generation of social welfare” (Wieland, 2014, p. ix). Consequently, construction projects are a temporary nexus of stakeholders during the dynamic planning and building process. Because of the various stakeholders, their different perspectives and interests, and the changing dynamics of dependencies, any analysis of these interaction processes is quite complex. Thus, a robust and successfully tested methodological framework is needed. Stakeholder theory serves as a good opportunity to work with these restrictions and likewise addresses morals and values in processes such as construction.

The framework builds on all these approaches to provide a unique perspective on current challenges for the architectural profession in global practice. Particular interest lies in the sphere of social responsibility of architects and their firms.

METHOD

To answer the research questions, the study applies a qualitative approach using the instrument of argumentative discourse analysis (hereafter referred as ADA; Creswell, 2007; Fischer, 2006; Hajer, 1995). ADA provides an analytical framework for investigating the sustainability and responsibility discourse and applying it to research architectural firms. The methodology enables the combination of an analysis of the production of space “with the analysis of the socio-political practice from which social constructs emerge and in which actors that make these statements engage” (Hajer, 2006, p. 67). It allows the use of a variety of empirical instruments such as expert interviews, document analysis, and stakeholder analysis.

1. In the first step, expert interviews offer a profound understanding of the professional perspective of architects and architectural firms. Here, the focus lies on architectural firms, their understanding of responsibility, their challenges, and their ability to contribute to responsible practice. The experts were carefully selected according to a number of criteria.
2. In the second step, content analysis helps to contextualize the findings in a social, legal, and political framework.

To gain a deep understanding of how the organizations and actions of architectural firms contribute to global building practice, qualitative interviews are a useful instrument for collecting qualitative data. The purpose of the expert interview is to explore experiences, motivations, and views on sustainability, responsibility, and challenges encountered when working in an international environment. Nine interviews with selected experts were conducted in the fall of 2016 and winter of 2017. All interviews took place in the selected experts' architectural offices in Berlin, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Munich (D), St. Gallen, Basel (CH), and Bregenz (AT). Before conducting the interviews, detailed research on each architectural firm was carried out to collect office profiles, projects, locations, office structure, and media responses. All data from documents and interviews were collected using standard software for qualitative analysis (MAXQDA) and were coded as text following the rules of qualitative criteria in the tradition of qualitative content

analysis (Mayring, 2010; Krippendorff, 2013).

CODING RESULTS

The coding of the expert interview transcripts is significant for the subsequent evaluation and qualitative analysis of the collected data. The main topics, statements, and underlying impressions of the interviews were understood as the basic elements of the coding process. First, data were reduced, categories were elaborated on, and the relevance of this type of coding for analysis was examined. In this sense, “coding is not just labeling; it is linking” (Saldana, 2013, p. 8) from the data to the idea and back to other data. Thus, the essence of coding is capturing the relevant elements of the research story and clustering them together according to similarity and regularity. Therefore, the following primary topics (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 78), consisting of nine codes, were introduced (see Table 1) based on theory and the research interests for use in analysing the expert interviews. This first step of coding provides an inventory of topics for indexing and categorizing:

Table 1 Main Codes

MAIN CODES
PERSONAL
OFFICE
PROFESSION OF ARCHITECTS
GLOBALIZATION
CULTURE
DESIGN PROCESS
SUSTAINABILITY
RESPONSIBILITY
CHALLENGES

Second, an additional thirty-seven subcodes were introduced as a more detailed subcategory system for further analysis of relevant issues. These subcodes were not defined beforehand and were allowed to emerge interactively from the data while coding. These subcodes (see ANNEX 1) highlight the variety of thematic patterns in the data and show thematic overlapping within the data. Therefore, the results from the coding process are woven into discursive dynamics, the outcomes of the research questions, and the structure of the discursive interpretations. The codes reveal a variety of research aspects, which are described in the codebook attached (see ANNEX 1). These analytic patterns were explored during the coding process and were crucial in revealing the opportunities and challenges that

internationally-practicing architects and their firms face on the individual and organizational levels.

REFLECTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODS:

The qualitative research approach deals with the outlined research questions in sufficient depth for their complexity. Moreover, the ambition is to determine the interlinked relationships among the stakeholders involved in architectural construction processes. ADA is relevant as a descriptive method that emphasizes practical and context-specific applications. However, the researcher is aware that her perception, background as an architect, and perspective of sustainability and governance ethics may have influenced the research, in addition to the ADA, which has a normative stance and reflects the opinions and experiences of the experts and the representations of their firms' economic interests. Therefore, no absolute and one-dimensional answers are given regarding the complex issue of the social responsibility of architects in global practice; rather, an interpretation of various experts' opinions that is ultimately open to negotiation is outlined here. Some general reflections about the empirical framework are that the coding process helps to create an accurate distance from the researcher, allowing her to work with the transcribed text only and not become distracted by emotions and the intuitively observed behaviour exhibited during interviews.

FINDINGS²

Since the particular interest of this study lies in the dynamics and challenges within the architectural field regarding the roles and responsibility of global architectural practice at various levels, ADA makes it possible to explore the arguments and storylines of individual actors and, moreover, arguments on the organizational level. In this understanding, ADA implies the analysis of research processes in which the findings are framed, and, moreover, presents the context in which experts' statements feed into other current architectural debates. Data obtained from (1) the expert interviews about office structure, management decisions regarding internationalization strategies of architectural firms, responsibilities of the profession, design decisions, sustainability approaches, and internal

and external collaboration and (2) content analysis are analysed and presented. For easier classification and systematization, these findings are structured around the research questions as well as around architects and their firms in the global environment by discussing individual and organizational aspects.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

German as well as Austrian and Swiss urban planners and architects are a vital part of the international value-added construction chain. There is growing demand for their design skills, know-how in engineering, efficient project management, and experience in the field of sustainability. Due to different conditions and regulations, as well as cross-cultural working environments, it can be a challenge for these architects to maintain an awareness of the big picture at all times on various construction sites in different countries, as misunderstandings and disputes are often common during construction processes. In short, communication and the ability to understand foreign languages are crucial to the success of a project. Although most communication is in English as it is the usual business language, it was addressed several times that is important to build and cultivate a mutual understanding, in terms of communication but also design-wise. The daily challenges of working on international projects include the fact that while involvement is very time-consuming for the individual architects involved, it also offers opportunities for size, scale, growth, and impact. All of the experts stated that they have not been trained for challenges in an international and intercultural working environment and that there is a lack of leadership training at universities to teach required qualities and abilities for working in international city planning or architectural projects and create awareness of working in different cultures. However, being prepared for the international working stage requires engagement and development in communication, intercultural management, cooperation, and leadership skills.

In the experts' understanding, the architect is, on the one hand, a major coordinator of design and building processes and can thus influence the process, pushing toward a more resource-saving and socially acceptable project. In the interviews, one line of argumentation by the experts saw the possibility of contributing by creating a 'good

design' that is more environmentally conscious than other products. In the understanding of some experts, architects have a tremendous opportunity to contribute to the developing sector with their expertise in design, planning, and sustainability. In this context, almost all the experts agreed that architects and their firms have a responsibility beyond their profession; this refers to the underlying assumption of the study. Furthermore, most experts considered the discourse on social responsibility (theoretically) necessary and stated that they have a high stake to present social claims along with their works. Moreover, the question of social responsibility was linked to the issue of perception and their professional role, where they see a great responsibility of architects and planners for the ecological, economic, and social development of mankind.

The question regarding the primary role of an architect regarding global professional and social responsibility within the construction process remains vague. When asked about their perceptions of social responsibility on the construction site and the situation of workers on international projects, the respondents contextualized their actual influence to be more moderate compared to other stakeholders involved in construction. In the context of social responsibility, some experts remained silent when asked about situations where the working conditions of construction workers clearly do not meet international standards of safety and decency. Some interviewees even went so far as to describe the role of the architect in the value creation process of the buildings as overestimated. Architects often feel a certain powerlessness in the complex global construction chain; however, in regard to sustainability, governance ethics, and stakeholder analysis, they need to have a willingness and capacity for moral reflection and consequential decisions.

This reality became obvious in the interviews. By allowing these experts to reflect on their profession, they revealed that their duties as architects included formulating better answers to contemporary and global problems. It is about not only creating a good, solid design but also considering the ecological and the social problems within their work. Accordingly, this requires architects and project managers to develop a greater understanding of social, cultural, and

environmental challenges as well as new skills and knowledge to create shared values within the value chain of construction. Thus, architectural firms can create economic value by creating societal, valuable, and qualitative designs.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2: ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL

The interviews with architectural experts have explored how strategically practicing international architectural offices in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland engage with challenges in the global market on the organizational level. In this context, it was stated that on an organizational level, the architectural firms have learned and are still learning a great deal from their working experiences in the wider international context. To avoid mistakes from the past, most of the offices' developed strategies and actions are designed to control conflict risk and increase efficiency. The architectural firms are keenly interested in attracting talent from all over the world and retaining employees for an extended period of time. Many of the architectural firms offer additional training for their employees, either because their education has some shortcomings or to help them remain competitive in the global market.

As a consequence of participating in the global market, projects often demand know-how transfer, especially in the field of sustainability. This accordingly requires having significant time and endurance and making strong efforts to convince clients of high-quality solutions. Again, the factor of "time" is essential in matching the targeted quality of the project, which is not the reality in many international building projects with tight schedules. It was also highlighted that it is becoming increasingly important to work with interdisciplinary teams and persistently integrate new research parameters and technology into the design and building process to deal with current complex planning challenges. By doing this, the architects extend traditional professional boundaries. It is obvious that globally operating architectural firms that want to achieve further success need to collaborate with others, either by acquiring good, reliable partners or by building up internal expertise and promoting interdisciplinary teamwork for various building projects.

All of the experts see in architectural firms' daily practice responsibility beyond mandatory and

legal obligations. When asked about corporate social responsibility (CSR) standards in their firm, most responded that they declined to have CSR standards implemented into their organizational structure. They were especially worried about the implementation of a CSR framework as they consider it additional work. However, some of the offices perform pro bono³ work in various countries, mainly focusing on, for example, charity work in education or building schools and sports facilities for children in developing regions. The possibility is even offered for some employees to get involved in hands-on projects for community building. Other offices have voluntary activities to educate young architects from developing countries and train them for future challenges.

In this respect, not every office is keen to make public their volunteer efforts, preferring instead to perform these activities discretely. Moreover, not every office can afford volunteer activities, as these are considered extra engagements that often do not pay off. Most experts stated that a discourse on social responsibility is (theoretically) necessary for relevant issues in their office and beyond. The question of social responsibility was linked to the issue of perception and the role of their own profession in the global value chain of construction. When asked about their perceptions of social responsibility on the construction site and the situation of workers on-site, the respondents gave answers ranging from the belief that they have very direct influence over action to refusal to see this issue as something in their field of responsibility. In general, they were all aware that construction workers often suffer from inadequate working conditions in the global building environment. There was a consensus that construction workers often do not have sufficient training, compared with skilled construction workers and craftsmen in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

The expert interviews explored strategic, international practices of architectural offices in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, and how they engage with challenges in the global market on the organizational level. In particular, the interviews identified the sense-making in relation to social responsibility in the construction process and the dynamics of architectural firms' responsibilities that are incumbent in the global value chain of construction.

INTERPRETATION

The findings of this study describe the rapid intensification of ethical challenges in contemporary global architectural practice and how architects and their firms are dealing with this on the individual and organizational levels. By looking at the core propositions, this work aims to offer a broader perspective on research results regarding social responsibility of architects and to situate them in the context of architectural research, practice, and beyond. However, the expert interviews are not comprehensive nor can they describe all the challenges that architects and their firms are facing in global practice. Instead, they illuminate and contextualize individual experiences by asking for examples from daily life and linking insights either to the individual level or to the organizational and market levels. In combination with the theoretical frame that architectural firms can use to integrate social, environmental, and ethical rights into business, the stakeholder analysis enables interpretation of these findings in the wider context of the global construction value chain.

In this understanding, architects and their firms can directly influence and shape the building process and its outcomes to improve the procedures as well as the built environment in regard to ecological and social performance. By having this key role, the architectural community can tackle issues in a holistic manner, addressing the larger needs of collective social responsibilities and sustainability. In facing global challenges such as growing megacities, social inequality, climate change, and finite natural resources, the expertise of planners and architects is essential for dealing with present and future issues regarding the process of globalization in this emerging network. The topic is given relevance by an increasingly global construction market, which often has a very local planning practice that depends on local resources, cultural and social habits, economic and ecological factors, and national labour laws and rules for occupational safety. While addressing the issue of labour conditions for construction workers, such as insufficient training and poor work safety during the production process in global building practice, the empirical data show that the ever-present dynamics of new global architectural practice, and social responsibility, are not of minor importance and are instead often accepted as the status quo or

completely ignored.

On the organizational level, the interviews and stakeholder analysis expose the complex web of relationships, interactions, and dependencies among various interests and architectural firms in the organizational context of the construction process. By drawing attention to the role of architectural firms within the network, the consequences of design and planning decisions, and firms' direct contact with other stakeholders such as clients, developers, authorities, contractors, and construction companies, the interviews reveal architectural firms as a central and active stakeholder for leveraging change in the construction process. Building on the empirical findings and the theoretical framework of governance ethics and stakeholders theory, architects and their firms have stakes and resources within the construction processes and can, therefore, enable change through their positions within stakeholder networks. Furthermore, they can position themselves as facilitators for transparency, social responsibility, and sustainability of processes in global practice. Consequently, architectural firms can become standard-setters for moral and sustainable planning and building practices. Austrian, Swiss, and German architectural firms are ambassadors for sustainable, resource-efficient, durable, and qualitative building solutions. Hence, they are also representatives for the values of Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. To fill this role, the firms need to develop a leadership culture in the field of sustainability and take responsibility to facilitate their core values in the construction chain.

Consequently, it is crucial for architects and their firms to reflect on their moral decisions at the various design stages of a project and the effects these have on stakeholders. Hence, this work calls for more awareness of these issues among architects involved in the global construction business and issues a call for action that includes principles of fair construction conditions for workers, which can be considered by architects in a fair planning and design approach in the early stages of a project. The findings of the expert interviews stress the importance of mutual understanding regarding cultural differences in the ability to take a central position within a network of stakeholders in global construction practice. Ideally, an effective dialogue can emerge through mutual understanding "beyond form

and design" of a building with the goal of creating social, cultural, aesthetic, and ecological added value.

CONCLUSIONS

This study of Austrian, German, and Swiss architects juxtaposes their reflections regarding being socially responsible architects and simultaneously being members of leading global architectural firms. The interpretation of the findings indicate the back-and-forth movement between what it means to be a global architect and what it means to be a socially responsible architect. The findings show that most of the interviewed German, Swiss, and Austrian architects were not adequately prepared for global practice in their daily business. Hence, this study seeks to increase the focus on transcultural understanding, governance ethics, and human rights in the education of architects, urban planners, designers, and other stakeholders in construction to prepare them for new work challenges in global building practice. To develop the required skills for this task and, at the same time, enforce globally accepted norms of socially responsible behaviour, it is relevant to reflect on the present values and capabilities of architects and planners, which are reflected in their responsibilities as individual actors and in the organizational structure of the firms, which need to develop the ability to act in accordance with the codes of conduct.

This illustrates the much larger issues present in the global construction landscape: ongoing and emergent socio-political struggles without universal standards, insufficient attention paid to construction workers' situation, a lack of control and monitoring on-site, and a lack of leadership in promoting more socially responsible and sustainable construction processes. Hence, it becomes obvious that there is a need to develop a structure of governance that will allow the creation of shared common values (economic, social, and ecological) in the construction process, integrate the interests of stakeholders, and help improve the situation of construction workers. Hence, the author's interest in future research is as follows: First, focus more on the educational field and how the issue of social responsibility can be implemented into current academic curricula and address the prospects for discourse on social responsibility in architecture and urban

planning education. Second, pursue further research, including the perspectives of internal and external stakeholders in the construction process to gain a wider understanding of their challenges and the motivations of various actors involved so as to find a common conversation. Third, extend the contribution to a more strategic, practical level. The question is how to implement value management in architectural firms and the construction chain at the same time.

NOTES

1. The following problems are mentioned in this report: the temperature can rise to 45 degrees in the desert state, shortage of water supply for the workers, inadequate labour protection measures, month-long absence of payment, labour camps with rudimentary living conditions (insufficient hygienic infrastructure, no air conditioning, etc.), inability to found a trade union for the workers caused by the kafala system and their dependency on the sponsors – the employer. Sponsors are responsible for certifying workers and work registration; without official documents, migrant workers are illegal and under constant fear of arrest and deportation. It is not possible to change jobs without the permission of the employer or to leave the country. This leads to a direct exploitation of labour migrants without possibility of legal assistance.
2. Findings are a summary of the Dissertation “Fair Building. A Discourse and Action Analysis of Social Responsibility in the Construction Process and Its Challenges for Internationally Practising Architects and Their Firms” (monograph, unpublished).
3. From the Latin, meaning ‘for the public good’; refers to the provision of legal services free of charge to those who cannot afford them (i.e., low-income individuals)

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ANNEX 1: CODES AND THEMATIC

CODEBOOK

PERSONAL

- Description of the current position in the architectural firm
- Information about the educational background
- Information about additional training
- Background information about the personal working experience
- List of international projects the expert has participated

OFFICE

- Information about the office structure
- The office size and the increase in the last years
- Information about the location of the office and the rationale for choosing the locations
- Recruitment of employees, employee skills
- Acquisition of projects
- Internal Know-How Pool
- Governance of architecture firms

PROFESSION OF ARCHITECTS

- Role of the Architect
- Reflections on changes in profession in recent years
- Preparation for the practice or learning per doing
- Interdisciplinary working culture
- Role and importance of cooperation partner
- Communication form of the architecture firm have with the stakeholders
- Cooperation forms of architecture firm have with the stakeholders

GLOBALIZATION

- Reflections on the role of the architect in a globalized practice
- Reflections on the shift in practice in the last ten years
- Ethical challenges resulting from the global practice of architectural firms
- Ability of architectural firms to contribute to a responsible practice in a globalized work environment

CULTURE

- Cultural gap and the impacts on daily practice
- Different ways of communication
- Process of access relevant information
- Building trust as process

DESIGN PROCESS

- Relevance of the context
- Consideration of local resources during the design process
- Issue of labour (abuse) in construction / care of craftsmanship
- Role plays labour in the building process
- Change of approach change based on the country
- Working methods
- Client relationship
- Know-How Transfer External

SUSTAINABILITY

- Definition of sustainable design
- Practice of sustainable design
- Evaluation and measurement a success of a sustainable building
- Training on sustainable design
- Performance on Ecological Sustainability
- Performance on Economic Sustainability
- Performance on Social Sustainability

RESPONSIBILITY

- Responsibility of architect beyond practice
- Role, stake and influence of the architect in the construction process
- Integration of code of conducts in daily practice
- Status quo of practice
- CSR and Pro Bono / voluntary work practice
- Ability of architectural firms to contribute to a responsible practice in a globalized work environment

CHALLENGES

- Challenges of managing values in local, intercultural and transcultural projects works
- High demands
- Various cultural setting
- Take charge through their design of the mode of construction delivery?
- Influence in the value added chain
- Standard takers vs. standard setters for social responsibility within the architectural discourse



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PUBLIC SPACE

The Quest for Public Space: Changing Values in Urban Design The City as Learning Lab and Living Lab

Maurice G. A. D. Hartevelde

Delft University of Technology,
Delft Institute for Values,
Amsterdam Institute for
Advanced Metropolitan Solutions,
Netherlands

ABSTRACT

This article highlights the dynamics of values in our reasoning on public space. By means of an epistemological study, it tests the contemporary premises underlying our ways to safeguard the inclusive, democratic, agential city, and, as such, it aims to update our view on urban design. The article raises three subsequent questions: [i] Is the city our common house as perceived from the Renaissance onward, containing all, and consequently are public spaces used by the people as a whole? [ii] Is the city formalising our municipal autonomy as emphasised since the Enlightenment, in an anti-egoistic manner, and in this line, are public spaces owned by local governments representing the people? And, [iii] is the city open to our general view as advocated in Modern reasoning, restricting entrepreneurial influences, and synchronically, is its public spaces seen and/or known by everyone? - Inclusiveness, democracy, agentiality are strongholds in our scientific thinking on public space and each issue echoes through in the practice on urban design. Yet, in an aim to keep cities connected and accessible, fair and vital, and open and social, conflicts appear. Primarily based upon reviewing urban theory and particularly experiencing the Amsterdam for this matter, the answering of questions generates remarks on this aim. Contemporary Western illuminations on pro-active citizens, participatory societies, and effects of social media and micro-blogging forecast a more differentiated image of public space and surmise to enforce diversification in our value framework in urban design.

KEYWORDS

*Public Space, Urban Design,
Inclusiveness, Democracy, Agentiality*

AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL STUDY

Amsterdam is known for its canal city, isn't it? This image immediately pops up in the minds of people when the city is discussed. Of course, a lot of people have moved along its quays and crossed its bridges and this pattern continues. Even on-distance, people share the same image of the city. Searching the internet for Amsterdam one finds predominantly canals. The urban spaces with the artificial waterways are magnets for people visiting the city, sharing snapshots and liking them online. Belonging to the local government, the canals may be *'pars-pro-toto'* for many cities in the country below sea level. The Dutch are doing it together and, in this, the Amsterdam City administration assures shared interest and safeguards the common good. As such, these spaces may be prototypical *'public spaces'*, because these urban spaces are used by a lot of people, known by many, and owned by the public government. It showcases Dutch design along the lines of value systems in which public spaces are essential for the inclusive, democratic, agential city.

In The Netherlands, this is covered by public law. Technically public space is described as “*all foot-, bicycle -, and towpaths, walks, mill and church roads and other restricted traffic lanes*”, as well as “*bridges*”. Ownership, as far as the contrary is not proven, is presumed to be with the province, municipality or water-board, by which the road is maintained. On the one hand, this means that all roads or paths have to be open to public traffic. On the other, law elaborates that all parts in the living environment which are accessible to the public should be considered as such too. And when using *'open to all'*, it means to be used by all, hence without exception. According to the Netherlands Constitution everybody should be treated equal.¹

Public space as such is a fundamental notion in the organisation of many cities. All over the world, we share the idea that public space is publicly-used, publicly-owned and publicly-known space. Still, by illuminating Amsterdam, questions rise. Is the public space really of all, for all? Is it able to be? Currently, City and citizens turn against the 17 million people visiting the city: “*Tourism is 'destroying' Amsterdam*”, “*We don't want to have more people*”. Pro-active community associations have become unsympathetic to short-term visitors, their carry-ons, waste, noise, being

there. United in a platform *Wij-Amsterdam*,² they complain about the many taxi ranks, and stops for coaches or hop-on-hop-off. It's another image of the city: Amsterdam may be a global place that hates tourists the most. The city's new memorandum on public space is subtitled: “*The Living Room of All Amsterdam Citizens*”. Amsterdam shall stay for 'everyone' its acting Mayor announced.³

So, is the public space of all citizens, for all citizens? And again, is it able to be? The public government observes a “*renaissance of public life in the inner city, and with that of public space*”. Yet, while the City draws consequences and invests in places of stay and transport, they mainly focus on the gentrifier. That is to say, the design of public space is approached as a “*co-creation by or with residents and entrepreneurs*”, city's marketeers are guiding people through cultural offering to “*hidden pearls*” and “*unknown neighbourhoods*”, and the usability of communal grounds like allotment gardens and sports parks is increased.⁴ Public space is particularly made accessible for the pro-actives following the latest trends and fashions, the cycling young urban professionals lounging outdoors while drinking a latte macchiato. There seems an ignorance of the responsive ones having other lifestyles. “*Tourism and Global Hipsterism have transformed the City where I once lived. But not entirely — The Canals endure*”, as a New York Times reporter observes. He explains that in the past Amsterdam shaped itself around the power and needs of individuals, especially when the canals were designed, and perhaps this is still true.⁵ When public space is of all individuals, how then can we safeguard the inclusive, democratic, agential city?

PUBLICLY-USED PUBLIC SPACE

If one thinks of public space, one hopefully first thinks of the people. A gathering of people makes space public in the first place. Following reasoning in Modern urban sociology, people's behaviour defines the public quality of a public space. Two notions to grasp this understanding are fundamental: On the one hand *'public realm'* and on the other *'public sphere'*. Both can be found in the dominant German-American schools of thoughts. The first term came from Hannah Arendt, defining *'public realm'* as the sphere of action and speech. It contrasts to the

'private realm' of the household, as the sphere of necessity, existence, survival and the reproduction of life. Interaction between people and public interdependence as part of 'being' as form the basis. It's illuminated by her teacher Martin Heidegger, advocating for a 'public world' as an accessible one. Similarly, public realm is one of seeing and hearing others; 'common to us all'.⁶ By using 'realm', one could perceive people as part of something big, and the public as the all-embracing. – The second term came from Jürgen Habermas. He likewise started with people's behaviour, but obviously antipathetic to Heidegger and disagreeing with Arendt, he put the emphasis on the place or position people have in the whole, each claiming to have interest. He used 'sphere'. Metaphorically, it could be the orbit of individual people, set in groups and forming the larger whole, containing all. In reviewing work of Arendt, he shifted lenses on intersubjective shared life: "the 'realm of appearance' which the agents enter and in which they meet and are seen and heard", spatially "determined by the fact of human plurality". Given this, public sphere "stood or fell with the principle of universal access..."⁷ So in short, 'public realm' was seen as an area controlled as a whole, and 'public sphere' referred to the circuit or range of action, knowledge, or influence of people. In both, public space was more than just a physical volume defined by absolute public qualities, presuming a use by all people.⁸ Public space safeguards 'the city for all' versus 'the city of all'.

The urban sociological definitions are quite understandable if one considers the Renaissance Humanistic founding of the notion of 'public'. It carries a long - but steady - evolution of subsequent definitions accumulating in the abstract meaning of 'the people in general'.⁹ Based on reinterpreting ancient philosophy, the architect-philosopher Leon Battista Alberti introduced this notion in the field of architectural and urban theory in 1452. Practicing the notion 'publice', or 'publick' in English, he underlined that all citizens should be concerned with everything of a public nature being part of a city. Although, he acknowledged that society may have a wide variety of people, setting arguments for differentiation in design, he stated strongly that public spaces should concern all. This statement had been built upon his essay 'De lure', discussing safeguarding the public interest by means of a 'republic', while reflecting on the

Florentine Republic where he lived.¹⁰ Alberti formed a base point for the Modern thoughts on public space, and, by placing to Modern and Renaissance values close together, one can confirm a certain continuum in our value system: Public space have to relate to all, being open to all, thus 'inclusive'. It presumes open space 'for all' people to gather, hence 'of all' too. Influenced by the work of Alberti, two views on public space were interpreted. Transcendentally, 'realm' was represented in paintings of *The Ideal City* attributed to several artists. They showed universal open spaces in a centric linear perspective of individual buildings recalling the Florentine Romanesque style of Alberti. And, 'sphere' was denoted in the drawing of the *Vitruvian Man* by Leonardo da Vinci. Portraying a symmetrical human body, yielding a circular outline and inscribed in a superimposed square figure, an Albertian analogy for the human influence on the universe.¹¹ The whole housed different people and spaces, each having individual influence. Vice versa, individuals made the whole. Alberti tied it together by approaching the city as a house: "For if a city, according to the opinion of philosophers, be no more than a great house"¹² Humanistically approached, defining public space was less dogmatic as what we got out of the Modernist. Sharing different 'spheres', people could assemble in multiple rooms in the city. They might be part of a divers 'realm'.

Renaissance value base tests contemporary premises underlying our ways to safeguard the inclusive city. Does public space for use of the people as a whole exists? Can we envision a public space which is used by all. Most literally, this means one room where world population is. Of course 7.6 billion people won't fit anywhere. Amsterdam does assemble several geographies of centrality, and wider networks, ranging from global and continental to the metropolitan and local. One may argue that global public space is approached. When looking to its citizens, population includes most nationalities in the world.¹³ Still, what is the chance we see one of the three Amsterdam Bahamian really meet one of the two Amsterdam Bhutanese?¹⁴

We could question if Arendt and Habermas did not took a wrong turn. Still, ideas on public space, as defined by them, were persistent and found their way across the border. International channels were open. In the Age of Modernism,

their thoughts spread easily to the Netherlands.¹⁵ The Dutch urban sociologist Paul Kraemer was for instance convinced by the work of Arendt: “when people are restrained in the possibility of acting in the public domain, they are deeply deprived in their being”. Positioned at MIT Boston, he warned Dutch academics apocalyptically for the creation of ‘half-people’, soon to be ‘un-beings’. He felt obliged to act in order to open-up public space.¹⁶ Despite such examples, within Dutch urban and architectural design-thinking different value sets emerged simultaneously. Aldo van Eyck broke international hegemonies stating that ‘openness’ and ‘enclosure’ only mattered if they assisted people in alternating inclination towards inside and outside. By observing behaviour in cities, Amsterdam in particular, he concluded that cities extended as much inward as dwellings extended outward: “Space has no room, time not a moment for man”.¹⁷ Public space was defined as rooms where people are. His close Delft colleague Herman Hertzberger argued in the same line, explicitly against the black-and-white definitions of public and private of Arendt. In his view, collectivity was always formed by individuals in relation to each other. Also illustrated by Amsterdam examples, the public could gather within interiors and people could domesticate streets. He stated that the dichotomies public-private, collective-individual were false.¹⁸ Different gatherings, different collectives, different public spaces... “Make every city into a big house and every house into a small city”, as Van Eyck rephrased Alberti.¹⁹

Dutch social-geographers, cultural philosophers, and designers joined in illuminating issues from this viewpoint. “The traditional opposition between valuable public space and secure private space can no longer be assumed as an axiom”, an architectural magazine rephrased. Practitioners and academics agreed on the “extension and dispersion of the ‘place’ for publicity”. One would speak of a ‘diverged’ public space, not just simply consisting of streets and squares.²⁰ It may seem as an acculturated answer drifting away from Modernism, but in a line of local values is part of a longer history.

Renaissance Humanistic philosophy from Florence reached also the Dutch in the past.²¹ It had boosted Renaissance in the larger Low Countries, and as soon as the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands emerged in the north,

it shifted to among others booming Amsterdam. Here, Humanist ideology was expanding thinking through the vehicle of pure-language, confirming independence. This effected thinking on the city too. The Dutch designer-thinker Simon Stevin would mirror Alberti best. He also related the design of a house to the design of a city, and he also learned from ancient philosophers. Though in an attempt to build a mother tongue understanding, he avoided Greek and Latin. The Roman notion ‘res publica’ was translated in Dutch²² as ‘ghemeensake’. Consequently ‘public issue’ became more a ‘common issue’. By substituting public for ‘gemeen’ (common), Stevin chose took explicit position against the doctrine and meaning of ancient philosophers. He plead for a republic safeguarding the equality of Dutch cities and places, wherein no gained power over another, and at no places people’s privileges were limited by others. This differed to Alberti’s reasoning on the republic, wherein public interest is protected by central power. In Stevin’s view, individual liberty and freedom would increase by embracing ‘civicness’ and increasing commonalities. He envisioned a differentiation of common spaces in cities,²³ and this was applied in designing the Amsterdam canal city extension of 1613.²⁴ Dutch values differ: Cities had to be open to all in order to have the freedom to act. It may be a contextual continuations search to the human free will, pioneered by Dutch philosopher-theologian Desiderius Erasmus; ‘diatribe de libero arbitrio’.²⁵

Today, it is difficult to find absolute publicly-used public space. Instead humanistic space is everywhere, but has many forms: We can learn from the groovy places for/of the hipsters in Amsterdam, like NDSM-Warf, De Ceugel, Kop Dijkgracht and De Tuin van Bret. They have become showcase of co-design at the edge of the inner city. We can learn from the ancient and emerging collegiate campuses used by the academics and students of the University of Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences, and AMS Institute; typically representing domesticated public space. In another way, schoolyards, soccer fields and playgrounds, supported by respectively the Jantje Beton, Cruyf, and Krajicek foundations, provide examples as places designed for the use of kids. The good’ol market places, reinterpreted as pop-up urbanism and gathering the bargain hunters and cheap jacks, ecosophers and urban

farmers can be added too. Residential community gardens as crowdsourced design, reception places as temporal constructions bringing together all kinds of refugees and asylum seekers, ... elderly places, et cetera. The listing is endless, and with many doublings and many blurring boundaries. From every observation, we have to accept that people gather in many spaces, yet no space gathers all. In this way, space is theirs when they are there, and publicly-used public space is not so different to what is considered as privately-used. Learning in our cities, we can say that public space always has its own public when active. Hence, theoretically the common house is still there, with different rooms with very different public qualities as it once was put forward. This means that the desired public gathering space continues to exist as an abstract value, not excluding any individual or group of society, yet being confronted with current reality in which publics always involve in some space in the city somehow.

PUBLICLY-OWNED PUBLIC SPACE

If one thinks of public space, one may also reason that, no matter what, the space should be in the hands of the public government safeguarding the public interest. Taking care that everyone is involved somehow. Questioning if a space is really public often resolves in a normative discussion on private ownership versus public ownership. Near all debaters will argue for the latter, implying that a public body representing the people is of greater value. Again, it echoes Modern values, particularly established in times of fast urbanisation when local public governments started to control initiatives on the private property to maintain public accessibility. The French civil engineer Georges-Eugene Haussmann, supervisor of the modernisation programme for Paris, signed for the demolition of large parts of the city to make room for the increasing amount of movement. It was seen as turning point. The new boulevards, avenues and squares, designed with Adolphe Alphand, were publicly-owned public spaces. Private streets devoted to public use were expropriated. Here *'la via pubblica'* and *'öffentlichen Verkerseinrichtungen'* became the new norm. Internationally the value of public ownership for spaces of public interest was adopted by a larger European-American community of prominent designers.²⁶ Public spaces owned by local governments representing the people became the prime mean to facilitate accessibility.

Despite this paradigm shift, decades later, both Arendt and Habermas concluded that the public realm or sphere was something in which not everybody could participate as promised by the government, but it should: *"Every citizen, by virtue of his citizenship, receives besides his private life a sort of second life, he belongs to two orders of existence, there is an sharp distinction in his life between what is his own and what is common"*, as Hannah Arendt elaborated her reasoning on the public good. Although public ownership was a less explicit concern to them, being part of public *"stood or fell with the principle of universal access ..."*²⁷ In the continuation of this German-American thought, Richard Sennett shined his urban sociological light on the ownership issue. In his vision, privately-owned public spaces had absorbed public life. The streets had become sole places for mobility and transportation, losing *"any independent experimental meaning of its own"*. Urban spaces were not places of public life anymore, it would be not only a violent disruption of planners, he blamed people moving away from the street. As such *'public man'* had fallen. He accredited individuals to have active influence on the public quality of urban space. These ego interests must be suspended.²⁸ Adding to Habermas, *'public sphere'* was seen as a common sphere of influences. This implied democracy and, in Sennett's view, active participation should be facilitated. In a further aim to pinpoint at contemporary problems of social isolation and spatial fragmentation, he appealed designers, to create clear boundaries between the publicly-owned and privately-owned space, helping to bring dead urban spaces to life.²⁹ Public space as defined by planners, shaped by designers and formed by people is qualified as of greater value when it is a priori publicly-owned. It ought to facilitate *'the city by all'*, while safeguarding a *'democratic'* city.

Sennett's emphases on active participation in the public space indirectly related back to the Renaissance strive for liberty and freedom by the rebirth of the *'res-publica'*. Pioneering example was the establishment of the Dutch Republic in 1581 as a first way to regain *"old freedoms"*. The new free republic attracted new people from all over. Cities became liberal cosmopolitan places. In Amsterdam, the growth of the number of people, generated not only a growth in the size of the city, but also of the municipal government, including the council of citizens. A majestic new city hall

with Roman and Greek architectural references was designed to replace the old. For this several neighbouring city blocks were appropriated to house the growing representation of the people. Its geometric footprint created a Classic virtually orthogonal public space in the midst of the city, and facing its dam in the river.³⁰ More than in the canal city extension, freedom was tested by urban redesign. In Stevin's reasoning of people's privileges should not be limited, still the government had taken action and razed houses. The Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza tested the free will, as defined by Desiderius Erasmus. If authority is able to do something that ordinary human beings could not, and everyone would be eagerly follow their action, then legitimacy had been found in a republic. Otherwise people would always have to obey. Spinoza relies on active participation too, as for him "*obedience has no place in a social order where sovereignty is in the hands of everyone and laws are enacted by common consent*". It tested governments. The 'ius democratia' should be part of the republic. With that he laid an important base for a 'democratic' city.³¹ Renaissance Humanistic philosophy was pushed.

The English Republic, American Republic and French Republic followed the Netherlands, respectively in 1649, 1776, and 1789, forming a series of evidences increasing people's influence on the government. It related the notion of public to the abstract meaning of '*the community, nation or state*'.³² These subsequent convulsions marked the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment. The Genevan philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau reasoned in Amsterdam on the established republican values: As long as by nature ordinary people could not be the sovereign government as well, a republican representation was the answer. Because: "*The people would be far less often mistaken in its choice than the prince*".³³ Only in freedom, people could develop themselves, as his younger German colleague Immanuel Kant would add. More than Rousseau, he aspired freedom for all people by means of voices of the populace, self-governance and reason regarding public order and harmony in the commonwealth.³⁴ Democracy for all. The English-American philosopher Thomas Paine reasoned likewise. He opposed the presence of lords and monarchs in his country and stadtholders in the Dutch Republic. The new-found system of representation should be more radical and democratic. A republic ought

to be instituted on what it is to be employed, "*res-publica, the public affairs, or the public good; or, literally translated, the public thing*".

One could relate this to the republican spaces of Federal City, or the newly established capital city of Washington. Though its grand avenues and principal streets "leading through the public appropriations" exposed a paradoxical dilemma. Is the public interest served by appropriating land of local people, undermine their interest? As one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, Paine was clear: "*Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil*".³⁵ Public governments representing the people democratically, like municipalities representing its citizens, may own public space, yet this does never avoid conflicts.

As a matter of course, Sennett influenced Modern reasoning in The Netherlands too. Most literally, we can recognise his values in quotes of Dutch academics. Planner and political scientist Maarten Hajer parroted Sennett by stating that "*the public space of cities must be designed in such a way that all peoples are encouraged to use it*" and urban designer and planner Riek Bakker echoed him by stating that public space should be an "*objective and neutral space*" designed for all people. In this ideal, 'privately-owned public space' would work contra-productive.³⁶

On the path of the Dutch way of reasoning, social geographer and planner Ton Kreukels defined an alternative value definition. He stated in his central thesis that "*the public domain is not per se, nor per definition only or even predominantly, the resort of the government*". All kinds of facilities and institutions relate to the public interest, but this does not mean that governments have dominant voices in them.³⁷ This thought somehow got an audience and was followed by a persistent multidisciplinary discussion underlining pluralistic spheres. Debaters of all kinds accepted privately-owned public space by framing it as a third kind of space. They introduced new notions like '*semi-public space*' and '*collective space*' to position this space between private and public space, still presupposing a dialogic dichotomy.³⁸ At a certain moment even Dutch Ministers adapted these definitions of 'new public space' and with that the assessment of public space was less negative compared to Sennett: "*Right now the public space balances between vitality and decay*",

they stated in a state memorandum.³⁹

Today, it is difficult to find absolute publicly-owned public space. Especially in Amsterdam, a wide variation of public ownerships is displayed. We can learn that underneath a majority of buildings in the city lies municipally-owned land. Hundreds-thousand citizens have bought the right to occupy public land via a leasehold-system, but publicly-owned space is not public assessable at all. Think of possessors of the inner-city mansions or townhouse proprietors in recent IJburg, Eastern Dock and South-Axis. We can learn from ways to make private property assessable by means of the right of way, a legal right to pass along through grounds or property belonging to another, under certain circumstances. Gloomy tunnels under the rail-infrastructure and its sterile overpasses are challenging urban designers, when we accept that such a right is established to be public space.⁴⁰ One could also learn from the smooth transit-oriented commuter places. Although, public-use is differently formalised, these public spaces have been designed under public-private partnerships.⁴¹ Think of the renewed Central Station or soon-to-be-opened Rokin station project. Same goes for the just-off mainstream mass-class places in the heart of the city, like Kalvertoren, Magna Plaza, and Beurspassage; shiny public interiors exemplifying privately-developed public spaces. Or, of the same kind, those earthly common grounds of the social housing corporations or associations of self-made denizens. In every case, one may state that free will or even democracy is limited, but the government limits these too. It demolishes buildings for roads or for another city hall, for the sake of all, and it establishes pedestrian-only spaces outdoors or restricts public spaces to public transport or residents only. Road-blocks, bollards, and mandatory signs are everywhere. Based on use and behaviour, informal ownership is clearly visible around the city.⁴² Appropriation can nowhere be avoided. Occasionally the government anticipates on these feelings of belonging by formalising participatory planning processes. It's a kind of co-determination right on publicly-owned public space which feels like your room.⁴³ Neutral public space hardly exists in our cities. Public space is not necessary autonomised and publicly-owned by the government. Even if so, people feel affiliated and appropriate space. The abstract democratic value related to space has got many forms, because publics own spaces in a variety of

ways and in each public interest is safeguarded in another representative way.

PUBLICLY-KNOWN PUBLIC SPACE, AND CONCLUSIONS

If one thinks of public space, one will have certain understanding of what is meant, being familiar to and/or aware of certain cities and places. In that sense, a public space is like a 'public figure'. Its image may be famous from 'public media', but impressions will not be the same for all people. Modern thinkers accept this human plurality exists. More so, that it discloses the phenomenon of 'the agent'; different actors participating in the public. Agency relates to behaviour, hence interest and influence.⁴⁴ Elaborating on 'public realm' and 'public sphere', asymmetries have to be accepted. Sennett qualifies for instance some people as 'dominant agents', others as part of 'collective agents'. Yet, in all Modern premises, the aim is to engage people to be part of an entirety; 'vita activa'. This includes regulating the power of entrepreneurial as well as collective agents. Being in spaces of commercial developers, of specific groups or even families are seen as withdrawals from society. Modern thinkers see safeguarding the agency of people in the city of value. Built on the premise that this means acting in the outdoor space, it presumes an 'open city', open for all, open to interact, open for those outside its boundaries. Sennett expresses that: "When the city operates as an open system – incorporating principles of porosity of territory, narrative indeterminacy and incomplete form – it becomes democratic not in a legal sense, but as physical experience." Thus, in his view, designing an open city means shaping the narratives of urban development, creating physical incomplete forms, and moulding the experience of passages from place to place, including walls defining and delineating.⁴⁵ The contemporary suggestions from Sennett on the address of the planner-designers are practical, but seemingly bound and restricted to the publicly-owned public space.

Again we see Modern ideas landing in The Netherlands. The open city of Sennett is among others adopted by the Dutch architect and urban planner Kees Christiaanse.⁴⁶ On the one hand, he highlights likewise actions in public space and whatever happens in buildings. The open city needs to challenge the increased attention on marketability, proliferating commerce, and

the unprogrammed congregation and encounter. Designing coexistence is consequently also his answer. Yet, on the other hand, with the support of others, he explores the open city concept much broader than Sennett. He acculturates it to a Dutch context in which 'open' equals not only accessible but also 'open-minded'. Although, the concentration of people leads to the valuable "exchange and accumulation of knowledge", Christiaanse sees human diversity also as a threat: "An open society is both friend and enemy of the open city". He relates to the observation of Sassen that in the global city trans-local geographies connect spaces with multiple others elsewhere, more so, that virtual cohesiveness may be stronger than the physical bond sometimes. So, whereas Sennett is quoted to emphasises the physical, his wife Sassen is to emphasises the non-physical. Both show that 'openness' causes conflicts, and cities are triaged through conflicting commerce and civic activity.⁴⁷ In an open city people move from one place to another, adding experiences, and while they meet others, knowledge accumulates. The rise of global travel and migration has increased scopes further. Whatever people think of a public space, have in mind, relates to what they know. Besides experiencing cities, their knowledge generally derives from sources to which they have access to. Mass-communication and open internet eased the collection of observations and ideas in the recent days of Modernism. The galaxy of knowledge on cities and spaces exploded, to be shared by all, and at any position. It is permeating everyday lives of societies. With this, ways of 'being there' have multiplied exponentially. People have second-lives and alternative places to be while being in a place. The present popular prerogatives are putting the emphasis on who's connected, ...where, to where and to whom. Evidently, 'the being of public' is tested. While people have different interests and influences, informing and involving themselves, suddenly intellectuals and professionals can discover many publics – many opinions. Theories on public space are turning to the agential city. Who are the actors in public? Do we know the public?

Although as such the reasoning on publicly-known space seems rather young, Dutch roots are slightly older. At the dawn of Modernism, the Dutch philosopher Gerard Heymans argued against 'the truth' or 'the known'. He stated that scientist might have developed enlightened

ideas, but 'people's opinion' could be different. He questions the universally known. Governments could have the best intentions to safeguard freedom and liberty, still people-people and people-government conflicts remained. Reasoning on the thoughts of Spinoza, in the view of Heymans, differences in being, say spheres of influence and knowledge, would be of human nature. He explained difference as an "established social phenomenon, which could be explained psychologically in any particular case". Thus, as long as people are human, having different personalities, subjectivity will always play an important role.⁴⁸ Each person has an innate view on the public world. This comes to the fore in their visions, converged through experiences and learning. So, concerning public spaces, personal views determine the public quality of space too. All people have images created upon their own interpretations based on all they know, as do representatives, theorists, and planner-designers.⁴⁹ Public spaces are known differently by different people because of diversity in their nature and knowledge. Based on these subjective viewpoints, discussing 'public' sphere becomes ambiguous and the perception of a 'realm' questionable. There's no realm – that is to say not shared by all –, and many spheres. Heymans emphasises that 'the known' is not universal. Traces of this Dutch ratiocination are found among German thinkers too.⁵⁰ Especially in the work of the contemporary philosopher Peter Sloterdijk. In reference to the private and public, he sees 'the known' old-homely sphere being destroyed and the 'all-knowing' universal being exploded. Like Heymans, he identifies Spinoza as a way out. Yet, generally, he avoids the use of 'public'. Public space may relate to ancient European cities, defining "itself as the continuation of domesticity by other means", presuming that "the house's sources of warmth, the heart, also permeates the public world to its limits, however remote these may be". For him people have created their own gathering space. His reasoning on 'spheres' examines places "that humans create in order to have somewhere they can appear as those who they are". Again by using the term sphere, one rediscovers an emphasis on positions people have, and - while ignoring Sennett, fighting Habermas and by-passing Arendt - he bases thoughts on Heidegger's 'being' too. While now highlighting subjectivity, he identifies multiple spheres. Sloterdijk makes "use of foam metaphor to examine the republic of spaces".⁵¹ Self-evidently, generally the term foam

refers to cell-pockets in versatile multiscale media, thus metaphorically created through dispersion in society, capturing people in a physical matter, as if they are gas in a liquid or solid. Sloterdijk puts emphases on physical representations of these plural spheres throughout his thinking. Exemplary are what he calls macro-interiors and urban assembly buildings. Groups and even larger wholes share an orbit, hence a '*private sky*', like individuals.⁵²

Today, it is also difficult to find absolute publicly-known public space. The Amsterdam canals may come close. We can learn from images found on the internet, searching for Amsterdam. Nonetheless, on the base of such fairly superficial correlations - pics only - hollow spheres with iridescent surfaces may be formed. Following past online searches and popularity rankings, canals keep dominating the top results for web-searches on the city.⁵³ These may attract travel junkies, adrenaline seekers, exhibitionists and random bloggers to visit these spaces too, sharing more of the same. In this way, very publicly-known spaces relate to very publicly-used and publicly-owned spaces in a mutually reinforcing way. We find the same canals filled with boats, with people respectively dressed in orange at the annual King's Day, or enjoying evening concerts on stages on the water during Amsterdam Sail.⁵⁴ These particular mass experiences show how spheres can differ despite physical space and with that so do the publicly-known spaces. We can learn this too from impressions we get from the Amsterdam Arena and nearby concert hall. Given the number of views, these public stages have to be the most well-known spaces in Amsterdam among YouTube users, bringing performer and public together.⁵⁵ Still, celebs, crowds and groupies change continuously. Space and sphere are fluid. We can learn from the Amsterdam waterfront developed in the recent decade by starchitects. An assemblage of different iconic landmark buildings seem to add to the plurality of publicly-known space. Again, still, same building is known in many ways by different persons and publics. Stories behind the images do matter, the challenge is to involve separate conscious minds and to correlate knowledge to certain spaces. In a way, we can learn from spherochromatic snapshots of Amsterdam streets, selfie-blocked terraces, or 140 characters on parks as posted on Instagram, Tumblr or Twitter. Via these platforms, people publish more personalised experiences in public

space and relate them to others by semantic self-tags embedded in media sources. When people agree on sets of meanings and posts are agglomerating geographically, than dynamic public spheres unfold.⁵⁶ We can learn from villages in the city, like Oudekerk, Betondorp, and the philosopher's eponymous place Sloterdijk,⁵⁷ where parochial communities may breath the slow pace. Still, things and people change. They do not exist in autonomous spheres. Even the most introverted communal parishioner has a wider orbit than just the space one act in. Locals have unexpected encounters with non-friends, passers-by and outsiders. They read magazines, watch the news or, who knows, follow vlogs. People are rarely prisoners in a cell. They never caught in Facebook-groups only. There're always strangers. On the base of all kinds of information '*being there*' exists without being there. All the more, known space is not always placed. One may remember for instance the bridge with love padlocks, but forgets the so-called Staalmeeesterbrug where they have been. Similarly, known space is also not always cotemporal. One may know Amsterdam scatter places, but it is hard to find them today. As such subjectivity becomes manifest. A public space can never be open to a general view universally-known and understood. The examples showcase the variety in agential information, open to whoever form a public, and adding to intersubjective views people share. Via '*a culture of open-mindedness*',⁵⁸ the open city concept links to the affiliations and relations of people, entrepreneurial or not, collective or not, familiar or not. Mediation is a premise in the agential cities.

In sum, reasoning on public space makes us user-oriented, owner-oriented and knowledge-oriented by origin. The city is always our prime learning lab. We observe and learn. We review and learn. We analyse and learn. Cities provide data on bases of which designers act, theories only reflect temporal understanding or aims. Some professionals in practice co-create narratives on inclusive public spaces by inviting users. They work *with* the related people. Some add to democratic public spaces by including stakeholders safeguarding the public interest. They work *with* all representatives of present publics. Some contribute to the agential public spaces by incorporating different levels of understanding. They work *with* public intersubjectivity. In those cases, the city becomes a living lab.⁵⁹ Every

professional and academic can question: Who uses the space? How are people interrelated? Can we cooperate in improving public space by better facilitating its interrelated use of all kinds, of all kinds of people? Who owns the space? How is the public interest safeguarded? Can we improve public space by better work with its interrelated ownerships, allowing all kinds of appropriation? Who knows the space? How do they perceive the space? Can we improve public space by better facilitating its interrelated knowledge, meanings, and ultimately values? Questioning follows a recent line of Dutch Humanist thinking. It accepts that not every person uses, owns and knows our academic reflections or professional insights,

while every person does use, own and know public spaces. It brings people into a multiplicit approach to understand public qualities. As such it updates our value framework on inclusiveness, democracy, agentiality, hence the city. Designing public spaces reflects equilibriums, which consequently are temporal because publics continue to evolve.

NOTES

1. Defining 'public space' is originated in respectively defining 'openbare wegen' in The Road Act (Wegenwet) as directly derived from the one issued on 1 October 1932 and the Road Traffic Act (Wegenverkeerswet) of 21 April 1994; and in 'openbaar toegankelijk gebied', naming squares, parks, green plots, public waters and other areas alike, in the Environmental Licensing Decree (Besluit Omgevingsrecht) of 25 March 2010. The freedom of speech and public assembly is articulated in the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, firstly issued on 24 August 1815. Government is allowed to limit freedom of speech outside buildings and closed places when for example traffic circulation is at stake of to prevent public disorder. See: Wegenwet Art. 1, 4 and 13, Wegenverkeerswet Art. 1.1b, Besluit Omgevingsrecht Appendix 2 Art. 1.1, Grondwet Art. 1, 6, 7 and 9.
2. Translated as 'We Amsterdam', as statement against the popular 'I Amsterdam' slogan in branding the city.
3. Amsterdam Marketing 2016; Van Loon 2016, 7 July; Coffey 2017, 15 May; Gemeente Amsterdam 2017, 8 Juni; Couzy and Koops 2017, 9 September; and www.wij-amsterdam.eu/category/toerisme, as consulted 26 September 2017.
4. Amsterdam Marketing 2016, 4 January; and Gemeente Amsterdam 2017, 8 June.
5. Shortoaug 2016, 4 September.
6. Arendt 1958: 52-67, Heidegger 1927: 67, 1958: 55, and 1962: 66; Heidegger used notions as 'dasein' and the 'being of being'.
7. Habermas 1962, 1971: 233-234, 1983: x, xix, 174-175, and 1991: xv, 70, 85.
8. Hartevelde 2014: 67-69.
9. In the dawn of the English Renaissance, the word 'pupplik' appeared as an adjective in the English language. It had the meaning of 'open to general observation, sight or knowledge' (1394). Soon it had transformed into the meaning of 'concerning the people as a whole', as in 'publique' and in the spelling 'publike' (1427 and 1447). It was borrowed from the old French 'public' and 'publique', which on its turn came from the Latin 'publica', an alteration of the Old Latin 'poplicus', meaning 'pertaining to the people'. In the sixteenth century, the English word appeared as a noun; to converse in 'publike', meaning to converse in a common place (1500), and subsequently evolving in meaning 'the people in general' (1665). See: Hartevelde 2014: 77.
10. His interpretation of the publican concept echoed loudly in his writings on designing cities: "It will not be amiss to recollect the opinions of the wise founders of ancient republics and laws concerning the division of the people of different orders", as Alberti started one of his books. In other words, Alberti made a plea to learn from ancient philosophers when it concerns the treatment of different groups in society. See: Alberti 1437 and 1437/38, and Alberti 1452, as transcribed by Jacobi 1521: xlb-c-xbc, and as translated by Leoni 1755: 64-68.
11. n.a. [Laurana?] c.1470, n.a. [Di Giorgio Martini?], 1477, n.a. [Carnevale?] c.1480/1484, and Da Vinci, 1487.
12. Alberti 1452, as transcribed by Jacobi 1521: xiv - The Ideal Cities seemed like a window onto another,

better world. Especially so-called Baltimore panel emphasised this idea by some human figures walk in the centre of a square demarcated by statues representing Justice, Liberality, Moderation, and Fortitude.

13. Amsterdam counted 169 nationalities, and 834.713 inhabitants within the municipality boundaries in November 2016. See: Trouw 2007, 22 August, Hylkema, Bosveld, De Graaff, Beentjes, and Slot, 2016 November: 56-57. Amsterdam may have more qualities of a global city. See: Sassen 1991: 175-177.
14. Actually they met on Monday 21 November 2016. As part of the 180 Amsterdam-based project, the mayor of Amsterdam invited representatives of each of the hundred-eighty nationalities in the city to have dinner at the Royal Tropical Institute.
15. German-Dutch relations were tight, when the work of Heidegger was introduced at first. It was boosted by two lectures in 1930 for de Vereeniging voor Wijsbegeerte in Amsterdam His lectures on "*Die Gegenwärtige Lage der Philosophie*" and on "*Hegel und das Problem der Metaphysik*" were held on 21 and 22 March 1930 in the School voor Maatschappelijk Werk. The latter lecture was also given in The Hague on 24 March. (Atanassievitch 1930: 149-166, Algemeen Handelsblad 1930, 18 March) It was embedded in reasoning at the University of Amsterdam. (Leendertz 1933) Later, the American influence became omnipresent due to recovery programmes for Europe, intercontinental broadcasting and air travel. This included philosophical and urban sociological works.
16. Kraemer 1968, October: 496.
17. Van Eyk 1956, Mei-Juni: 133, and 1962, December: 600-602.
18. Hertzberger and Steenkist (ed) 1984, March: 5, 58-87.
19. Van Eyck, as quoted in Ellenbroek 1989, 17 November.
20. e.g. Tilman 1992, Summer, Gall 1993: 9, and Oosterman 1993: 77, 105-106.
21. Also in the Fifteenth Century, international channels were open. International trade and booming textile industry made cities in the Netherlands economic and cultural centres of gravity. The nobles and rich traders were able to commission artists, leading to frequent exchanges with Northern Italy.
22. Stevin introduced a lot of new words and notions in Dutch, what he called 'plat Duytsch'.
23. Stevin, 1590: 32-33; and 1649: 17-37, 62.
24. Taverne 1990.
25. Roterodamus 1526.
26. Cerda 1867; Alphand 1886, Baumeister 1890, Stübgen 1890, and e.g. The Royal Institute of British Architects 1908.
27. Habermas 1962: 16 and 66, Arendt 1958: 52-67, 243-247, and Arendt 1974, 15 February.
28. Also following his previous study of the effect of city life on personal identity. See: Sennet 1970: 198, 262.
29. Sennett 1976: 12-16, 31; and 2008: 225-235.
30. Asseliers 1581, July; Stevin, 1590: 32-33; and Commelin 1693: 210, 254-260.
31. Spinoza 1670: 60, 175-186 - His teacher Franciscus van den Enden introduced him to the notions on 'equality' and 'liberty, similar freedom for all alike and freedom from arbitrary government. See: n.a. [Van Den Enden] 1662: 3-4; and 1665: 48-49.
32. The abstract meaning of 'the community, nation or state' was founded in 1611. See: Hartevelde 2014: 77, 88-94.
33. Rousseau 1754, 12 June, and 1762: 130-132.
34. Kant 1784, 30 September.
35. n.a. [Paine] 1776, 14 February; Paine 1792: 18-20; and Ellicott 1793.
36. Hajer 1989: 7, 45; and Bakker 1993: 95, 102-103.
37. Kreukels en Simonis 1988: 11.
38. Sola Morales 1992, 12 May, as translated by Bet 1992, Summer; Moscoviter, Van Beek and Geuze 1992: 30; and Heeling 1997, April.
39. Remkens, Van Bortel, Faber, Korthals, Van der Ploeg and Pronk 2002, May.
40. So-called '*erfpacht*' (leasehold-system) and '*recht van overpad*' (right of way) are based on the Civil Code of the Netherlands of 22 November 1991, supported by the Disclosure of Impediments under Public Law Act of 17 June 2004. See: Burgerlijk Wetboek Boek 5, resp. Titel 7. Erfpacht, art. 85-100, and Titel 6. Erfdienbaarheden, art. 70-84, with Wet Kenbaarheid Publiekrechtelijke Beperkingen Onroerende Zaken.

41. The concept of '*publiek-private samenwerking*' (public-private partnership) has been adopted by Dutch governments in 1986, establishing agreements for certain and indefinite periods between public and private parties, in order to establish, maintain, manage and operate infrastructure from a shared risk acceptance and with respect to estimated costs and expected revenues. See: Knoester et al 1987, May.
42. The notion '*informeel eigendom*' (informal ownership) relates to outdoor space belonging to a group of people, redefining public space as a chain of common spaces or '*gemeenschappelijke ruimtes*'. See: Van Dorst 2005: 292.
43. Amsterdams Volkshuisvestingsoverleg 2010, 2 April; and Gemeente Amsterdam, Stadsdeel West 2012, 17 July.
44. Arendt 1958: 175-176; and Habermas 2001: 27.
45. Sennett 1977: 179; Sennett 2008: 73; and Sennett 2006, 10-11 November.
46. Christiaanse was curator of the 4th International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam (IABR), 25 September 2009 – 10 January 2010, in Rotterdam – Amsterdam. The theme was '*the open city: "a city that is diverse, lively and socially sustainable, where people can productively relate to each other culturally, socially, as well as economically"*'.
47. Rieniets, Sigler, and Christiaanse, 2009: 25-36, 147-156, 202.
48. Heymans 1883: 89-90, 96, and 106.
49. Harteveld 2014: 535, and 549.
50. Also schools of thoughts mix and disperse. In Germany, particularly the emphases on subjectivity by Hans-Georg Gadamer supported the paradigm shift as described by Heymans. Gadamer, who was educated by Heidegger together with among others Arendt, questioned 'Wahrheit und Methode'. See: Gadamer 1960
51. Sloterdijk 1998: 28; 1999: 235-237, 465, 467-468; and 2004: 23-25.
52. Sloterdijk 2004: 604-670 and 733.
53. Canals are shown while searching for Amsterdam, because the Google search method premises that popular web-sources are more desirable than others. This is based on a stable 2,240,000 monthly web-searches via Google, world's largest web-search engine. See: <https://adwords.google.com>; <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?q=amsterdam>. Searching for e.g. Amsterdam Waterfront shows a certain plurality of spheres.
54. During King's Day on April 27th, 700,000 people are present in the city. During the free quinquennial maritime festival Sail 2015 two- to three million others have been in-situ. The Canal Festival's concerts are performed on stages by or even on the water. Research on Social Urban Data by AMS Institute show a correlation between places where people share data via social media and ways crowds are formed and flow through the city. Pictures were uploaded predominantly at the riverfront, as well as at Prinsengracht. Research included crowd monitoring for Sail2015.
55. Based on largest number of views for a YouTube search for 'amsterdam'.
56. An example is the SocialGlass project of the AMS Institute.
57. Sloterdijk, by change namesake of Peter Sloterdijk, is a village established in 1465 in the west of Amsterdam. Betondorp is established between 1923 and 1925 as garden village in the east of Amsterdam. Both are part of Amsterdam now. Oudekerk aan de Amstel is older than Amsterdam, established in the 11th Century, and currently divided over two municipalities, southeast of Amsterdam.
58. In Amsterdam, '*open-minded*' is seen as a cultural achievement, and related to urban design and planning. See: Gemeente Amsterdam, Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening, 1997; and Bosma and Davids, 2000.
59. Projects like Future of Public Space, Democracy by Design and Amsterdam Smart Citizens Lab - From Needs To Knowledge, as developed by AMS Institute within the Amsterdam LivingLab bring those practices together.

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Public Space of the Self-Made City

Louise Kragh Hjerrild

Delft University of Technology,
Netherlands

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the juxtaposition of contemporary urban theory on public space with the emerging forms of public interaction in self-made cities. The public behaviourology of the large self-made settlements is evaluated through the lenses of Euro-American scholars aiming at exploring their political meaning, social involvement and social entrepreneurialism. The paper tries to understand these phenomena within the specific case of Dharavi, an informal settlement of Mumbai in India.

The research study examines the established urban theories on public space within the cultural contextualism of the self-made city of the Global south. It aims at understanding to what extent the publicness is connected to cultural identity and what kind of new interactive models can be discovered. The investigation is formed as a set of hypotheses seeking a critical perspective in order to review the validation or disproof of particular urban theories coming from the Euro-American literature. The analysed scholars, which have a genuine interest in publicness of contemporary cities as well as a clear focus on different social phenomena related to public spaces, includes authors like Lefebvre H., Sennett R., Whyte W., Jacobs J., Gehl J. and Crawford M.

Upon examination of the behavioural patterns, the analysis reveals significant contradictions which highlight the importance of studying the culturalism of cities of the Global south parallel to the established body of Euro-American urban theory. The exposure of the results demonstrates the positive and critical approaches and the possibility of a match or conflict in all attempts. The final phase opens a debate if Euro-American urban theory is on the forefront of understanding the forms of social interactions in public spaces or if the established literature should be upgraded acknowledging the role of the self-made city.

KEYWORDS

Public Space, Urban Theory, Self-Made City, Global South, Social Entrepreneurialism

INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE OF AIMS

The interest by urban scholars of sociology and urbanism is to form a reflective urban theory which seeks to frame urban environments into sets of principles, knowledge and as a base for comparison to other cities. However, as with most scholars, their writings were processed and inaugurated from within their own local context being mainly cities of the developed Western world. The scholars processed in this paper, all have a genuine interest in public life and a clear focus on different social phenomena experienced in public spaces, in particular, new forms of interactions and entrepreneurial ways of socialising. However, significant contradictions can be recognised once these Euro-American urban theories are juxtaposed with urban phenomena in other continents and social contexts since the basic premises are not the same and neither the culture and mind-set of people.

The research study investigates some established Euro-American urban theories of social patterns and people's behaviour in public spaces directly applied to an urban context of the Global south. Through the case study of the self-made city Dharavi, India, the focus is to seek an understanding whether Euro-American urban theory is yet the pioneering work to apply on any given context or if it is only valid theory on similar contexts, not justifying new entrepreneurial ways of interacting. As Rem Koolhaas once described the city of Lagos as a city on the forefront in a globalising modernity quoting: "Lagos is not catching up with us, rather, we may be catching up with Lagos" (Worsley, 2001) shows in particular the importance of studying the culturalism (Znaniecki, 1919) of cities of the Global south parallel to the established body of urban theory.

Essentially, the main questions to highlight and investigate are: How, and to what extent, are socio-spatial conditions of the self-made city considerably represented by Euro-American urban theory and can Dharavi act as an incubator of entrepreneurial public spaces?

The main aim of this entire research is essentially to critically question urban theories while finding new clues which can develop new pioneering work and filling in the academic gaps within the field of urbanism. Furthermore, it is essential to always seek to understand new forms of social

realms within unexplored geographical contexts. Both Roy (2009) and Robinson (2002) agree to the fact that it is the time for established urban theory to make a shift, where new geographies are introduced and added to the repertoire. An extension to this is visible through the work of Rao (2006) who states that self-made cities should be theorised alongside Euro-American literature.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The structure of this research has been constantly evaluated as a cross cultural study where Euro-American urban theories are in strong contrast to the self-made city concept. The elaborated descriptive research underwent studies of observations which were interpreted into topics and hypotheses following empirical literature reviews and testing. The exposure of the results from this entire research led to discussing the juxtaposition between the available urban theory and the self-made city concept and its future role in theory.

Observations

The research conducted by means of observations was based on photographic and still images taken inside Dharavi. The phenomenology and atmosphere of the space was highlighted and compared through the work of various photographers which show frames of social life and community within the real world. This created a thorough base to create a valid foundation for further interpretation and reduced reality while reaching the critical value for making conclusions on a social pattern of activities and uses of space. Three explicit topics were classified:

- A. The spatial quality of public space
- B. People's use of public space
- C. The political meaning of public space

Theoretical framework

The descriptive study of the theoretical world through literature reviews was conducted on the following well established Euro-American urban thinkers:

- Architect/urban planners Margaret Crawford (Los Angeles) and Jan Gehl (Copenhagen)
- Urbanist William Whyte (New York) and journalist Jane Jacobs (New York)
- Sociologists Richard Sennett (New York,

London, Paris) and Henri Lefebvre (Paris)

The reasoning behind this choice was a careful selection after studying a broad scope of urban theorists, this group in particular had shared but conflicting thoughts and concepts relating to the three explicit topics. Furthermore, they represent a broad variety of urban scholars coming from different decades between the 1960s until today, with different geographical and academic backgrounds.

Alongside the study on Euro-American urban theory, a descriptive study of Dharavi through literature was elaborated to understand its history, context and the social life inside the area. As Dharavi is gaining more international attention, there is an increase in the amount of published books throughout contemporary literature.

Hypothesis testing

While attempting to structure, compare and exemplify the real world and the theoretical world, three hypotheses (combinations) were constructed:

- Dharavi as a promoter of everyday public space
- Dharavi as a creator of inclusive public space
- Dharavi as a producer of informal public space

They all highlight the classified topics while taking into account the paired urban scholars and their expertise. In this case, the hypotheses seek a critical perspective in order to contextualise a validation or disproof of an application in Dharavi (Figure 1).

DHARAVI AND THE CONCEPT OF THE SELF-MADE CITY

Self-made cities are characterised by the possibility of taking charge in determining their own living environment, and is mostly generated in the tension between freedom and need. Self-made cities are distinguished by their self-foundation lacking a top down administrative approach, but instead created by natural means and involvement from people themselves, beyond architectural instruments and planning measurements (Ring, 2013). Since self-made cities are often excluded from the societal consideration and administration, these form and organise their own communities within with self-employment and self-organised infrastructure (figure 2). (Davis, 2006)

Not as the misconception of a slum, but as a well-functioning self-made city derived from spontaneous and collective initiative, relevant consideration is put to Dharavi as an urban phenomena and not as an urban problem. Most of everything, Dharavi is a self-employed city, bringing together a variety of industries into the city as a representation of all the industries found in India. From their original villages, the inhabitants have brought along specific occupations which are still functioning and preserving the traditional craftsmanships like potters, carpenters, tanners, recyclers, weavers, blacksmiths, tailors, printing press workers and *dhobis* (laundry services). All in all, this is a great example of a self-organised working environment adding an economic importance of Dharavi for the surrounding city of Mumbai. (Spies, 2013)

As a rather small urban area, Dharavi comprises approximately one million inhabitants today. It all began as urban migration flows, since the

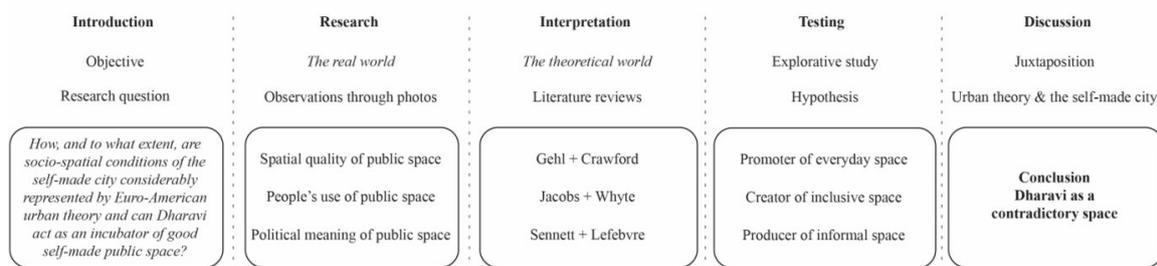


FIGURE 1 The methodology process of the conducted research study



FIGURE 2 The first photo shows a large trafficked public space cutting through the urban fabric (Source: Adam Cohn). The middle photo shows typical self-built houses surrounding a social space (Source: Adam Cohn). The last photo illustrates a typical narrow pathway of Dharavi (Source: Thomas Galvez).

original fisher village Dharavi functioned as an arrival place for newcomers seeking a better life and a better economic state. Dharavi reveals an identity beyond the perception as a neglected settlement, where people are offered a shelter and basic amenities, but a vibrant occupation-based settlement, where the energy of proud people and their self-created livelihoods are evident. (Spies, 2013)

DHARAVI AS A PROMOTER OF EVERYDAY PUBLIC SPACE

Exploring Dharavi as a great example of everyday urbanism, is embraced through the lenses of urban planners Jan Gehl and Margaret Crawford, respectively basing their studies in Copenhagen and Los Angeles. Both favours the good and healthy city which is pleasant and comfortable for its inhabitants. Where Crawford looks in depth of a normal functioning city of work and everyday life as the main motor, Gehl looks more practically towards the city within the human scale.

Crawford (2008) is known for the development behind the concept of everyday urbanism in the book of the same name, a concept which encourages an empathetic understanding of the specifics of daily life to be highlighted for urban theory. In this sense, the everyday urbanism is seen through everyday spaces explained as:

“The intersections between an individual or defined group and the rest of the city are everyday space - the site of multiple social and economic transactions, where multiple experiences accumulate in a single location. These places where differences collide or interact are the most potent sites for everyday urbanism.” (Crawford, 2008:11)

Everyday life is often discussed to be an informal and bottom up celebration of the normality of urban inhabitants leaving out big dreams of an ideal and aesthetically environment. It is the lived experience and not the physical form which should draw the attention to urban development. First and foremost, the everyday space should accommodate the pragmatic uses, and any aesthetic value is considered a bonus. Opposing this, Gehl (1987) arguments that the specific architecture gives a specific form to the allocating urban space. In Dharavi, the self-built environment is constructed by local and recycled materials found anywhere, and is made personal

by the use of colour and decoration which is a cultural signifier in Indian society.

Gehl (1987) states that cultures are different and climates are different, but the way people inhabit and use space is universal. We walk and experience spaces through the same speed, our senses are constantly in use and we are attracted by people and liveable places no matter if it is an everyday space or a monumental space. In Dharavi, the spatial quality is considered regularly poor. It is not habitated with ventilation shafts and street lighting as in Euro-American cities, but it is often used as storage space with water supply barrels and kilns for pottery. Trash does not take place as an attempt to control the cleanness of the urban environment, but exists as a co-contributor for neglecting the spatial quality in and around water channels.

Today, urban designers seek to create and encourage 'designed spontaneity and social interaction' in public space while focusing on a better implementation of everyday life and daily routines for the ordinary crowd such as beer drinkers, prostitutes and recyclers. Ironically, designers also consistently attempt to recover the past or control the future, and never leave anything up to accident (Crawford, 2008). As an entirely self-made city, Dharavi is purely designed by bottom-up processes, happy accidents, coincidences and neglect.

Where Crawford (2008) believes that a social entity is best when it is responsive to daily routines and local concerns, Gehl (2000) argues for creating diverse public space through implementing urban design which is directed towards creating comfortable places where people feel invited and welcome and given a reason to stay. Opting for a social mixing coming naturally from designing a space which enlarges the room for walking, invisible elements for staying and sitting and active facades for watching. Because of the density and overcrowded space of Dharavi, the leftover spaces shape the settings for a span of events and communal gatherings making Dharavi a multifunctional place throughout the whole day. Explicitly, the transformation of streets (figure 3) from market to mass prayer extending the religious space from inside and out, making most use of many functions contributing to the quality of social space (Sharma, 2000).

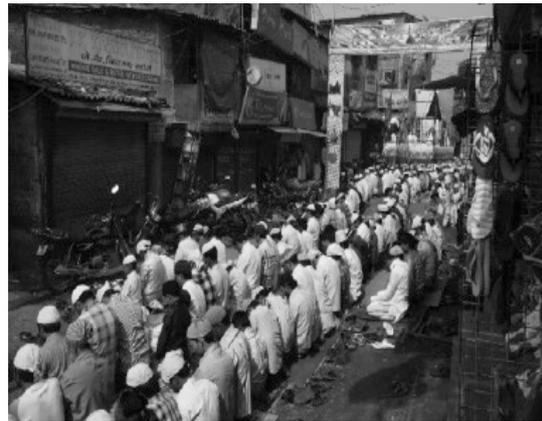


FIGURE 3 The first image shows dense public space (Source: Meena Kadri). The middle photo shows the transformation of a street to a mass prayer site (Source: Urbz). The last photo depicts a typical house front (Source: Ishan Kosla).

Sub conclusion

What exists between physical realms of the home, the work and the institution, everyday space is the connective tissue which binds these realms together and make the city function. The ordinary and trivial everyday life is the actual foundation to any social interaction within the urban environment. But, where in Western cities the everyday space often see a disproportionate use of space between vehicles and pedestrians, in Dharavi you find large spatial environments only for pedestrians which is by far more friendly and promotes new forms of interaction in public spaces.

The self-made city of Dharavi, stands in contrast to the carefully planned urban fabric, convincing you that the spontaneous and accidental public space suits best for a trivial and routined life. Dharavi is not a societal platform, but labelled infamously as a slum by the surrounding society it exists because of normal and daily routines and functions as clear entrepreneurial city.

DHARAVI AS A CREATOR OF INCLUSIVE PUBLIC SPACE

This section explores the urban theory composed by journalist Jane Jacobs and urban researcher William Whyte, respectively through the books “Life and Death of Great American Cities” (1961) and “Social Space of Small Urban Spaces” (1980). Both scholars have developed their research in the domain of New York which are now tried tested to the case of Dharavi.

Jacobs (1961) described four interconnected principles for creating healthy and vibrant spaces: Firstly, there is a need for mixed primary users which defines residential, commercial, industrial and public spaces which all appear to be in a symbiotic relationship throughout Dharavi as a production space. Secondly, there is a need for aged buildings, which is already the case in Dharavi since old temples are mixed with the surrounding settlements. The temples not only connect with history, but also serve as a vital spot for public gatherings. The third and fourth principles consists of a need for small blocks and concentration, which is highly valid in Dharavi since critical population masses gather continuously for residential, cultural or economic purposes.

Whyte (1980) partly with Jacobs and argues that some of the most felicitous spaces are leftover space like niches and ends of space that by happy accident works as a vibrant public space for people. These include occasional spontaneity and unplanned occurrences which provides comfort in terms of resting elements, places with both sun and shadow, protection from wind as well as providing a spot for observing street life anonymously. In Dharavi close to everything is unplanned creating many leftover and disproportionate spaces which are taken into use as a public meeting point.

The separation of people from their commercial needs prevents the idea of a community while discouraging a naturally developing city and this is profoundly impossible to happen in Dharavi. Sidewalk life where all needs and demands can be resolved close-by, encourages the idea of a community and reduces the likelihood of crime, allowing people to interact more casually and naturally. Dharavi offers a feeling of kinship and familiarity so people feel safe within their own community.

Social triangulation (Whyte, 1980) is the process by which external stimulus provides a linkage between people and which intuitively gives inputs for conversations to arise between strangers. These external stimulus can be anything from sharing interests, glances, unforeseen and unforeseeable uses in the spaces while the people establish a toleration and interest in the things that other people do. In the case of Dharavi, in most public spaces you find street life characterised by the residential clusters but also of passers-by who indeed contribute to the spaces through their presence. Triangulation may occur constantly because of the large crowds of residents in Dharavi and the effects of them contribute to the sense of place and belonging.

Whyte's (1980) reference to a 'mayor' of a space is quite similar to the idea of Jacob's 'public character' (1961) which embodies the virtue of street performances or acts within the unexpectedness. These kind of happenings will draw people together and organically gather around forming a crowd and celebrate the performance. In any case, practice has shown that this virtue is a very western idea of street life in large public spheres and therefore cannot

be framed in Dharavi in its actual state. In the case of the Indian self-made city, any street happenings will not seek a purpose, but will be fully an accidental happening, and it will neither draw people together in the act of entertaining but rather through feelings of surprise or chock.

Residents of Dharavi seek to run a civic life parallel to their work life. This shows by their implementation of religious and spiritual facilities inside the self-made urban fabric. Though it might seem that basic needs are the only thing to ensure the people, this representation of shrines, mosques and churches spread all over depicts a need of more than only employment, family and survival but shows also a civic awareness.

Sub conclusion

Public space is about shared social spaces where spontaneity and diversity happens and works best through the entirety of disordered chaos (figure 4). In Dharavi, the chaotic conditions are celebrated as being a natural part of the self-made city which in addition promotes social entrepreneurialism. Everything has been organically shaped throughout its history and the overcrowded space brings attention and eyes on the routes which essentially relates well to a safe environment with a very low level of crime. Good urban space is not necessarily of large scale but crowded spaces which give room for everyone and for social triangulation while offering new forms of social interaction and as Jacobs stresses they become the essential public space of a city.

DHARAVI AS A PRODUCER OF INFORMAL PUBLIC SPACE

Dharavi is explored through the topic of the political meaning and ideal of its public space, with a focus on the formal and informal space of the city within the span of the private and public realms. The associated theory is based on the studies of sociologists Richard Sennett and Henri Lefebvre.

According to Sennett (1976), once people shifted their focus towards private lives and the self, society took a much more passive approach to politics: instead of being concerned with affairs of the state, people focused on private interests. The tyranny of intimacy and anonymity has brought people to the state of checking the degree to which the true self matches the public persona they select to choose for public performances, policies and roles. In Dharavi, the fall of public man appears less relevant. The minimal degree of intimacy conquered by community benefits has kept the public man alive and entrepreneurial city flourishing.

Additionally, in “The production of space” (1974), Lefebvre assumes that the sphere of private life ought to be enclosed and have a delineated aspect. On the contrary, public space ought to open outwards in such a way that the private sphere is organised according to the dictates of the public one. But what we see happening is rather the opposite; the inverse situation is the only that actually prevails. The whole of space is increasingly modelled after private enterprise,



FIGURE 4 A part of Dharavi showing diversity and disorder through organic and irregular routes and a spread network of commercial activities, institutions and public spaces

private property and the family (Lefebvre 1974). In Dharavi, the individual privacy defined as such appears difficult and it is questionable whether this is sought for. In that line, it is the phenomenology and the feeling of privacy which is essential and not related to ownership.

It is important to underline that the evidence from English, French and American history, barring perhaps some cultural ties cannot define the degree of sociability in a completely different environment such as contemporary Dharavi. The case is likewise again different in time and place, yet above all culturally differently embedded. Both Sennett and Lefebvre provide directions for a better understanding of the phenomena, but the contextual application should probably be regarded with scepticism. The conceptualisation of what is public and what tend to be private in Dharavi cannot obtain an adequate definition by seeing the issue through the perspective of

Sennett's entirely Western approach.

According to Lefebvre (1974), the space and society are predetermined economically by capital, dominated socially by the bourgeoisie, and ruled politically by the state. To some extent, the author's arguments generalise the production of space but do not consider non-European socio-spatial phenomena like those of self-made cities. Essentially, Dharavi's social space lacks this Western social hierarchical past, which makes the scientific relevance on public spaces significantly different from Euro-American scholarly conclusions. Focusing on social space, Lefebvre argues that space is not an inert, neutral, and a pre-existing given, but rather, an on-going production of spatial relations (figure 5) (1974). Bringing these two statements to the level of the public realm of Dharavi illuminates its social relations but impose questions derived primarily from the contradiction of the actual space.

FIGURE 5 The two mappings of the pottery districts illustrates a variety of spaces for the people to have social interaction



In the Western world the urban environment is fabricated to serve a certain order; people are guided by architecture of centuries and public space is created according to certain functions which indirectly govern our behaviour. The design of space has led to a space that is no longer experienced and lived as well as perceived and conceived but instead abstract and transparent (Lefebvre, 1974). In Dharavi, the design of public space has not been a choice, but a natural occurrence made by the self-established conditions. None of the public spaces meet any design principle of Piazza del Popolo (Bacon, 1967) nor any aesthetic value comparable to Piazza del Campo (Kostof, 1999) but nevertheless they work perfectly. This shows, that people can become competent interpreters of their own lived experience despite obstacles society may put in their way (Sennett, 1990).

Dharavi appears as a space transformed by practice and primary needs, which to some extent makes it a dominated space. Here the public space incorporates social actions of both individual and collective groups, and it acts as an active designer of social entrepreneurialism. With roughly one million people interacting on a daily basis (Shaw, 2010) inconsiderate of their public performance and unconscious of the public interaction, the publicness of Dharavi is neither invaded by the tyranny of intimacy nor transformed to a formal obligation.

Sennett (1976) argues that by the 19th century, when capitalist economies were consolidating the influence, people withdrew from interactions with one another and focused on building a private life around the family unit. This stood as a condition of selfhood in contrast to public performance. Sennett's major reason for the collapse of public man is clearly industrial capitalism, but Dharavi's economic production consists of 7% of the capital of Mumbai Comparing to Dharavi, and the public interaction is less reserved but visible in meaningful ways (Echanove, 2016).

Lefebvre (1974) argues that the abstract space or the space of bureaucratic politics is the one that defines the homogeneity of our societies. Any attempt of organising the space not through a system of political or public governance is recognised as chaos or sometimes anarchy. What Dharavi as a self-made city showcases are some completely new forms of interaction in public

spaces.

Sub conclusion

Modernism and the time after glorified the validity of intimacy where the uniqueness of the living environment was dominant, but taking into account the increasing number of global population the self-made city and Dharavi in particular demonstrate what the future of public space on global cities might look like. Considering the young age of this urban development form, Euro-American scholars were relatively unprepared for defining the phenomena of social entrepreneurialism in self-made cities.

Combined, "The fall of public man" and "The production of space" argue for the same implications, and both see the prevailing of privacy as the main changing force of social space. In a way, the self-made city demonstrates 'the rise of public man' and what we are witnessing is what Koolhaas (2000) theorised 15 years ago in Lagos: "An incubator of the future prospect of global city".

RESULTS: DHARAVI AS A CONTRADICTIONARY SPACE

The Western society is structured in such a way that the public space in particular is planned, designed and sometimes usage-wise controlled, authors like Jacobs and Whyte provide alternative solutions while aiming at emphasising the importance of the human scale and its unique behaviour. In this context, the fact that Dharavi's public spaces appear to be remarkably successful while being more accidental and consequential of its internal organic pattern verifies their universal definitions. The social behaviour predominates over aesthetics thus making the separation between Euro-American literature on urban theory and public life of the Global south more visible.

Literature authored by Euro-American scholars provides directions for a better understanding of urban phenomena relating to the public realm in self-made cities, but the physical context appears to be a crucial factor which confuses its literal application. History proves that regardless of economic development public and private is an endless struggle which is highly connected to mankind's recognition of individual space. While Sennett's fall of public man in Western countries came as a rise of privacy and intimacy, self-

made cities like Dharavi are still relatively young to experience the same symptoms if anyhow applicable in their culture.

Given the high density of population and diverse human activity, the self-made city's spatial relations appear very intense. This makes Dharavi's space less inert and less neutral, and proves Lefebvre's assumptions for an on-going fluent production of space where public and private are persistently merged. The unconditional avoidance of the eternal conflict between private and public has generated a unique pattern of city composition, and the more we try to dig into the undefined correlation of public and private spheres, the more we understand that for self-made cities this issue is rather undefined and collectively maintained.

Lefebvre prospects the emerging of a differential space that serves as a resistance to the forces of homogenisation, and putting this to the context of Dharavi, the public space appears to be an achieved contradictory space which due to culturalism and historical circumstances has already won the battle against the arrogance of power and endless expansion of the private and industrial profitability. Even so, the counter space of Dharavi comes as an instrument of the common good.

A dialectically different evolution of developing world societies assumes a collective ownership and management of public spaces which sometimes are not planned or designed but just founded by contradictory interests. Similar to

scientists, scholars on urban theory try to find the logic behind the space formation and mold it into a set of rules. But, cases like Dharavi show time is the fourth dimension of Dharavi's public space, which makes it less pure and transparent, but more comprehensive and cheerful.

CONCLUSIONS

Essentially, this paper studied the correlation between the use and framing of Euro-American urban theory on a self-made city in the Global south, and with the closure of the research, the paper argues against a literal use of established Euro-American urban theories based for directly theorising the entrepreneurial city and new forms of interaction in public spaces of self-made cities. A juxtaposition of Dharavi's social issues to our contemporary literature shows not only a conflict of the way which they are perceived, but it also illustrates the gaps which come with the lack of knowledge of the cultural context. A repositioning of urban theory must be developed in the Global south alongside an introduction of the concept of the self-made city and its social entrepreneurialism. Dharavi is a good first example of exploring social space and the new forms of interacting in public spaces.

As outsiders but connoisseurs of an immeasurable literature on urban theory we can try to understand the physical borders of self-made cities and prognosticate and visualise where public ends and private starts. However, this mystic phenomena requires further field observations and an elaborated understanding of it, which rather than answering to our questions would drag our interest even further.

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The “Hypermediated Shed” Public Space and “the Forgotten Symbolism” in the Augmented Meta-Public Space of Post- Consumerist Urban Giants.

Manfredo Manfredini

School of Architecture and Planning,
The University of Auckland,
New Zealand

ABSTRACT

Recent socioeconomic and technological advancements are transforming the routines of consumption into post-consumerist practices. From a socio-spatial perspective, this is primarily driven by the augmentation of two main processes: prosumption and transduction. Addressing the condition of public space in rapidly developing cities in East Asia and Australasia, this paper discusses how these two forces have contributed to a novel spatial dimension: meta-publicness. The discussion is theoretically framed by two main streams of the research on public space: the one that approaches it as the irreducible realm of agonistic pluralism and the one which sees it as crucial to socio-spatial ontogenetic processes. The major recent concept adopted in the new civic mall planning and management, experientiality, is discussed considering two main aspects: the role of eventful spectacularised environments in these hyper-mediated depoliticised spaces, and the re-politicising agency of their hyper-mediated connectedness. This paper concludes that if a democratisation of the spectacle has introduced relevant antagonistic decommodification forces, there is an internal weakness of the system that exposes these places to an even higher hegemonic dominance.

INTRODUCTION

We share a vision of cities for all, referring to the equal use and enjoyment of cities and human settlements, seeking to promote inclusivity and ensure that all inhabitants, of present and future generations, without discrimination of any kind, are able to inhabit and produce just, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements to foster prosperity and quality of life for all.
United Nations¹

The meta-public space and the metamorphosis of the mall: From hybrid consumption to advanced transductive prosumption. In modern cities, transformations of spatial patterns, technology and lifestyle have brought about a rapid evolution of the social role of enclosures of shopping and entertainment. From being spaces of *pure consumption*, the malls became spaces of *hybrid*² and *relational*³ consumption, and, eventually, morphed into places of *post-consumption*⁴. The latest transformation is particularly important as it has posed a serious challenge to consumption as the fundamental propelling force of these discrete urban elements. Post-consumerist practices emerge as malls tightly integrate the multiple realms of everyday life in dynamic assemblages of shopping, entertainment, work, culture and relational life, where non-retail operations are substantively expanded, urban amenities comprehensively incorporated and elements of civic identity abundantly added.

Although this evolution of malls has had a global character, its manifestation in certain social, cultural and geographical contexts has shown important differences. In East and Southeast Asia (particularly China and Indonesia) and Australasia (Australia and New Zealand), in cities that have developed rapidly, framing what has been dubbed *post-civi*⁵ society, these transformations have catalysed the formation of a peculiar variation of the newest paradigm: the civic megamall⁶. This variation has emerged as a response to a highly dynamic urbanism made by multi-scalar networks of agglomerations, semi-random juxtapositions and exacerbated segmentations⁷. The new malls have contributed to the unprecedented process of fragmentation of urban structures, social relations and everyday practices of local communities, supporting the progressive erosion of public space and

the unrelenting privatization of the urban landscape. The entirely private spaces of these civic malls have reframed the public condition of socio-spatial relationality of large portion of the population living in their trade areas. They have become primary nodes of social interaction in the highly dislocating urban environments of decentred post-utopian cities⁸. Within the public sphere, they have assumed a compensatory networking agency that enables new forms of collective territorialisation.

These new civic elements provide spatial anchoring for otherwise despatialised interaction and have given rise to a novel dimension of publicness that we identify as *meta-publicness*. Our definition of a domain as meta-public applies to instances of coextension of public and private spheres that elude the binarism of the traditional classification of the publicness of spatial realms. More precisely, meta-public domains result from the loosening of boundaries in the *quasi-public spaces* of the preceding mall types, and the institution of hybrid, ambiguous and ambivalent territories, where public/private thresholds – though still heavily policed by hegemonic actors – lose part of their power to limit public access and engagement.

Intending to contribute to the discussion on the socio-spatial effects of the new condition of publicness, this paper elaborates upon the tenet that the profound changes in routines and actions in daily urban relational life are associated with the augmentation of two processes: *prosumption* and *transduction*. These are socio-spatial processes that have recently become nodal in the discourse on consumption. The prosumption process⁹ is a participative instance of transformational engagement. It concerns an intimate intertwining of consumption and production processes that, as posited by George Ritzer, always interpenetrate and no longer appear “as either pure production (without at least some consumption) or pure consumption (without at least some production).”¹⁰ It empowers people by giving them some control over what they consume, involving them in multiple nuances of consumerist and productive processes¹¹. For the strong impulse received by digital technology, prosumption emerges in advanced forms in the technologically enhanced meta-public realms.

The spatial transduction process¹² is an

experiential instance of switching between alternative realms with different contextual references. It has the capacity to bring across realms of ambiguous and ambivalent double forms of real, semi-real and hyper-real (e.g. with forms of theming that stage local culture). Transductive instances are not permanent but temporal and based on dynamic, reiterative and transformative mechanisms. Their activation relies on multifarious technologies that produce sensorial and cognitive effects, combining analogue (e.g., themed material decoration) and digital (e.g., immersive virtual reality) means. For the power given by digital tools to these conversion mechanisms, the hyper-mediated atmospheres of the meta-public realms catalyses spatial transduction processes, continuously producing heterotopic spatialities that, as Bruno Latour described in his *Invisible City, incarnate the dispersed plasma* of hard urban reality and electronic utopias.¹³

The presumption and transduction processes have found in the meta-public mall environments an ideal laboratory for combinatory experimentations and have contributed to the profound transformation of their physical and social infrastructures as well as their semantic representational constructs. The most obvious of these transformations is typo-morphological: the monolithic, large, closed, urban element that distinguished the architecture of the modern mall in its earlier stage has increased its size and fragmentation, to assume the complex form of a discrete part of the city – its central core. Its utmost transduction is, indeed, the production of a pseudo-urbanity¹⁴ that at the same time emulates and displaces the centre. It is a pseudo-urbanity of an implanted core that, while acting independently from the city, operates as a prosthetic organ of the urban body. The way it reproduces the functions and actions of traditional city cores is by mirroring its form, structure, operations, image and meaning. With regard to its urban structure, this core is organised as a hierarchical assemblage of composed heterogeneity, with a primary infrastructure reduplicating idealised networks of plazas, streets and lanes. It is a structure of optimised capillarity connecting homogeneous functional precincts and anchored on primary nodes, such as department stores, which take the place of civic institutions, such as theatres. Functionally, this core has an all-encompassing programme

that virtually include all the activities of the service sector: from retail to hospitality, from financial to personal services, from information technology to education and health. Genuine public institutions, such as libraries and citizens advice bureaus, are also integral part of its prosumerist offering. Semantically, the narrative construct is consistently expressed throughout all morphological, material, decorative and naming levels. Particularly indicative of the latter, is the frequent designation of its central places as *civic plazas, town centre squares* and *streets* (Figure 1 and 2).

A peculiar type of introverted pattern distinguishes spatially the new self-reliant, independent urban organ: the ambivalent relationship between interior and exterior¹⁵. The dual identification of clear inside and outside conditions, challenges one of the primary topological criteria of the urban structure it intends to mirror. Its key open “public” spaces epitomises this characteristic: the central plaza is an inside of an inside (the mall) and an outside of an outside (the civic public space proper) which is at the same time the space of highest indexicality and richness in contextual references, as well as the place of departure of the most internalised looping patterns and entrenched connectors. These juxtaposed landscapes produce transformative atmospheres of redoubling and repetition of the different, continuously reorganising their spatialities. To describe this wavering topology we can use a comment by Gilles Deleuze on Foucault’s work where he articulated a way of describing forces able to place the immanence (inside) as always other (outside): “the outside is not a fixed limit but a moving matter animated by peristaltic movements, folds and foldings that together make up an inside: they are not something other than the outside, but precisely the inside of the outside.”¹⁶

The ambivalence also destabilises the simple spatial inversion that characterised the previous mall types. In the new malls there is no place for the “reversed worlds” that Kim Dovey described as places where the combination of syntactic and semantic inversions instituted a threshold shifting the rules of the game, transforming the functional shopping into gratifying lifestyle, and permanently suspending it in hyperreality.¹⁷ In the new mall, the boundaries of these spaces continuously reverse and invert the quality of the



FIGURE 1 Directional street sign in Botany Town Centre, one of the “civic malls” of Auckland, New Zealand. © Manfredo Manfredini, 2015



FIGURE 2 Civic Square signage and fountain on the third floor of the Union Square megablock (>1 million square metres of floor space) in Kowloon, Hong Kong. © Luo Wen, 2017

territories they separate, making their interiors and exteriors coextensive, superimposing the homogenised, distanced and imagined realities of *isotopia*, *heterotopia*, and *utopia*¹⁸.

FRAMING THE SOCIO-SPATIAL CONDITION OF META-PUBLIC SPACE

Since the appearance of modern shopping centres, the relationship between conception (planning, implementation and management) and experience (perception and everyday life routines and actions) has been central to the urban discourse. Particularly relevant, in the literature on the recent development of cities, is the growing standing of spaces of consumption in social, spatial, cultural and legal fields¹⁹. The latest evolution of the malls discussed in this paper has importantly contributed to this

expansion since it has exacerbated some of the main criticalities of the previous types: the segmentation of public space and the polarisation of social infrastructure in fragmented locales either produced through *tabula rasa* urban renewal processes or unrelenting growths of unbounded fabrics of disjointed domesticities²⁰. Many of these studies have focused on the effects on public life and everyday practices of the local communities of these private environments with conflated and polarised urban amenities²¹. Links between privatisation and commercialisation of public space and homogenising mechanisms of social control and securitisation of these places have been examined and described. Their relation to increasing socio-spatial fragmentation of the contemporary urban society and problems affecting the wellbeing of citizens and communities, limiting inclusion, pluralism,

civic engagement and relational life have been foregrounded²². The tension between trends of progressive sharing, or transferring, of the control of urban space with leading actors of the market economy and the everlasting effort of the civil society to reconstitute the city as a commons and integrate collaborative social ecosystem faces has been widely discussed²³. The critical relevance of these issues in hindering communicative actions, encounter and dialogue for social development in our progressively diverse society has also been identified by the United Nations with the recent adoption of the New Urban Agenda²⁴.

The substantive body of studies on the transformation of public space in urban environments dominated by modern enclosures has provided conspicuous theoretical and empirical instruments for evaluating the various aspects of their socio-spatial agency. The recent transformations that have led to what is identified here as a condition of meta-publicness have, however, been only partially addressed in the field of urbanism. Studies on the spatial contribution that involves the re-politicisation of people's actions in spaces dominated by the processes framed here as transduction and prosumption, are particularly scarce and fragmentarily cover the socio-spatial problems²⁵. Two main aspects of a major recent concept, experientiality, adopted in mall planning and management, will be developed here at some length. First, the role of eventful spectacularised environments in these hyper-mediated depoliticised spaces. Second, the re-politicising agency of the hyper-mediated connectedness of these spaces.

The interactive environmental eventfulness of the meta-public space: From consumer of commodity fairgrounds to prosumer of experiential kaleidoscopes.

In the second part of the last century, shopping centres were the contexts in which the critique of contemporary problems in the relations between sociability and political spheres identified the highest crisis of public space. The problems of the decay of the public realm originally ascribed to the consumerist *distribution factories*²⁶ that originated in the 19th century department store²⁷, have been recognised in their exacerbation in the major modern centres of shopping where the society of the *spectacle*²⁸ had its main expression. There, highly innovative spatial experiments had de-differentiated the forms of consumption and

inhibited the traditional forms of production and interaction of the individual in public space. These places resulted from an extreme rationalisation process to maximise efficiency, control, predictability and calculability of commercial operations while encouraging consumers' everyday spending behaviours with impressive fairground spectacles of *commodities*²⁹ in hedonic atmospheres *akin to holiday destinations*³⁰.

Today, fifty years after the publication of Guy Debord's seminal critique of the *The Society of the Spectacle*, the character of these spaces has shifted from the consumerist hedonic to the post-consumerist experiential³¹. This has developed the fundamental ambivalence of prosumption into a force that, somewhat paradoxically, debilitates the consolidated substantive spectacular depoliticisation. In the last generation of malls, the very same forces that commercialised and made prime commodity of social, recreational and seductive values³², strove actively to engage consumers in co-creative and digitally supported dynamics that progressively democratised and combined the production and consumption of the spectacle.

To interpret how this ambivalence includes forms of re-politicisation of the individual, guidance can be found in the body of literature on the modern destabilisation of traditional processes in contemporary cities. These studies have focused on the transformation of the interaction between individuals and their environment, shedding light on the processes of identification and attribution of meanings and values to places through the combination of personal and collective conceived, perceived and lived practices³³. Their attention to relational actions and practices provides insights for the study of this entangled condition of *malled* space, offering conceptual instruments to interpret the evolution of the public-private relations³⁴, articulating aspects of form and experience from the perspective of the consumer.

The tradition of studies hinging on the seminal work of Hannah Arendt is particularly relevant, as it addresses problems of the private seizure of publicness and articulates them in the critique of the loss of "agonistic pluralism."³⁵ Her studies underline the relevance of socio-spatial conditions that support the complex formation of what she defines as *collective worlds*. These worlds are intended as permanent institutions – in her

words *a community of things* – able to gather together and relate individuals in material space to substantiate and guarantee the development of culture and democratic systems. Arendt observes that their disappearance in modern society has led to the atrophy of political life. This is a process of occlusion of the political, where the pervasion of production and consumption logics blurs the distinction between the private and the public. She notes the transformation of public space into a *pseudospace of interaction* where individuals “no longer ‘act’ but ‘merely behave’ as economic producers, consumers and urban city dwellers.”³⁶ The critique of the reduction of publicness to a sphere of passive cultural consumption was importantly expanded by Jürgen Habermas. Although from a different position, he argued that the power given to private actors – particularly the corporate ones – by modern audio-visual mass media supported their *re-feudalisation* of the modern public sphere. Entertainment and advertising replaced public discourse, obstructing practices of rational-critical discourse on political matters that substantiate participative and emancipative processes³⁷. His concerns about the resulting alienation and splintering of common grounds are shared, yet severely criticised, by the “agonistic” scholars who have taken a stand for a radical multiplicity and heterogeneous coexistence to produce complex blending of diversity. Observing the striated imperfection of globalisation and acknowledging the irreducibility of conflicts where “parties recognize the legitimacy of their opponents,” they have claimed the fundamental role of space for the constitution³⁸ of pluralistic and networked realms, free from the control of dominant powers.

Experiential spaces and hyper-mediated environments

The strategies to augment the experiential quality of space³⁹ include forms of eventful activation of space with synchronisation of embodied rhythms. These strategies reflect the emphasis on improving user experience that has recently penetrated and become an imperative in the agenda of all levels of spatial governance to amplify the attractiveness of places. Commercial environments, and more specifically malls, have been at the forefront of this trend. They have implemented these strategies with multiple tactics to produce ever different experiences with engaging, emotional, coherent and cognitively important features. They include both permanent and occasional events with unlimited diversification, including such things as pop-up shows, recurrent festivals, exotic sportainment and touring opportunities (e.g., indoor sky-diving, ice skating, “immersive” aquarium strolling and balloon rides), which integrate mechanisms to induce and control behaviours, and coordinate emotional drivers, such as belonging, excitement and enjoyment, as well as bodily rhythms, such as those related to movement, fatigue and hunger.

The interpretation of the socio-spatial effects of the enhanced differentiation in these eventful systems is illuminated by the Lefebvrian critique of space as an ontogenetic and permanently integrated multidimensional realm⁴⁰. This approach to socio-spatial transitions is particularly useful to understand the progressively specialised and fragmented urban conditions. It focuses on the forces behind them, deploying a complex analysis to distinguish the different forces in their unbalanced power relations and unified



FIGURE 3 Panoramic “street view” of the interior of the main concourse of Sylvia Park, Auckland, the largest shopping mall in New Zealand (© 2017 Google)

play. The agency of dominating powers located outside the local socio-spatial fields of their production of physical, cognitive and social space is critically studied and the logics that underlie the governance of complex apparatuses, where collective control is minimised, are revealed.

To explain the peculiar impact on perceptual, cognitive and enactive abilities of the users of these apparatuses, Henry Lefebvre articulated a multidimensional instrument distinguishing conceived, perceived and lived spatialised relations. This specifically disentangles the complex strategies deployed to produce spaces to be perceived as differential by controlling powers through specific historic and geographic processes. He defined these as *abstract spaces*, to underline the abstraction used by these powers to establish and perpetuate their hierarchical systems, thereby assigning special status to particular organisations and places, and at the same time stipulating various forms of exclusion. To implement abstraction, a particular law⁴¹ of homogenisation is adopted: the obliteration and flattening of differences that hinder external control. Yet, to function effectively, staged *induced differentiation* is abundantly used to compensate for the flaws of the diminished real.

The pseudo-urbanities are produced by dissimulative transduction processes that deliberately induce, as Lefebvre claimed, false consciousness. The pseudo-differential abstraction, with masked reduplications, functionalises symbols to activate the power of metaphor and myth to produce spectacles staging illusory full realms of plenitude⁴². This has a quasi-magical power to instigate “marvellous self-deceptions”⁴³ that reduce the collective capacity to distinguish genuine references in the processes of identification, distinction, naming, recognition, connection and ownership of places. This threatens traditional developments of collective forms of interpretation, elaboration and development of experiences of places that constitute identity and a sense of belonging, substantiating personal and communal biographies and narratives⁴⁴. Jon Goss has described these places as *dreamhouses of the collectivity*: repositories of cultural images of utopia that mirror a regime in which “the collective dream of authentic life is not expressed in the political process but is distorted by ideology and harnessed to commodity consumption.”⁴⁵

There, where the marvel hinges on perceived hyperspatial authenticity, multiple simulations transform the real into represented pseudo-utopias/heterotopias of compensation, such as in the private boudoirs or jewellery ambiances of certain chains of coffee shops. The marvel of this deception includes the social dimension, where virtual and augmented reality support personal relations, merging face-to-face and remote interaction in both synchronous, semi-synchronous and asynchronous ways.

Specific to the digital age is the augmentation that has made the mall-dreamhouses transformative, both in scale and quality, to cater for the different needs and desires of communities, groups and the individual. This is made possible through the creation of hyper-mediated environments that personalise their features and support, simultaneously, different forms of place-based relationality. Hyper-mediated environments create unprecedented spatial multiplicity. They are an augmented form of Foucauldian *heterotopias of juxtaposition* that simultaneously places “in a single real place several spaces [of] several emplacements that are in themselves incompatible”⁴⁶. Their equipment, with enhanced and high-performance digital infrastructure and services (e.g., interactive physical interfaces and virtual shopping assistants), provides real-time spatial tuning that spans from micro to macro scale, from personal to collective, providing multiple accesses to spatialities that range from the simultaneous to the asynchronous and from augmented to the virtual⁴⁷. Unconditionally enabling creation and access from any time and place, these spaces irrupt into the traditional spatio-temporal flows, enabling everyday practices to engage with another particular form of Foucault’s other places: the heterotopia of illusion. This is the place in which normalisation leaves space to its opposite: subversion, heterogeneity and excess⁴⁸.

As hyper-mediated illusionary juxtaposing heterotopias, the civic malls have a particular role in the re-politicisation of the individual. With the implementation of multiple locative and augmented reality applications, they have become prime urban places for the embodiment of the digital sphere. This process of bringing back to place and rooting the space of flow⁴⁹ has reinforced their civil ambivalence as central nodes: while the external organisations that own,

manage and control these urban elements increase their predominance, the juxtaposition logic of this digitally augmented intensification of socio-spatial polarisation enables the simultaneous presence and centralisation of antagonist realms composed by autonomous individuals and grassroots organisations. These antagonist realms can include, given the illusionary logic, realms of subversion and heterogeneity⁵⁰ that, in Lefebvrian terms, act in contention with the abstract, minimal and induced differentiation to establish a qualitative, productive and maximal difference.

Concerning the spatial hegemony of the commercial organisations of the malls, hyper-mediation increases their potential, stabilising and reinforcing their dominant position. The digital environment enables the widening of the traditional applied logics of anchoring that underlie the conception of these developments. The implemented capability expands the traditional applied strategies of communication with locative, omnichannel and multimedial digital means, which magnify the tactics based on branding, bricks and mortar theming, “cappuccino pacification”⁵¹ and *son et lumière* distraction⁵². The holding power of the anchors has been expanded with enhanced marketing instruments to cope with the new prosumer-led market that is more and more pervaded by the online component (e.g., the *ad hoc* integrated on- and off-line solutions created by dedicated branches of marketing departments, research laboratories and think tanks, such as the recently created Westfield Retail Solution centre). This has enhanced their category-killer effect, since local competitors cannot afford to deploy the required resources.

The digital augmentation primacy of the malls includes an extra support to the Internet-of-Things, with mobile applications that enhance information flows, spatial intelligibility and accessibility, social interaction and gaming. The overabundant and continuously updated availability of information and data on proprietary and global media services elicits co-production of hybrid spatialities merging material and virtual contents. The array of locative and real-time mobile services with personalised interfaces and push notifications provides unconstrained visibility and accessibility of things. This includes applications that are dedicated-proprietary, such as the “discover more to love” Westfield

Shopping AU, or hybrid, such as the new online-to-offline retail Meituan-Dianping (China’s largest provider of on-demand services), or global, such as Forsquares and Google. The integrated system of services connecting multiple fixed physical interfaces, such as interactive monitors, with visitor’s mobile devices enhances spatial perception, navigation and discovery. This includes, for example, micro GPS navigation (e.g., Google Maps has full coverage of mall interiors, with Street View panoramas; Figure 3 and 4a) and augmented reality discovery (e.g., World Around Me and, shortly, Google Lens show directions, distances and webpage links to nearby point of interests, such as shops, restaurants and public transport stops; Figure 4b). The heightened effectivity of social “radar” applications favours meeting or making new friends. This higher potential for new encounters in mall environments, through locative social search mobile applications, is generated by their very high network effects (elements such as perceived high safety of their highly policed spaces also contribute to it, as revealed by research on users of dating applications). The high concentration of networks and nodes of locative interactive games (e.g., the density of *Gyms and Stops* of Niantic’s Pokémon Go AR application; Figure 4c) has malls as foremost sites of digital gaming in public space.

With regard to the antagonist realms of autonomous individuals and grassroots organisations that these digital augmentations have reactivated, the hyper-mediation has reintroduced their action in the production of multiple spatialities in the malls and, with it, brought into being a *differential space*. This is mainly due to the support given to prosumption practices that through digital embodiments have a place in the production of maximal difference, accessing domains that were previously exclusive to the external abstractive forces. These practices have a powerful agency to take back to the locale the control of some of the transduction processes responsible for the socio-spatial deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. They have rehabilitated collective processes of spatial ontogenesis that actively shape and appropriate places of free socio-spatial association. They have re-embodied realms otherwise present only in de-spatialised flows of the hyperspace.

The re-embedding of antagonist realms counters the condition of displacement typical of the older

malls; a condition that, as Jameson pointed out, transcends “the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually, and cognitively to map its position in a mappable external world.”⁵³ This occurs because the spatial hybridity produced by the mobile digital pervasion⁵⁴ opens the mall to forms of independent access through multiple channels and layers of communication of the augmented atmospheres⁵⁵. As a result, actors, scenes and operations of both the material and immaterial sphere are permanently mobilised, re-networked and re-established⁵⁶ in a tension between abstractive and differential forces growing within the system that used to deliver conditions silencing individuals and making them unable to adopt critical stances⁵⁷.

TOWARDS AMBIGUOUS TERRITORIALITIES

Interpreting the meta-publicness of the new civic megamall as a combination of the ambivalences in socioeconomic (augmented prosumption) and socio-spatial (augmented transduction) relations, the question of the effectiveness of its political agency arises. The core of the question is whether this condition has an impact on the *quality of life for all*, improving the limits of accessibility and inclusion that have characterised the pseudo-interaction of the quasi-publicness of the other mall types.

A peculiar characteristic of meta-publicness is its openness and capacity to make permeable and productive the boundaries between the

territories controlled by various actors. The openness of territories recombines the forms of their identification, appropriation and association, disempowering the dominating external forces and empowering the locale. In Lefebvrian terms, this new condition strengthens differential and distinctive forces over the abstractive and homogenising ones, making difference emerge. The difference, as continuous proliferation and transformation of territories, is granted by prosumerist-transductive augmentations that give form to modern heterotopias of juxtaposition and illusion. The difference emerges from effectively engaged people in multiple socio-spatially networked contexts⁵⁸ supported by spatial embodiments of the digital public sphere through mediations and interconnections of material and virtual platforms and communication flows. The difference is framed in the continuous hybridisation across the entire spectrum of the social, cultural and spatial domains that, as Mubi Brighenti posited⁵⁹, produce complex territorialities made of fields in steady reproduction, unpredictable multiplication and interpenetration.

An example of this differentiation in these meta-public, transductive and prosumerist spaces is the blurring of information flows on digital social media. There, communication transitions seamlessly between areas controlled by the external dominating powers and the pluralistic networks of grassroots organisations and autonomous individuals. This phenomenon, which has undermined the one-way relationship

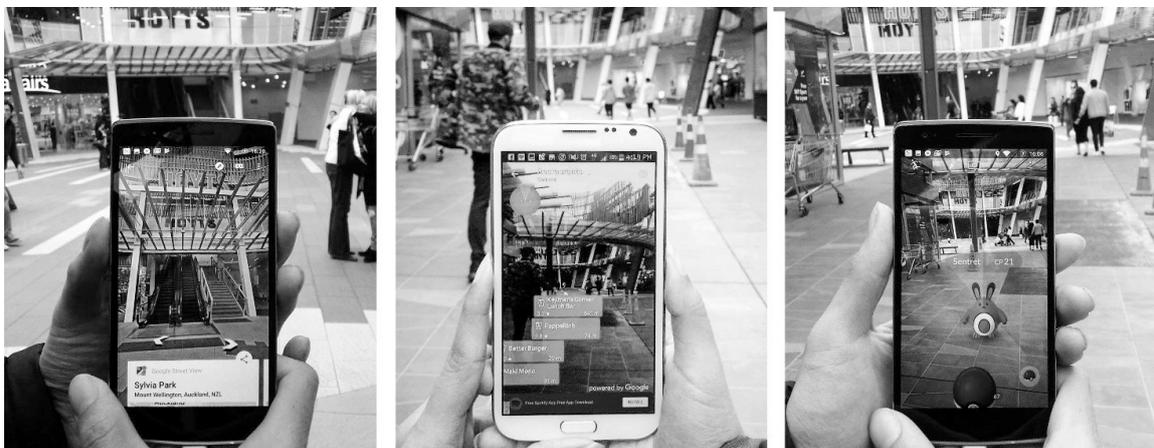


FIGURE 4 Augmented reality mobile applications for a) navigation (Google’s Google Map Street View ©), b) discovery (WT InfoTech’s World Around Me ©) and c) gaming (Niantic’s Pokémon GO) in the Centre Court of Sylvia Park mall. © Angelo Bueno and Tanyalak Chalermtip, 2017

of the flows between the dominating power and the isolated individuals, distinguishes the new meta-public space from the preceding quasi-public. It has strengthened participation and engagement in the public sphere, enabling autonomous individual expression through multimodal means, including media interlinking multiple platforms (e.g., between the public and private parts of a social networking service, such as Facebook, and/or photo-sharing application, such as Instagram, using reposting practices). This has enhanced participation and engagement in an unprecedented inclusionary process, granting access to the other, the marginalised and the “dangerous giants”⁶⁰ that have “the capacity to disrupt and destroy the material and digital structures in which they find themselves.”⁶¹

Handheld devices, the prime and often the only access to the public sphere while in public spaces, epitomise this phenomenon. They can make un-private⁶² each individual’s actual or archived act, idea and perception using multiple media and channels enabling the regulation of temporal (e.g., with real-time streaming), thematic (e.g., with advanced bookmarking and tagging) and authorial (e.g., with semi-anonymous identification) attributes in public communication. This de-privatisation is facilitated by the augmentation of spatialities of sheer consumption that – as described by Lefebvre⁶³ – have acquired the power of mirror and mirage through the “logic of visualisation,” immersing individuals in representations of the publicness that are at once true and false. The disappearance of the *reality principle*⁶⁴ in contemporary “[obscene] ecstasy of communication” favours a reverse pervasion of the public into the private, with users enabled to claim public spaces in their private ones.

The transitional condition between opposing spatialities, though, is highly problematic and matches the one that Sharon Zukin defined as socially liminal: an ambiguous and ambivalent condition that complicates the constructions of spatial identity⁶⁵. The way it counters the abstractive forces within the existing geographies of power is subject to a major threat posed by one of the key characteristics of its recombinant openness. This is the constitutive privateness of systems, both material and digital, that enables the impermanent, transformational dynamism of the new participative reterritorialising and

reterritorialising processes. The risk that lacking public control on these new socio-spatial relational systems undermines the potential of the meta-publicness in supporting diversity, equality and inclusion is immanent in them. New processes of seizure of publicness with surreptitious colonisation by the hegemonic private organisation are high. Other sectors of the framing “sharing economy” have already been deeply affected by disruptive effects of the pervasion of the private, as several studies show⁶⁶. This also concerns social isolation, since the compensatory effect of the new participative condition seems still very limited⁶⁷.

An augmentation of the ambiguity between public and private character further articulates the exposure of each relational act to the monitoring and control of hegemonic external powers. While, in the digital public sphere, these risks are well known and have already led to important countermeasures, such as the restrictions of services (e.g., the recent ones regarding access to application programming interfaces of leading social media services, such as Sina Weibo and Instagram), little attention has been given to them in the augmented meta-public spaces. This is also caused by the legal status of the malls, where the complex legislative frameworks framing the public/private ambiguity of their spaces have been highly controversial and have led to protests and legal disputes, which, in a few cases, have even resulted in the statutory recognition of their publicness⁶⁸.

Time will tell us whether the meta-publicness of *democratised spectacle*, whose traces have been found in the places of the most intense spatial, social and psychological transduction, will support the development of antagonistic decommodification forces and create spatialities of effective agonistic pluralism, or whether the intrinsic weaknesses of the systems that have supported it will permit the development of even more abstractive socio-spatial emplacements that stabilise the antagonist dominance of hegemonic actors with the hyper-spectacle of augmented and *gamified*⁶⁹ *fantasies of authentic life*⁷⁰.

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Relationship between the Changing Urban Open Spaces and Increasing Density in Mong Kok since the 1970s

Wei Shi
Beisi Jia
H. Koon Wee

Faculty of Architecture,
University of Hong Kong,
Hong Kong

ABSTRACT

Since the 1960s, the construction of tall buildings in Hong Kong has continued to increase. In highly dense urban areas, the urban open space (UOS) patterns have changed significantly because of the limited land resource. This paper aims at unfolding the relations between the pattern of UOS and the increasing density. This study chooses Mong Kok, one of the most critical inner districts in Hong Kong, and investigates three parts of the Mong Kok district to study the UOS system in highly dense built environments. The three parts are planned for comprehensive development or mix-used commercial areas. By examining the “form-logic” theories and research methods of three major morphology schools (German-British school, Italian school, French school), referring to dividing hierarchies from urban planning theories and inspiring from the “Level” conceptions from Open Building theories of J. Habraken, the multi-level framework for studying the UOS in high-dense is put forward. Four Levels are defined in this case study: district, community, block, and plot. Moreover, by considering three changing trends of UOS in a high-dense environment, eight major types of UOS are defined. More sub-types are located and defined also. All types of UOS are mapped in the maps of three periods (the 1970s, 1990s, and 2010s). Then, the representative sites of each type in each Level are selected for analyzing the evolution of pattern and building density. Apart from exploring the relationship between changing forms of UOS and increasing density, this study also discusses and interprets the socio-economic reasons and influences behind these tangible performances. Moreover, the study methods and results can also offer a reference for well understanding for UOS in highly dense urban.

KEYWORDS

*Urban Open Space, Increasing Density,
Levels, Morphology*

INTRODUCTION

With the development of the urban economy, the pursuit of high economic benefits from the limited land has become the dominant impetus affecting urban spaces throughout the world. The conflicts and contradictions between the interests of the public and property developers have become increasingly prominent in mixed-use urban areas. Such conflicts are not only reported by journalists but are also investigated by researchers. The search for a solution to the contradictions of urban open space(UOS) is gradually recognized and discussed in the professional realm. Many specific cases about the changing UOS in Hong Kong have been studied, such as changes in the attributes and accessibility of green land and streets (Lin 2008), traditional street markets (Tam 2008), and modern shopping malls (edited by Stefan 2016), or the erosion of public relax land (Miao 2001), and so on. However, studies on integrated UOS system are few compared with those in individual plot cases, and this can be attributed to three deficiencies of using traditional study methods in a very high-dense urban area directly. First, the figure-ground method with two-color mapping can hardly reflect the detail situation of UOS in a high-dense city, especially the complex connections and indoor areas. Second, using 3d virtual models to decompose the whole space system in one complex building or even several blocks. However, these models are usually relatively independent and have weak comparability, making it difficult to undertake a comprehensive comparison with different UOS systems. The comparing study can be operated very limitedly among several individual cases. Third, observations and questionnaires are the most common methods used in studying highly dense cities. Most of these studies have focused on the influences of the public on the UOSs. Moreover, such studies barely paid attention to the understanding evolution of patterns. Without long-term and systematic observations, interoperating studies in several small cases cannot reflect the behaviors or service conditions of the whole UOS in a specific historical period.

Therefore, this study aims to fill these gaps by studying the changing comprehensive UOS system in the case study – Mong Kok. Three parts of the Yau Tsim Mong District Council¹, namely, E13, E15, and E06, were used as the study areas. The multi-level conception and definitions of

the different types of UOS were used to study the relationship between the UOS evolution and increasing density. The mapping planes and relative data were contrasted to the changes of UOS in Mong Kok since the 1970s. At the same time, the density calculation of these areas about three periods is also a supplement for the current shortage of density research materials.

BACKGROUND

Mong Kok, one of the most popular districts in Hong Kong, is located in the Kowloon Peninsula and is characterized by a mix of old and new buildings. Most of the old residential buildings accommodate shops and restaurants. More than ten shopping malls can be found around Nathan Road, the central street in Mong Kok. Before the 1970s, most of the buildings were residential or industrial buildings. Since the 1970s, with the transformation of the economic model from industrial to financial and commercial modes, commercial establishments occupied the majority of the district. Many establishments were partly changed. Comprehensive mixed-use is the primary development mode of buildings in the area. Old and new buildings can accommodate

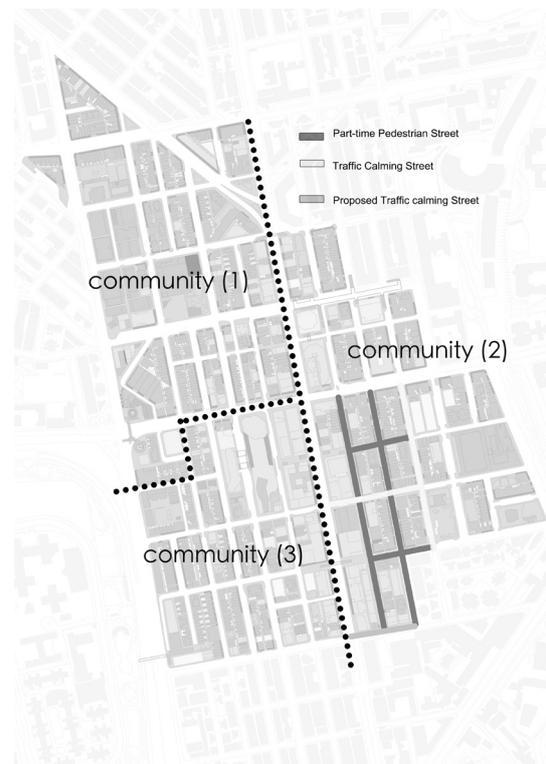


FIGURE 1 Supplement pedestrian streets by Transport Department

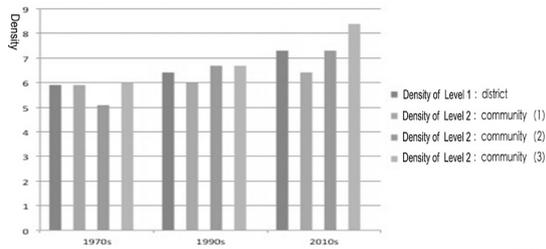


FIGURE 2 Density trends of level 1 study scope and three level 2 scopes in MK

several kinds of functions, including restaurants, shops, offices, serviced apartments, and housing units, among others. In the east side of the district, several populated commercial streets serve as pedestrian streets according to the Transport Department of the HKSAR government (Figure 1). At the same time, several streets in the west part of Nathan Road are also filled with temporary structures and commercial activities, which can only be understood clearly by field investigation in the real phenomenon rather than checking the records of government’s website without findings. Well-regulated temporary shops on the road and the parallel streets prolong the intrinsic length of the streets by up to 4, 6, or even eight times longer. These temporary and local establishments areas are parallel to more than 21 modern shopping malls.

Since the 1970s, the building density of the study area increased from 5.9 to 7.3² and is expected to accelerate continuously (Figure 2). Moreover, the left side maps of Figure 3 shows the floor numbers of each of buildings changing since the 1970s. Based on the changing land-use maps, residential areas located below restrictive commercial buildings (such as “R³”) (Figure 3) were gradually transformed into mixed residential and commercial buildings (such as “C/R”). After 2010, lands along Nathan Road were commercially used (such as “C”), whereas other lands were allocated for a residential building with various commercial podiums below (such as “Ra”). In North Canton Road, several buildings were used as industrial facilities before the 1970s. Although most of these building areas were changed to accommodate commercial purposes, the infill function usually worked as gathering or display areas for architectural materials. The east and center parts of Nathan Road consist of dynamic daily life spaces. Podiums or ground



FIGURE 3 Floor-numbers and planning land-uses of study area

floors—whether designed as serviced or service spaces—are open to the public. Moreover, in these blocks, the interval spaces between buildings are always filled with commercial metal pavilions or residence facilities. Although these structures look like temporary buildings, most of them have their own building numbers, which are recorded and managed by the Rating and Valuation Department of the HKSAR government.

It can be seen from the historical maps that the main structure of the street network is kept as before. In 1930-1950, most of the land was occupied as industry land-use. After the 1960s, with the transformation of economics and adjusted land-use planning, the internal functions of existing buildings are gradually be commercialized. Since the 1950s, after several reclamation projects were finished on the west part of Mong Kok, a lot of industrial buildings are replaced by new complex buildings or infilled with new functions. And the new buildings are primarily commercial or office complex. Since the 1970s, the buildings, which occupied most of the land in Mong Kok, is Tang building. This kind of buildings does not have an elevator. And these roof platforms of Tang buildings are usually

used as the private balcony. At the beginning, the UOS performed as the public street, including the pedestrian part and vehicle part. Not only the district commercial activities happened on the street, but also a lot of people move their private activities in pedestrian such as watching TV and having dinner with their own furniture on the streets. It can be said that the UOS of Mong Kok was mainly performed as the narrow rectangular before the 1960s -- outdoor streets. These streets were performing different kinds of scenes with different kinds of activities in 24 hours. The early morning some of the street space can work as the market square. And the daytime these urban open spaces (UOSs) became the commercial streets or vehicle roads. In the afternoon, some public activities and community groups will happen on some streets. After the sunset, many local people were just treating some parts of the UOS as their living rooms. And the pattern of them started changing with increasing density since the 1970s. With the increasing construction area of new buildings, the interior space was becoming more diversity. The UOS was spreading from the unchanged narrow streets to the bottom of buildings then the medium floors of buildings. More UOSs are inserted under buildings or towers, more of their patterns are decided by the edge of buildings. When UOS researches in the low density urban, the urban open space is usually equal to the public spaces. In this research for high-dense environment, the UOS includes both the concept of "public" and "outdoor" for comprehensive discover the system of UOS in the whole district. And the "public" is also containing both the concepts "owned by the public" or "serviced for the public". By the broad definition of UOS, the various OUSs can all be checked in one mapping and distinguished their differences at the same time. In this way, the research can be significant in filling a gap of studying the evolution or iteration of UOS in the exciting urban centers by comprehensive statistics and analysis.

METHODOLOGY

The study methodology mainly consists of two parts. One is the learning and adopting the research methods from the three morphological schools. (1) Referring to the German-British morphology, which is profoundly influenced by MRG. Conzen, the study paid attention to the urban fabric and organization mode of

constructions. This study also takes the plots of independent properties as the scale of the smallest unit and adopts the mapping methods as the primary study methods. Moreover, using the historical maps in different periods for explaining and interpreting the evolution of UOS. (2) The ideas about extracting the historical prototype and analysis the existing the local types in the urban context, which is influenced by S. Muratori and G. Caniggia, are also influenced the discussion for defining the essential three attributions of UOS among high-dense environment in this study. The morphology is also combined with the architectural practices and design instead only explaining the historical progress as Conzen did. Moreover, this study also learned from that. Moreover, the adjusted study methods for UOS is also can be used for future suggestions or predict of UOS in high-dense cities. That can help to break through the limitations of geographic explanation study in German-British morphology. (3) Learning from the discussions about the socio-economical reasons and influences about space form of French morphology, which is mainly affected by French social philosophers, such as H. Lefebvre, the study is not only limited to analysis the data or forms of UOS system but also interpreting the potential socio-economical pressure or guidance reasons. Moreover, the discussion and definitions for different types of UOS are also referring to the conceptions of French morphology and relative economic property theories in urban planning. By referring to the three schools' theories and researchers, this study interprets and discussed the UOS in Mong Kok on the basis of mapping pattern and calculating data.

The second part of the methodology is about the accurate design of the study steps and the building of study framework. This study used the mapping method with the aid of software, such as GIS and CAD, to analyze the morphological changes of UOSs in Mong Kok. The earliest morphological study used the Figure-ground method and created the Noll's Roman map. The indoor space of the church was divided into a UOS or public space. However, the definitions of the terms "open" for UOS or "public" for public space have rarely been discussed. In some research, "open" means outdoor or green land, whereas, in other studies, it refers to spaces that are accessible to the public. In some other studies, the term "open" included the availability of common public people or

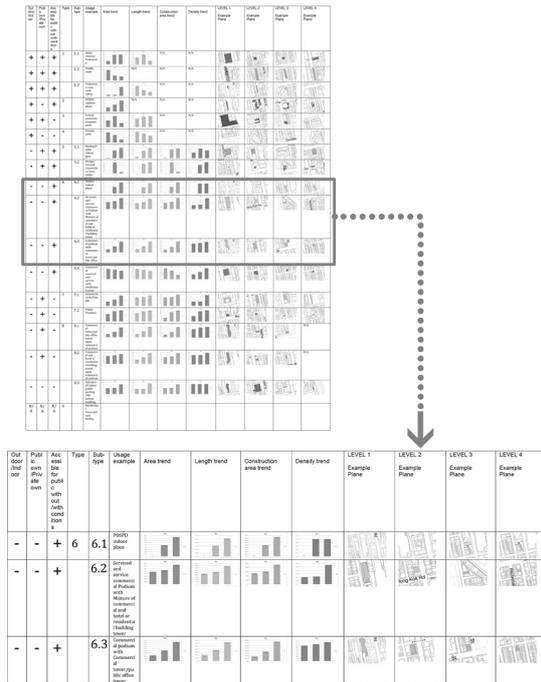


FIGURE 4 All types of UOSs in 4 levels and amplifying samples of T6

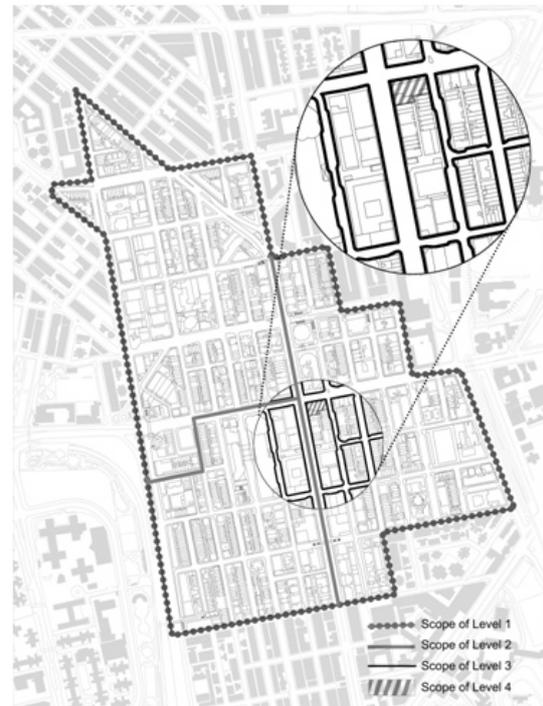


FIGURE 5 Study scope of four levels in MK

people in one certain group. Meanwhile, in some research, “public” means service to the public people; sometimes, it means an area owned by the public or a particular community or club. This issue may not be a severe problem in a low-density city because the attributions are rarely connected. However, in highly dense built environments, multiple connections of the UOS features are quite common. Therefore, three UOS features were employed to divide the eight major types of UOSs (Figure4). The author names them from T1 to T8. The color⁴ of the each types in the table (the above part of Figure 4) is also related to all mapping types of this research. The derived subtypes were also defined by considering the differences regarding the operation, attraction, or management, among others, after evaluating and investigating the UOSs in Hong Kong. The subtypes are names as the sub-number of major types, such as T6.1, T6.2, T6.3 (the low part of Figure 4), and so on. The different of their attributions and considering disciplines are all listed in the tables also. (Figure 4) The examples of all types of planes are presented in Table(Figure 4).The bar diagrams present the calculation of each type in the studied Mong Kok district. Here, No. 9 represents the space that is not included in this research.

To compare the pattern and data of UOSs in different historical periods, the multi-level conception was used in the comparative case study. The multi-level conception is inspired by the layers of open building theory, which has been initially proposed for the flexible and long-lasting sustainable use of residential buildings. By considering space as the complementary side of the construction, the multi-level conception can also be used to study UOSs in this research. Four Levels were used in this study: district, community, block, and plot. The example scopes for different Levels are illustrated in the picture (Figure 5). Each Level is related to the scope of occupants⁵. UOSs in the high Level (such as Level 1) means that space serves numerous occupants and has high public value. The division of different Levels of UOSs not only improves the comparability of the cases being investigated, but they also help us understand the constitution of the UOS system. Different kinds of the same type of UOS in the same Level can have reliable comparability for specific measurements. The author named the combined table for all kinds of UOSs as the L-T framework. Every cell of the table represents a particular type of UOS in one certain Level. In the elaborated classified framework, the density, area, construction area,

and edge length of each kind of UOS can also be calculated in GIS, thus allowing us to compare the changes in form and circumstance.

ANALYSIS AND RESULT

In this research, the ground plan and podium plan in Hong Kong are mapped, because the function and management of the towers are usually different from the podiums below them. (Figure 6) Some podium roofs are connected to each other and are open to the public. These roofs serve the traditional role of a ground floor. Additionally, the underground passage is separate from the ground floor and facilitates the indirect connections in the horizontal direction.

In a highly dense environment, which is composed of concretes that are either updated or inverted, the classified UOSs in different Levels can make the specific case discussion comparable. One UOS may not only work for one Level; sometimes, one kind of UOS can work for several Levels. This kind of situation usually happens at a high Level. In this study, the typical UOS cases in each Level are selected for the comparative

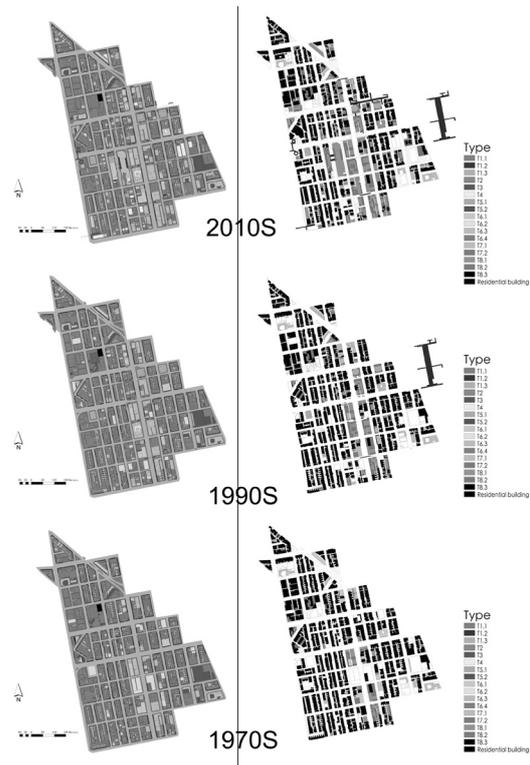


FIGURE 6 Mapping types of UOSs in both ground and podium floors



FIGURE 7 Selected representative cases of different types in 4 levels

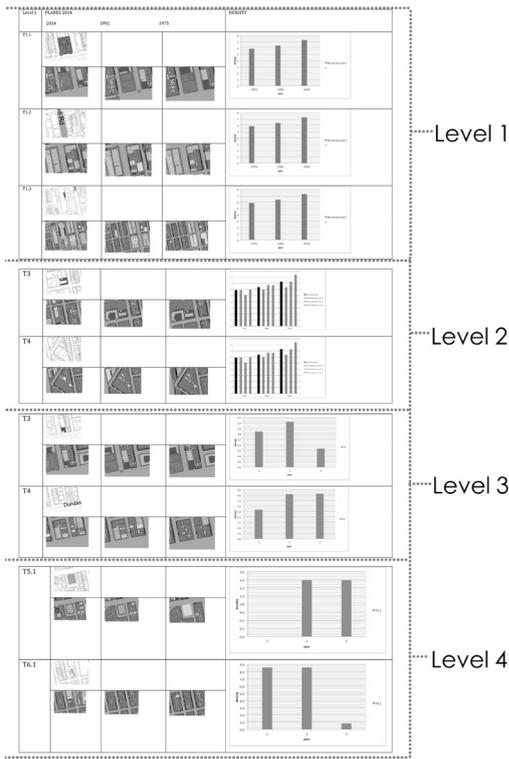


FIGURE 8 Analysis samples of different types analysis in 4 level (Pattern and density changes)

444

analysis (Figure 7), which is operated mainly in two ways: comparing the changes of each selected location since the 1970s, and comparing the varying characteristics of different types in the same Levels.

The comparison of planes and data are organized in the tables. Representative cases of different types in each Level are selected in the 2014 maps (Figure 7). Then, the selected locations

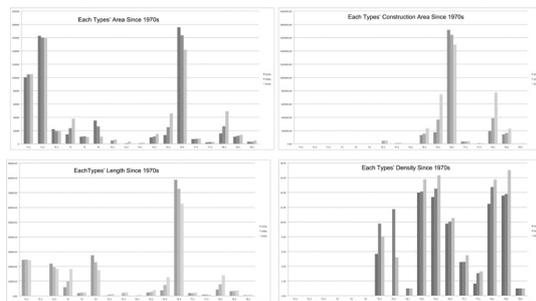


FIGURE 9 Changes of ground area, construction area, length of edges and density of each types of UOSs in level-1 (1975, 1992, 2014)

are analyzed and compared in each table cells individually. The second kind of comparison is conducted to the changes of different types in the same Level (Figure 8). This kind of comparison mostly relies on checking the changing of data, which are translated from the maps. For example, site area, construction area, edge length, and density, among others, are extracted and calculated from the GIS mapping for further analysis. Figure 9 shows an example that four kinds of data presented through bar diagrams, which are used to compare all types of UOSs in Level 1. After the mapping and comparison analyses, the relationship between the changing UOSs and increasing density in Mong Kok is revealed.

Level 1 district

Level 1 means that the UOSs mainly serve occupants⁵ of the whole district. By comparing the changes in the patterns of planes, land use map, and building height maps, the UOSs with high buildings seem to spread following a hierarchical ellipse shape attached to the junction of Argyle Street and Nathan Road. At the same time, the UOSs with high publicness (e.g., T1.1 and T6.1) spread from the ellipse. With rapid commercialization, the UOSs with subordinate publicness (e.g., T6.4 and T5.2) is pressed to the edge of the elliptical shape. Therefore, the UOSs are intensively distributed around the gradually expansile ellipse.

Since the 1970s, the pattern of T1.1 in Level 1 has become more diverse and free. Although the structure of the streets is retained, the boundaries of UOSs in Level 1 show irregularities. The concave-convex boundaries help increase the length of the edge, which is equal to the possible interactive contact of different UOS types. This is also the extension mode of existing spaces used for penetrating their influence. For example, planned district relaxation land is one of the most critical functions of T1.1 UOS in Level 1. Since the 1970s, the internal landscape design and a boundary of the selected case consisted of more polylines rather than straight lines. A more free pattern increases the number of the general public's activities. Other inaccessible public facilities, such as garbage collecting stations and transformer rooms, are removed from the relaxation land. Overall, the whole space is changed to make the area more useful to the

public and to improve the greening rate of the district.

Level 2 community

Level 2 means that the UOSs are mainly offered for the community scope of occupants⁵. In this Level, local people participate in more activities than in the UOSs in Level 1. The UOSs in this Level have the highest publicness Level for the local people. In this study area, three communities are used: E12, E15, and E06. For convenience, the communities are respectively named Part 1, Part 2, and Part 3 (Figure 1). The increasing density trends of the three parts are discrepant. Part 1 is initially an industrial area. After the 1990s, many industrial buildings remained and the density of the area increased. The attractiveness of UOSs in this area for ordinary people is relatively low. The selected representative cases of Level 2 in this part are primarily UOSs with low publicness, such as T3 and T4.

The density of Part 2 has grown slowly after the 1990s because most buildings in this area are residential buildings, some of which have been replaced with new buildings. Most of the buildings are retained, and their low floors are renewed to adapt to new functions. Therefore, this area mostly relies on changing one or two small plots and adjusting the existing space to integrate the whole neighborhood and community into the UOS rather than massively establishing high or large construction projects.

The density of Part 3 is increasing more rapidly than the others. In this area, many representative UOS cases with high publicness can be found. Moreover, the novel buildings with combined plots have become common in this area since the 1970s. This area mainly relies on interventional urban design to enhance its publicness Level. For example, new attractive commercial spaces, such as T6.1 or T6.4, and new public relaxation spaces, such as T1.1 are exclusively integrated into this area. However, they can be further developed to become the most diversified places in this area.

Level 3 block

The UOSs in this Level mainly serve the occupants⁵ in the same block or around it. The relatively high publicness of UOSs in this Level has not declined over the years. Instead, many areas in this Level were transformed

from residential or exclusive land use and from inaccessible public yards to accessible types of UOS. Most of the changed UOSs are formed by following the planning guide for the creation of public relaxation spaces. Moreover, many people consider reducing the T1.1 UOS after noticing the disappearance of some old activities in specific spaces. However, after mapping the whole area, an increase in the total area of this type of UOS can be found. The content and performance of activities and form of space in this Level are changing with the dynamic lifestyles of its inhabitants. The changed activities and places, which are integrated into the auxiliary spaces of Level 1 or 2, make these areas different from the activities and patterns of other Levels. Most of the UOSs in this Level seems to include highly informal spaces, such as the small irregular squares under the round connection of pedestrian bridges. Although the total area has increased, it cannot meet the people's requirements because informal or auxiliary spaces have relatively low quality for supporting activities. The lack of people who will take the certain responsibility for improving the UOSs in this Level is one of the most important reasons for this deficiency. Therefore, the UOSs in these Levels are decreasing, that is, high-level spaces have invaded and occupied these traditional spaces.

However, in highly dense environments, the UOSs in Level 3 inevitably serve as the crevice or gap space between highly dense constructions. If the UOSs with high publicness and openness form are used, which can contain the activities in Level 1, then the activities for Level 3 can be supported. With the increase of density, the UOSs can transform to the UOSs of Level 1. Therefore, the appropriate way to provide abundant UOSs in Level 3 is to improve the quality of auxiliary or subordinate spaces and make them work as the UOSs in Level 3. These spaces are usually created following the new inverted construction principles. The responsibility and management of these places can also help improve their quality.

Level 4 plot

UOSs in Level 4 mainly serve the occupants⁵ in one plot or several people around it. By comparing the different types of UOSs since the 1970s, although the UOSs in this Level serve the smallest scope of occupants, most of the spaces seem more formal than the UOS in Level 3. Since

the 1970s, different types of UOSs in this Level are developed with careful planning.

Most of these UOSs are created from low to high publicness types in the same Level. Although these UOSs support the activities of a small group of people, the owners of the buildings are responsible for the quality of these UOSs. As a result, these UOSs can be developed well for better land economic benefits with sufficient attention from designers as well. These UOSs are usually attached to the new construction projects. Also, the density of these plots shows a decreasing rather than an increasing trend, because many of these plots are operated under the influences of the public, the community, or the government.

CONCLUSION

By comparing these selected representative cases in Mong Kok, it can be found that the requirements for UOSs have become increasingly

prominent increasing density. The requirements influenced the pattern changes of UOS. As a result, not only quantity or total area of UOS are increased, but also much more spaces with interactive attributions, freedom edges of forms and various connections methods appears. With the increasing intensity of land development, if the discussion is undertaken by only considering the traditional public daily activities and new commercial building as opposing characters, such as occupying more land from each other, then public daily life will continue to struggle under the pressures of new property development. It cannot help to increase and transform the UOS to abundant quantity and high quality by taking advantages of an opportunity for increasing density. For solving the conflicts between local public life and economic benefits, it is essential to supervising the actual development of different types of UOS in different Level. In this way, the adjustment and design of UOSs could be mutually beneficial with land properties.

NOTES

1. 2015 District Council Election Constituency Boundaries, Electoral Affairs Commission, The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, http://www.eac.gov.hk/en/distco/2015dc_elect_map.htm.
2. $Density = \frac{Construction\ area}{Site\ area} = \frac{(Building\ area_1 + Building\ area_2 + \dots + Building\ area_n)}{(Block\ area_1 + Block\ area_2 + \dots + Block\ area_m)}$
3. The abbreviation was followed the historical land-use maps of zoning plan in the government office. The Land-use definitions and names are not as same as before because of the specific restrictive disciplines for buildings are also changing. However, the primary meanings of similar abbreviations are continued since the 1970s. The author used different saturability of same colors to mapping the related Land-use area. Moreover, the colors of 2014 map are following the legend of Hong Kong government's "Statutory Planning Portal 2".
4. The mapping colors of different types are not following with the land-use maps. They are decided as different colors in one gradient ramp (from red to blue) for clear observation. And the colour of a subtype is always using the same colour scheme of its major type with different colour saturations.
5. The occupant means the people who are involving or using the UOS system, including the visitors or pedestrians. It is not only limited to the residential people in one area.

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Whose City is It? Public Spaces as Agent of Change in Buenos Aires Marginalized Settlements

Prof. Dr. Flavio Janches

Faculty of Architecture,
Design and Urbanism,
University of Buenos Aires,
Argentina

ABSTRACT

Slum growth is outpacing all other forms of urban development, with nearly one billion people, or one third of the entire urban population, living in informal settlements around the world today (Undesa, 2010). By losing the capacity for integration and social mobility, this reality is consolidated in urban space frontiers that exacerbate social differences and segregation. Today, the condition of urban marginalization is getting worse. The problem now involves not only access to income but also social stigmas that separate those who cannot integrate into the formal system of urbanization and modernization.

But at the same time there are, in these informal settlements, survival strategies that organize their socio-cultural structure of the territory. Many of these strategies, expressed in the daily utilization of its urban places, identify a particular way to consolidate social interaction, symbolical identification, and cultural integration. The question 'Whose City is it?' aims then to understand this communitarian capacity in building socio-cultural capital for an open and flexible urban transformation process.

This article will survey the problem of urban marginalization and it aims to define urban design parameters to contribute to the debate on possibilities of architecture and urbanism to provide design related solutions for social and spatial urban integration.

KEYWORDS

*Public Space, Informal Settlement,
Integration*

PART I

The idea of a city as cultural object confers a particular human dimension to the concept of public space. From a cultural point of view public space is the place where a communitarian life experience is expressed. Therefore public space, as symbolical manifestation, could be conceived not only by its physical condition, but also by its capacity to develop a particular (socio-cultural) way of being part of a city. This socio-cultural dimension of urban spaces can be appreciated, as Jordi Boja points out, “on the intensity and quality of the social relation that facilitates, on its potential to make and strengths groups and on its capacity to encourage symbolic identification, expression, and cultural integration¹. Urban places are then key-differentiating element to define an urban integrative initiative because understanding and designing public spaces as places of communitarian domain are the way that cities could re-conquer and re-qualify historical disarticulated peripheries, linking them to the rest of a city as a whole. Based on this capacity to generate, through places of public domain, social-territorial integration and cohesion, the aim is to present premises that could guide a particular type of transformative urban strategy for upgrading marginalized communities.

Although the *villa de emergencia* (slum) problem roots in deficiencies emerged from social and economic structural conditions, there are nonetheless in these settlements creative strategies for everyday life that constitute, even if in a precarious way, structures of positive social relationships.

A possible transformation process could modify these trends of segregation improving, as a *continuums of ongoing evolutionary synergies*, existing systems of socio-spatial daily dialogues and agreements. Facilitating connections, permeability and exchange, a possible transformative strategy could determine in marginalized neighborhoods, a sustainable processes for socio-physical urban development and integration.

Existing communitarian consensus is then a starting point from where this possible integrative urban strategy could be defined because is by existing social networks, everyday life experiences and cultural signification how this

transformative strategy could influence changes on a marginalized community.

According to this approach the first challenge for a marginalized upgrading strategy is to recognized by a mapping process these opportunities existing not only for physical improvements but also for socio-cultural, economical and institutional empowerment. In this way topologies and typologies of future transformative initiatives could be linked to these physical and social pre-existences values. The identification of these transformative opportunities, existing on ordinary and extraordinary habits and routines, enables to determine a strategically upgrading process on social integration, communitarian agreements, institutional associations and territorial rebalances.

These values could be established through multiple meetings, exercises, and interviews with different social groups and references in the neighborhood, aimed at defining the personal desires and aspirations as well as the need of general programs and specific spaces that would mark the future transformation strategy. This recognition of socio-physical urban preexistences could help the inhabitants to accept future changes as if they were already part of it.

In this sense, official external-internal invasion reverses into an agreement process in which both context interact and integrate. By recognizing an internal dynamics, and based on social pre-existences, the resulting map would enables to re-establish the exchange and its inside-outside connection systems.

In this way four starting premises determined an informal settlement upgrading strategic framework:

1. understanding of the existing socio-spatial experiences, because opportunities for integration are on these neighborhoods quotidian life and cultural significations.
2. developing new or existing public places network, because its opportunities for communitarian interactions are on the coexistences of spaces for shared uses.
3. recognition of the unstable condition of this upgrading process, because it is on the adaptable capacity of the project the way to consolidate in time its transformative

initiatives.

4. participation as inclusive process, because is only on a negotiated agreements, the way to consolidate not only the design and construction of places, but also its sustainable along the transformation process.

The premises ruling a slum upgrading process would result then from data that could be recognized on interviews and exercises with community members and municipal technicians. In this *way* future transformation would take the existing places for social relationship in a *villa* as starting points defining, in accordance with them, a new integrative urban layout.

The models that could be used in this information-exchange process enable the construction of an urban cartography in which specific aspects of the neighborhood could be use in future transformative initiatives.

A possible de-codification of this inner socio-territorial logic could classify, by a non-arbitrary analysis processes, places according to its physical and programmatic opportunities for transformation. Aspects concerning to activities and places could organize then, according to diverse valuation parameters -physical location and possible combinations- potential integrative capacities.

Existing vacant spaces and social, cultural, commercial, religious or any other existent socio-cultural structures are then capable to generate focal point of new centrality that would define location of future public places and their activities distribution. On multi-actor and multi-scale complementary activities, new networks of territorial appropriation could improve opportunities for socio-cultural cohesion by the concentration of economic, cultural, sports and recreational activities. The neighborhood would then allow to reorganize existing unbalance distribution of local services, through multilayers structures of public centralities that, as quotidian use places, will have the potential for integration and socio-physical arrangements with others².

Based on the potential of existing public opportunities for socio-cultural exchange, this new interconnected and integrated network would empower community connection, identification and sense of belonging producing an impact,

not only in the specific projected area but also in their influence areas, thorough the overlapping of different evolutive transformation processes.

In this way a possible project for upgrading informal communities could combine paradigms of intervention stemming from a holistic conception of the urban are as part of the whole and based on the articulation of social, economic, and cultural potentialities existing in the neighborhood.

This approach is what makes possible, for urbanism and design disciplines, to shape and consolidate integrative urban networks of social, economic, and cultural activities. These understandings of opportunities for transformations existing in marginalized areas introduce a new approach to urban disciplines based on a symbolic understanding of public centralities capacities to generate connections between inhabitants and urban environment. Restarting dynamics of integration, each community could be then being transformed from a slum -*villa*- into a neighborhood -*barrio*- establishing on a new urban dialogue between different, its own way of being part of the city.

This type of intervention is based on two developing processes. On one hand, the project aims to intervene on specific and pre-existing conditions, that is, to produce a transformation on concrete elements, consolidating the already existing social structures, in order to recognized a future evolutive development mostly on spontaneous and self-managed initiatives. On the other hand, the project aims to encourage the communication and integration networks among different communities, as a way of integrating and stabilizing marginalized areas with the rest of the formal city.

The general aims is established on:

1. Place-specificity. Although the social situations and conflicts in the area to be intervened are generalizable at an urban or even a global level, proposals are to be specific for the work-place, as achieving the expected process of a participative and self-managed recovery requires for the proposed projects to spring from a concrete diagnosis in which the social and idiosyncratic features of the neighborhood in question are

identified.

2. Value of the everyday events. Strategies with an influence at a neighborhood level as well as those affecting the immediate context are generated from the specific study of the everyday and domestic scale. It is in this dimension that it is possible to reinforce or modify the ordinary and extraordinary events recognized in the imaginary of both the neighborhood population and the external context, which will provide the transformation process with vitality.
3. The public space as a catalyst for transformations. Public space has the potential to resolve the infrastructural and environmental conflicts as well as the social and cultural needs in the *villa*. That's why the work on public space can produce alternative advantages that modify the levels of association and relationship with the neighborhood by the *villa* inhabitants.
4. Time as a project tool. Conceived on the basis of its posterior evolutive development, the urban transformation development considers time and socio-cultural modifications as relevant factors in the definition of the project, which has to be flexible enough to hold them. The project is then based on a flexible and bottom-up approach that will allow it to expand and convert in the years to come depending on how the *villa* grows.
5. Strategies as a project tool. The application of strategies enables us to project transformations as tendencies and flows, and not as predictable results. Instead of projects proposing concrete and final formal solutions, the concept of strategy makes possible for us to design an intervention with initial guidelines defined from specific or possible circumstances about the place and the people, but whose proposals will later suffer modifications set by the use, transforming, adapting, reinforcing, or even ignoring elements in the project.

According to different potentialities for change, the upgrading method allows to understand not only a possible integrated transformation strategy but also design opportunities for different tactical implementations. On an open design proposal, a future strategy for upgrading informal settlements could also allow possible modification according to unpredictable socio-territorial, or political or economical conditions along the process.

Thus, the design of the preliminary diagnosis could also define urban designs according to inhabitants own adaptations of what is projected, as much in the intervened space as in the surrounding areas in order to produce by future modifications, expansions and adaptations a non-predefined evolution. A preliminary diagnosis helps to determine this possible process of non-predetermined transformative opportunities by the evolution of inner structures of socio-cultural, economic-productive and institutional-governance organizations. In this way an upgrading strategy also acts as tactical process because not only define transformative urban structures but also anticipate, on people unpredictable reactions, unknown future socio and environmental conflicts.

PART II

This slum upgrading strategy is defined according to two main urban systems that organized a territorial occupation: the system of public sphere and the system of movement's dynamics. The combination of both systems allows to achieve, on future-define (socio-cultural) programs and (physical) projects, inclusive urban process. Through the improvement of public sphere, the strategy aimed to empower socio-cultural communitarian character by organizing, on multiple places for meeting and exchange, an equilibrated distribution of activities and urban services. Optimizing mobility and transportation system, the strategy also aimed to integrated all these design social exchanges on a new multilayer network that allowed not only to improve connectivity but also to avoid, on new connections inner/external the city fragmentary condition.

Consolidating access to each one of these public spheres and also their connections between similar or complementary activities, a possible urban upgrading strategy will motivate the transformation not only by specific public places but also by the in-between areas defined as 'going to' or 'coming from' main spaces.

The result would be then an interdependent network of centers and circulations that could organizes and materializes (with alternative hierarchies and scales) ways of social articulation. Through an equitable distribution and access to all these communitarian urban services would

be a possible way to empower urban life of the neighborhood. Improving public spheres, mobility and accessibility a slum upgrading strategy could contribute to avoid existence of (inner and external) urban barriers and to promote permanent integrated and sustainable *unslumming* -following Jane Jacobs concept-urban transformation process in places lacking of any.

The integral transformation strategy is organized on three main components, a complemented, multi-scale centrality network, a multimodal mobility-accessibility system, and a poli-functional axes for programming agreement.

The result is then a multidimensional public place network that articulates, in a new territorial distribution of socio-communal activities, an integrative connection system between neighborhoods and city. This new poli-central system is the way to promote the integration of the area through an equilibrated accessibility to socio-cultural, institutional, communitarian, economical and productive integration and development activities, both considered on communitarian or governmental perspectives.

Following the distribution of places strategy, the network defined several spaces that have the potentialities to create centralities of different hierarchies. These centers as urban attractors will be the programs that will identify each place of the slum. The interrelation between each other and the differences built in their own logic is what will define the sense of belonging of each community.

This possible project aspires to be an answer to the preliminary questions that guided it, concerning the urban project's capacity to have an influence on the reconversion of marginalized areas. The concept of the project as resultant from an action-reaction dynamics enabled us to understand the crucial role of the pre-existing urban and social configurations in the design process for the intervention, since this latter is seen as a strategy that only becomes sense in the light of the later evolution of the settlement, which the pre-existences research tried to anticipate.

As a conclusion, we think this project has proved, firstly, urban mapping and social mapping methodologies, including the survey and the

interviews carried out, shown us the relation between the settlement pre-existences and the project to be designed. The information obtained from those mappings was embodied in the intervention scheme for it to limit itself to potentiate and enrich pre-existing and established uses. Secondly, the *kind* of information considered as relevant was mostly that concerning sociocultural events which are part of the community life in the settlement. The dynamics and vital energy in those events provide them with a driving force of their own, a source for a constant evolution and development, which our project tried to bear in mind as a potentiality. For this reason, the design of spaces and situations reinforcing those elements has been applied. Likewise, an intervention focused on events and places with symbolic power facilitates the strengthening of identitary processes that generate a belonging relation between inhabitants and their environment, which is a central axis for the individual's social and civic integration. Thirdly, the progress from a "micro", almost home scale to a broader one, comprehending the circulation axes in the settlement as well as those that articulate it with the outside permitted us to conceive our project as an "urbanity germ" which, in its development, can take up a bigger scale. The reconversion of our area, precisely on account of its design being linked with the social dynamics in the settlement, suggests the possibility for the new form of "urbanity" to expand to neighboring areas. Fourthly, the object of our intervention clearly has been the public space. When considering the information provided by the interviews as well as when focusing on socio-communitarian events, public space appeared as the viable instance of community bonds articulation (both theoretically and physically), and as the node from which an *urban living* in the settlement can be established. Our project did not approach the issue of "housing", as strictly understood as an adequate infrastructure for the private habitat (a characteristic approach for a whole tradition in social housing), but it tried to focus the reconversion of the urban starting from what's inherent to it: community spaces. Finally, and we'll insist on this at the end of these conclusions, flexibility and strategy, more than the concept of a finished project, have proved to be the biggest strength in our work. Mappings and project research were not at all used to produce an ideal model of intervention; on the contrary, the aim was to generate urban situations from which

to encourage a reactive development for a bigger integration and progress in the settlement, being this possible progress the essence of the project. The original plan, then, could not be but flexible in order to adapt to the requirements imposed on it by such evolution. In short, we consider our research will have been successful if it has managed to redefine urbanity values in spaces lacking it, through their physical and program reformulation. We have tried to generate the possibility for the public space to be appropriated by different social groups, so as to encourage, by using the new spaces attractiveness and diversity, an accelerated process of socio-territorial

reactivation.

This approach of urban intervention offers an alternative way for architecture to participate in the city, as not only its proposals can physically and materially define the singularity expressed in the research, but they can also define its capacity for socio-spatial articulation, adaptation, transformation, and promotion of the place as a socio-cultural experience. Thus, the understanding of the *villa's* systematic growth and the identification of the values in its pre-existences aspire to consolidate and strengthen the settlement identity as a fragment in the city.

NOTES

1. See Borja, Jordi, and Muxi, Zaida, *El espacio público: ciudad y ciudadanía*, aforescited.
2. Crawford, Margaret, John Chase, John Kaliski. *Everyday Urbanism*, the Monacelli Press, New York, 1999

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Mega Sports Events and Public Spaces: the Case of Doha and the 2022 World Cup

Simona Azzali

Department of Architecture,
School of Design and
Environment,
National University of Singapore,
Singapore

ABSTRACT

With the aim of diversifying its economy and developing itself as a tourist destination, in recent years, Qatar has hosted many international sports events and will host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Doha, its capital city, is literally under construction, and is facing important changes in terms of transportation, infrastructure, and sports facilities. However, past experiences show that outcomes from staging major events are mostly harmful, and their legacies planned to last only for a short time. This trend is even stronger when considering how sports facilities and their surroundings are utilized after the event is over. Usually, sports venues are under-used and very costly to maintain, while their neighbourhoods are underutilized and abandoned pieces of cities. What will be left after the 2022 World Cup? How to leverage this event as a momentum of experimentation and sustainable growth of its capital city, Doha? Within this context, the aim of this research is to identify strategies to plan and maximize the post-event use of event sites and venues, and make their neighbourhoods more liveable and sustainable. The research has a specific focus on the city of Doha, which hosted the 2006 Asian Games and will host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. The study investigates firstly its public spaces, and then analyses the government's legacy plans for the 2022 World Cup. The research aims at deriving some of the most recurrent mistakes and malpractices by hosting cities, by defining a 'lowest common denominator' of key factors to consider when planning mega sports events and their legacies.

KEYWORDS

*Open Public Spaces, Mega Sports
Events, Sustainable Legacies, Doha,
Liveability*

INTRODUCTION

According to hosting cities, mega-events are attractive tools for the urban development for several reasons: they can confirm or create regional or global status of a city; they can be an opportunity for the construction of new buildings, areas, and parks; they can attract visitors and tourists; and they can legitimate a rapid program of infrastructure development. The 60s are a dividing line in the management of the mega sport events: from this moment, they started to be seen as tools for the regeneration and urban transformation of hosting cities. Rome first (1960) and Tokyo then (1964) exploited the occasion of the Olympics for the realization of massive schemes of urban redevelopment, including transportation, road networks, and other major infrastructure (Essex & Chalkey, 1999; Smith, 2012). The 1992 host of Summer Olympics in Barcelona is another milestone in the history of the sport mega-events. As many researchers underlined (e.g., Pitts and Liao, 2009; Smith, 2012), this edition of the Games was the occasion for revitalizing declining parts of the city and regenerating entire brownfield areas. However, the real effectiveness of such a program to rebuild a city requires a strong plan and legacy strategy. If Barcelona succeeded, other past experiences show that outcomes from staging major events are mostly harmful, and their legacies planned to last only a short time. These negative outcomes are even exacerbated when considering how sports facilities and event sites are utilized once the event is over: sports venues are usually under-used and very costly to maintain, while their neighbourhoods are underutilized and abandoned pieces of cities (Azzali, 2017).

The Persian Gulf countries not an exception in the desire of staging mega-events, being an area characterized by a massive *sportification* (Amara, 2005), expressed through the birth of several sports TV channels (e.g., Al Jazeera Sports and Dubai Sports), the increasing migration flows of international athletes and trainers toward the region, and the significant rise in the number of international sport events held (e.g., Doha Moto GP and Bahrain International Formula One Grand Prix). In the case of Doha, the phenomenon of sportification is translated into the desire of transforming the city into a sporting hub. Sport has also a key role in the 2030 Qatar National Vision, in which sports

tourism is indicated as an example of economy diversification from the oil-based model (QSDP, 2009). Finally, during the last ten years, Doha has made bids for and staged many mega-events. The process of transforming itself into an international sporting hub started with the Asian Games in 2006 and will culminate with the host of the 2022 World Cup. Since the stage of the Asian Games, the city has faced critical urban transformations (Azzali, 2016). But what will be left after the 2022 World Cup? How to leverage this event as a momentum of experimentation and sustainable growth of its capital city, Doha? Within this context, the study investigates Doha's public spaces and planning practice, and finally analyses the government's legacy plans for the 2022 World Cup. The research aims at deriving the most recurrent mistakes and malpractices by hosting cities, by defining a 'lowest common denominator' of key factors to consider when planning mega sports events and their legacies.

THE CITY OF DOHA: PUBLIC SPACES, PLANNING PRACTICE, AND THE ROLE OF SPORT IN ITS STRATEGIC VISION

Doha is the capital city of Qatar, a small and narrow country facing the Persian Gulf, between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Doha was a sleepy and tiny urban settlement with an economy based on fishing and pearling until the 1970s, when the discovery of the oil first, and the gas then, triggered an unprecedented rapid urbanization process. Since the 1970s, Doha has transformed itself from a small vernacular village to an emerging international urban centre with a population of two million residents (QSA, 2015). With more than a hundred different nationalities inhabiting its territory, it is a multi-ethnic centre, home to a large community of expatriates. Indeed, foreigners account for about 85% of its population, with the number of Qataris nationals being about 300,000 (QSA, 2015). After a first urbanization process linked to the increasing oil production, Doha is now facing a second fast urban growth led by a new development strategy, which have been implemented to diversify its economy. Tourism has been identified as a fundamental pillar to diversify the local economy as well as brand the city to attract new international investments. Indeed, the government is focusing on transforming Doha in a cultural, as well as a sports centre, by hosting many international events like the upcoming

2022 World Cup (QSDP, 2009; Qatar Tourism Authority, 2014). Although the government's effort to transform Doha into a more sustainable and liveable place, some major issues related to planning capability, scarce public transportation, and the lack of public spaces accompanies the rapid growth of the city.

DOHA'S PUBLIC SPACES ARE FEW AND SCATTERED AROUND THE EDGES OF THE CITY

Liveable, available and accessible open spaces contribute to the overall quality of the urban environment. However, decision makers seem to forget their importance when examining and debating choices related to land use and the enhancement of the public realm, especially in the absence of urban design strategies and guidelines (Salama & Azzali, 2015). The relevance of open public spaces is related to their characteristic of satisfying many human needs and providing moments of interaction among citizens (Carmona, 2010). In public spaces, people can meet and interact, having the occasion for social and spontaneous form of learning and confrontation, especially among citizens who share diverse culture and habits (Elsheshtawy, 2011). Many scholars focused on the social impact of public spaces. Gehl (1987), for example, describes open spaces as places where people can perform both optional and necessary activities, as going to school or work, or simply reading, walking, sitting or relaxing. All these activities are made possible by the quality and the features offered by these places (Salama & Azzali, 2015). Creating high quality open spaces is essential for the wellbeing of people, and sports-themed areas can play an important role in it. For example they can be used for physical activities, offering beneficial opportunities for improving fitness and health, especially when considering the average low active lifestyle in cities, and the rising number of people with heart disease and obesity. To be successful, local governments should avoid the creation of underutilized, artificial areas, by creating urban sport facilities designed to welcome many types of users, and which are flexible and easily accessible to ordinary people. Brown et al. (2000) suggest integrating them with residential and retail activities and facilities, while Smith (2010) proposes mixed-use districts with sport at their centre, and strongly advises to implement areas which are not simply a stadium with a few other iconic facilities around it, but

districts with multi-functional activities in the form of shops, business and residential units. All this can drive to the implementation of areas fully integrated with the city, leading to the creation of social development.

In Doha, the only few open public spaces (POS) available are scattered around the peripheries, one far from the other, and their number is not enough to cover the need of the population. Major POS within Doha include the Corniche and the Museum of Islamic Art (MIA) Park, Al Bidda Park, the Pearl, Katara, the Aspire Zone and park, Al Sadd, Souq Waqif, Msherieb. New additions include the recently opened Sheraton park near Corniche, and, outside Doha, Al Khor Park and Al Wakrah Souq. Oxgen Park in Education City is under construction (Figures 1 and 2).

Hence, the realization of new open public spaces, and among them the implementation of sports areas, is essential for the good development of Doha's urban form and the quality of life of its citizens. This growing demand within Qatar for more facilities for the sports and events industry is even more significant considering the high rate of obesity and diabetes among youth in the Arabian Peninsula (Amara, 2005), and it is underlined by the Qatar National Vision 2030, which stresses the importance of good health habits, drawing actions to encourage local residents to lead a more active lifestyle (QSDP, 2009). Doha has to address this lack, but the new spaces need to be physically integrated with the city, avoiding form of isolation, segregation and over regulation. Finally, open spaces should lead to societal development,

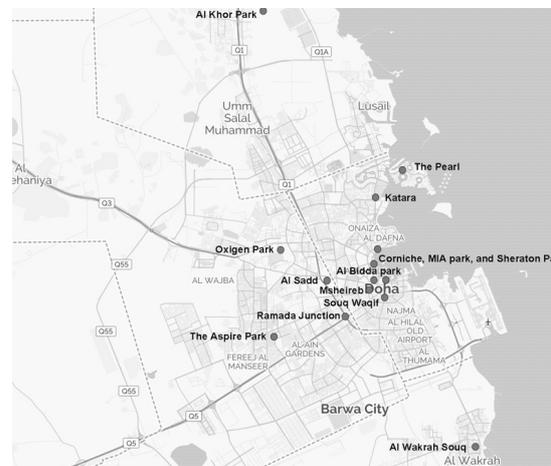


Figure 1 The major POS in Doha

Space (Name and Place)	Spatial Typology Describing the spatial environment – Architecture/Urban					Accessibility Context around the space/parking		People People Typologies visiting the space					Activities Nature and Type of Activities								
	Traditional Styled Architecture	No Cohesive Architecture	Pedestrian Paths	Green Spaces	Enclave Development	Landmarks (Statues, Fountains,)	Dense Urban Node	Limited Parking Availability	Ease of Identification	High – Med. Income	Low – Med. Income	Families	Singles/Adults	Majority of Qataris	Majority of Expats	Residential	Commercial (Shops)	Leisure and Entertainment (Cafés, Restaurants, Art,)	Family/Children Play Area	Sport Activities	Walking and Relaxing
Katara Cultural Village	•	•	•				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•		•	
The Pearl			•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•
Sheraton Park			•	•					•	•	•			•			•	•	•	•	•
Corniche			•		•		•		•	•	•			•			•		•	•	•
MIA Park			•	•	•				•	•		•					•		•	•	•
Al Bidda Park	•			•	•					•	•			•			•	•	•	•	•
Souq Waqif Area	•		•	•			•	•	•				•	•			•	•			•
Aspire/Vilaggio			•	•					•			•		•	•				•	•	•
Msheireb	•						•	•			•						•	•			
Al Sadd		•					•					•		•			•	•			
Al Wakra Souq		•					•	•				•		•			•	•			
Al Khor Park			•	•					•		•	•	•	•					•	•	•

Figure 2 Summary of the characteristics of Doha’s main open spaces

for example being the occasion of encounter and exchange, but also encouraging sport for all and enhancing the overall wellbeing of its inhabitants (Amara, 2005). The leverage of major sports events, as the upcoming 2022 World Cup, if well leveraged, could contribute to partially solve the lack of public spaces and contribute to improve the overall wellbeing of Doha’s residents.

THE 2022 WORLD CUP: PROMISES AND PLANNED INFRASTRUCTURE

The bid process and first controversies

The bidding process for the 2018 and 2022 editions officially started in March 2009. Thirteen countries grouped in eleven bids participated. Two of them applied just for the 2022 edition, one was withdrawn and another one rejected, while the last seven nations applied for both the 2018 and 2022 World Cups. Over the course of the evaluation for the 2018 tournament, all the non-European applications were withdrawn, with the result of excluding the European bids for the 2022 tournament, leaving the USA, South Korea, Japan, Australia, and Qatar to bid for the hosting.

A multiple round exhaustive ballot system was chosen to select the 2018 and 2022 hosting countries.

On December 2 2010, Russia and Qatar were awarded the 2018 and 2022 World Cups. However, the bidding process for these World Cups involved several controversies. Two members of the FIFA Executive Committee had their voting rights suspended following allegations that they would accept money in exchange for votes. More allegations of vote buying arose after Qatar’s win was announced (FIFA, 2010).

Qatar is the first Arab country to be awarded a FIFA World Cup. Former president Sepp Blatter endorsed the idea of having a World Cup in the MENA region, and, in April 2010, said “The Arabic world deserves a World Cup. They have 22 countries and have not had any opportunity to organize the tournament”. He also added “When I was first in Qatar there were 400,000 people here and now there are 1.6 million. In terms of infrastructure, when you are able to organize the Asian Games [in 2006] with more than 30 events for men and women, then that is not in question” (Qatar Gulf News, 2010). Nonetheless,

just after the appointment, allegations of bribery and human rights issues, as long as some concerns about Qatar's harsh weather arose. Accusations of corruption have been made relating to how Qatar won the right to host the event. The chief investigator Michael Garcia spent months carrying out the inquiry into allegations of corruption surrounding the decision to allow Qatar and Russia to host the 2018 and 2022 World Cups. In the end of 2014, FIFA declared that the investigation was concluded and published a summary report of Garcia's investigations that cleared Qatar. Following the publication, Mr. Garcia resigned in protest of FIFA's conduct, defining the published report as incomplete and erroneous (The Telegraph, 2014). Controversies about how Russia and Qatar were awarded the 2018 and 2022 World Cups continued, and, one year later, in an interview with a Swiss publication, the *Sonntagszeitung* weekly, FIFA compliance chief Domenico Scala said "should evidence be present that the awarding to Qatar and Russia only came about with bought votes, then the awarding could be void", alluding that both Russia and Qatar could lose the right to host the 2018 and 2022 World Cup events if evidence is presented that bribes bought the votes to award their bids (CNN, 2015). Regarding the weather conditions, the tournament is usually held during the summer, in June and July, when the average temperature in Qatar exceeds 40 °C. The first response by Qatar was to build controlled temperature stadiums, and to use cooling technology to address the problem. However, in 2015 it was announced that the World Cup will be played in a reduced timeframe of around twenty-eight days and be held in late November and December, with the final match being held on December 18th 2022, which is Qatar National Day.

The evaluation of the bid book and the role of the Supreme Committee for delivery & legacy

An analysis of the bid book allows understanding the country's legacy strategy. First of all, the bid's concept tries to be in line with 2030 Qatar National Vision, the national comprehensive blueprint. For example, the bid book focused strongly on the development of new transport and infrastructure. Indeed, at the time of writing, four metro lines are under construction and planned to be partially ready for 2019. Additional infrastructure included and promised in the bid

book were the new airport, Hamad International Airport, opened in mid-2014, a new port, opened in early 2017, and an overall improvement of roads condition. The bid book also promised that social and human development initiatives would be carried out, aiming to enhance the human condition through local and global football-based initiatives. The bid book committed to develop initiatives related to the development of football facilities and opportunities for women. Regarding costs and expenditures, a stadium construction and renovation budget of approximately USD 3 billion has been projected (FIFA, 2010). In April 2011, the Qatar 2022 Supreme Committee (SC) was founded to manage and delivery the event. The Committee turned its name to Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy in January 2014, to stress the commitment of the country to legacy and sustainability, and to separate the roles of delivery and legacy from the tournament operations and hosting experience. The Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy is tasked with delivering proposed tournament venues and projects for the 2022 competition, while ensuring that its preparations align with Qatar's other development imperatives, as described in the Qatar National Vision 2030 and the National Development Strategy 2011-2016. On the contrary, the Local Organizing Committee (LOC) is the event organizer, and will take over responsibility for event planning, promotion and marketing, as well as operations and all related tournament duties (SC, 2016a).

The stadiums and precincts planned for the 2022 World Cup

Differently from what affirmed in the bid book, where 12 stadiums were proposed, Qatar is currently building only eight stadiums (Figure 3 and Table 1), which is the minimum number required by FIFA to host a tournament of 32 teams. Five stadiums (Qatar Foundation, Al Khor, Al Ryyan, Al Wakrah, and Khalifa International Stadium) are currently under construction and all are scheduled to be completed by 2020. Another three stadiums (Ras Abu Abboud, Lusail, and Al Thumama) are still in the preliminary stages at the time of writing. According to the Supreme Committee of Delivery and Legacy – SC (2016b), all the stadiums and their precincts will be environmentally friendly, targeting LEED and GSAS 4 Star certifications. In addition, the majority of them will be served by the new public

transport system that is under construction. According to the bid book, after the end of the World Cup, the upper tiers of at least six stadiums will be dismantled and donated to developing nations, in order to provide them with the means to build new venues. Also, according to SC, the stadiums will be provided with cooling technologies that will ensure to be utilized all year-round, regardless of outside temperature and weather conditions.

MALPRACTICES AND KEY-ISSUES IN THE 2022 WORLD CUP

The previous sections showed how difficult is the creation of sustainable legacies from the stage of mega sports events. Indeed, the achievement of a positive sustainable legacy requires cooperation and resource sharing from a variety of event stakeholders (Leopekey, 2013). As a result of a series of site visits around Doha's stadiums precincts, interviews with experts in the field, and the investigation of the process of sportification of Doha, several implications arose. The following is a list of some critical factors that emerged.

Temporary vs. permanent

A first element to consider when planning a major sport event site is the right balance between ephemeral and permanent components. In particular, temporary infrastructure is a solution that is not enough taken into account in event planning. Jürgen Müller, the head of planning and infrastructure at the 2022 World Cup and at FIFA, during the three-day World Stadium Congress, held in Doha in May 2016, stated that sports venues should take into account local needs, and that some requirements could be met and declared through temporary solutions. Indeed, he said, "Don't build stadiums that (will) not (be) filled by your leagues or your teams. FIFA would like to avoid, by all means, white elephants" (Doha News, 2016a). However, Qatar has a small population (about 2,500,000 people, the majority of them living in Doha), and has already enough stadiums for its major league, the Qatar Stars league. Also, all the eight stadiums that are under construction for the 2022 World Cup are meant to be permanent, although for five of them (with the exclusion of Lusail, Ras Abu Abboud, and Khalifa International stadium), plans, in the legacy mode, include the removal of the upper tier seats. All the stadiums are designed as modular structure and

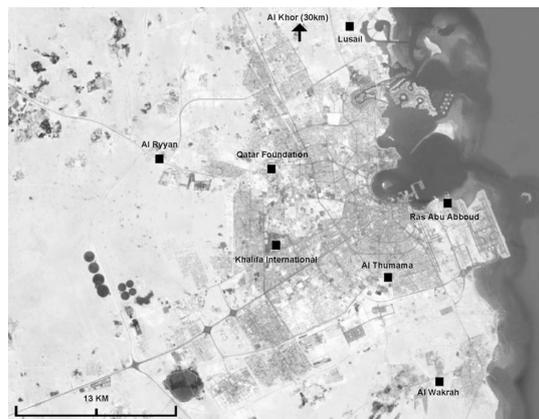


Figure 3 The location of the eight planned stadiums in Doha

should be downscaled to half of capacity after the tournament. In the bid book, it was also promised that those tiers and modular sections would be used to construct stadiums in developing countries. It is also said that venues' precincts will be dedicated to sport and leisure, with hotels, shops, restaurants, and other activities that will be placed both inside and outside the stadiums. According to SC (2016b), the precincts will host schools, parks, and other mixed-used facilities according to local needs. Stadiums should also house Qatar residents in the event of a national emergency to serve as temporary accommodation, as earthquakes or other natural disasters (Doha News, 2016b). These initiatives are meant to improve the number and the quality of open spaces and public services in Doha. However, the plans are vague and not yet finalized in the majority of the cases. There is no clue on how much the downscale of the stadiums will cost, and how long it will take to complete the process. There are also no precise indications on the use of the dismantled upper tiers and which countries should receive them. Especially for venues as the Lusail Stadium, which will have a capacity of 80,000 seats, detailed plans on the legacy mode are vital, as the country does not need such a huge infrastructure, and the risk that it becomes a white elephant is very high. In addition to sport infrastructure, Qatar needs also to upgrade its touristic and hotel infrastructure. With a current number of 20,000 serviced apartments and hotel rooms available, Qatar needs to meet the FIFA requirement of 60,000 rooms before 2022. To overcome the absence of hotel rooms, the country is implementing wise initiatives as allowing residents to temporarily rent out their rooms through services such as Airbnb, utilizing

Table 1 Details of the eight stadiums under construction

Stadium	Location (Central/peripheral)	Existing/ New	Capacity	Main vocation	Consultants and contractors	Legacy plan /Post-event use Additional infrastructure
Lusail City Stadium	Lusail City, in the North of Doha Peripheral to Doha, but the stadium is central in Lusail Access: car, Red line, LRT	New Ready by 2020	80,000 seats Opening and closing ceremonies Final match	High-income mixed use neighborhood (luxury)	Design (not finalized): Foster and Partners Contractor: Qatari company HBK and China Railway Contr. PM: TIME Qatar	After completion, Lusail City is planned to host 200,000 residents. The area will include parks, malls, villas, two marinas, office and commercial spaces. Legacy plan for the stadium not yet known.
Al Bayt Stadium	Al Khor City, 30 km North of Doha Located peripherally to Al Khor, about 500 m south of the city Access only by car, no metro	New Ready by the end of 2019	60,000 seats; 38,000 seats in legacy mode The stadium is modular, upper tier with removable seats (donation)	Housing for Middle and Low-income expats. Legacy: the stadium's precinct as a center of community life	Delivered by Aspire Zone Design: Dar Al-Handasah PM: Projaqs Construction, operation and maintenance: Italian Salini Impregilo Group PM: AECOM	Upper tier: a hotel and a new branch of Aspetar, the Qatari sports medicine hospital. Stadium's lower level and basement: exhibition halls, restaurants, and other recreational areas.
Al Rayyan Stadium	Near Dukhan Highway and the Mall of Qatar In the West of Doha, in Al Rayyan area, peripheral to Doha. Access granted by car and the Green Metro line	Rebuilt on the site of Ahmed Bin Ali Stadium, recently deconstructed. Ready by the end of 2019	40,000; 21,000 seats in legacy mode Modular stadium, upper tier with removable seats to be donated	Commercial and leisure	Design: Ramboll Construction contract: joint venture of Qatar-based Al Balagh Trading & Contracting and India's largest construction firm, Larsen & Toubro Ltd PM: ASTAD	After the WC, the stadium will be home of home of Al Rayyan Sports Club The precinct will include cycling and running tracks, branch of sports medicine hospital Aspetar: mosque, aquatics center, other outdoor fitness equipment
Qatar Foundation Stadium	Education City (university hub), west side of Doha Peripheral to Doha, but the stadium is central in Education City Access granted by car and the Green Metro line	New Ready by the end of 2019.	40,000; 25,000 seats in legacy mode The stadium is modular, upper tier with removable seats to be donated to other nations	Education and Research	Design consultant: FIA Fenwick Iribarren Architects Construction: a joint venture of four companies led by Cyprus-based contractor Joannou & Paraskevaides	Facilities will include an aquatic and fitness center, tennis courts, two additional football pitches, a health clinic, retail outlets, and spaces for educational and development programs. The Stadium will be a sports, leisure and social hub for both the QF community and its neighborhood
Al Wakrah	Wakrah City, 15 km South of Doha. Stadium peripheral to Al Wakrah (west of the city). Access granted by car and the Red Metro line, the stop is 7.5 km far from the stadium	New Ready by the end of 2018	40,000; 20,000 seats in legacy mode Stadium is modular, upper tier of removable seats	Housing for Middle and Low-income expats	Design consultant: AECOM with Zaha Hadid Architects PM: KEO International Consultants Contractor: MIDMAC with PORR QATAR	The stadium: home of home of Al Wakrah Sports Club. Additional facilities include: mosque, park, shops, schools, wedding hall, hotel, vocational training center, and office space. The area will serve to strengthen the bonds of community in Al Wakrah
Khailifa International Stadium	The Aspire Zone/Villaggio, in the west of Doha (Peripheral) Access granted by car and the Gold Metro line	Already existing (upgraded) Built in 1976, upgraded for 2006 Asian Games, upgrade for the WC Ready by 2017	40,000 seats	Doha's sports city. In 2019, it will host the 2019 IAAF World Athletics Championships. Qatar is bidding to host to 2028 Summer Olympics	Delivered by Aspire Zone F. Design: Dar Al-Handasah PM: Projaqs Construction supervision: Dar Al-Handasah Contractor: Qatari Midmac with Six Construct Qatar (subsidiary of Belgian Besix)	Already existing infrastructure: aquatics center, multi sports arena, four training pitches, and many other sports venues, Aspetar hospital, anti doping center, two malls, two five-star hotels, a park.
Ras Abu Abboud	East of Doha's center (visible from West Bay), near Hamad Airport. Access: car; Gold Metro line	New	40,000 seats (unknown in legacy mode)	Redeveloped into a new urban area. Area with tourist vocation	Design Consultant: Populous	New facilities at the stadium will include the 3-2-1 Qatar Olympic and Sports Museum. Legacy plan, not yet finalized, aim at developing the stadium surrounding into a mixed-use urban neighborhood to provide housing for Qatar's expanding population
Al Thumama	West of Najima St. between E and F-Ring roads, near the Medical Commission. Close to Industrial Area and Qatar's large church complex. Access only by car. No metro	New Ready by the end of 2020.	40,000 seats; 20,000 seats in legacy mode	Residential vocation, Housing for Middle-income expats	Design: Arab Engineering Bureau, oldest architectural and engineering firm in Qatar (Ibrahim Jaidah). It also holds the engineering contract for the stadium.	Stadium located in an area of 500,000 m2 currently used by the Qatar Football Association Technical Committee; it includes 4 outdoor training pitches and office facilities. Plans not finalized, but SC met local residents to discuss the stadium's long-term legacy

cruise ships, and building temporary tent camps in the desert to accommodate tourists during the tournament (Doha News, 2016c). Temporary solutions here seem wisely to prevail permanent ones.

Already existing vs. new infrastructure

Very often mega sports events generate white elephants and underutilized venues. Being strongly related to the previous section, hosting cities should consider balancing accurately new and already existing infrastructure in their plans for the event, both regarding sports venues and city infrastructure (i.e. transport and mobility). In the case of Qatar, with the exception of Khalifa International, which is under refurbishment to be upgraded to 40,000 seats, and Al Ryyan stadium, which however has been completely dismantled and will be rebuilt on the same site, all the other six planned venues are new and built from scratch. Three stadiums with a capacity of 40,000 seats each (Al Wakra, Al Thumana, and Ras Abu Abboud) will be located in the area of the new airport, within a radius of 15 km, and, with the exclusion of Al Khor, which is placed 30 km north of Doha, the average distance between two contiguous stadiums will be around 16 km (Table 2). For a country that already has enough venues for its major league and does not have a string football tradition, these numbers are impressive.

In addition to the stadiums, Qatar is also building a massive supportive infrastructure for the tournament. First of all, improvements in the transport system are underway. Indeed, in May 2014, Hamad International, the new airport, opened, while the first phase of the new port is planned to open for mid-2017. In addition, three metro lines are under construction and will be

ready before the beginning of the tournament, while roads will also be upgraded or newly built. Besides the transport system, the country is also boosting its tourist capacity with the construction of new hotels and serviced apartments, to reach the number of 60,000 rooms that is required by FIFA, although in the bid book Qatar included plans to reach the number of 100,000 rooms (FIFA, 2010). Qatar is a small country, similar to a city-state, with poor football infrastructure and not yet prepared to host such a kind of event. These data show that the approach of utilizing mega-events as a catalyst for urban development and regeneration can be extremely risky, especially for emerging countries. Indeed, implementing massive construction plans, developing both new sport venues and new city-level infrastructure at the same time may lead to financial disasters. As the case of the 1976 Montreal Olympics exemplifies, poor management and great expenditure caused a huge long-term debt; more recently, the 2014 Olympics in Sochi owns the record of being the most expensive of all the Winter Games, and its legacy mostly negative. The city spent over USD 50 billion for building new venues and transport infrastructure. Three years after the end of the Games, the majority of the stadiums are closed or under-utilized, while the high-speed railway new lines partially closed (Müller, 2014).

Public vs. private

Who will be the beneficiaries from the stage of the 2022 World Cup? And who will pay for it? In any mega event, the right balance between private and public interests should be planned and implemented, by involving local communities in the decisions and panning processes with public participations tools.

Qatar is a rich country and, with an average of 132,870 USD, it is the country with the highest GDP per capita in the world. However, Qatar is also a small country and its overall GDP is estimated in about 167 billion USD, less than the 195 billion of Greece, the 370 billion of the Emirates, or the 292 billion of Singapore (The World Bank, 2015a). Indeed, in the 2015 world GDP ranking by the World Bank (2015b), Qatar is placed in the 54th place, after countries as Bangladesh, Vietnam, or Peru. Although official data are not available, according to some estimates (Doha News, 2011; The Telegraph, 2011), the

Table 2 Average distance between contiguous stadiums

Stadiums	Distance
Al Wakrah – Al Thumama	15km
Al Thumama – Ras Abu Abboud	10km
Al Thumama – Khalifa International	15km
Khalifa International – Qatar Foundation	10km
Qatar Foundation – Al Ryyan	26km
Qatar Foundation –Lusail	20km
Average	16 km

Table 3 Stadiums and capacity (Data source: SC, 2016b)

Stadium	2022 World Cup	Legacy mode
Khalifa International	40,000	40,000
Lusail	80,000	Unknown
Al Thumama	40,000	20,000
Al Ryyan	40,000	21,000
Qatar Foundation	40,000	25,000
Abu Ras Abboud	40,000	Unknown
Al Wakrah	40,000	20,000
Al Khor	60,000	38,000
TOTAL	380,000	284,000*

*Lusail and Abu Ras Abboud are considered with full capacity, as there are no data available.

overall cost of the 2022 tournament will be about 220 billion USD, around 60 times of what South Africa spent in 2010 (estimated in 3.5 billion USD). With a population of around 225,000 Qatari citizens, it means that country will spend more or less 100,000 USD per capita, compared to 73 USD per capita for the 2010 Brazil World Cup, 350 USD per capita for the 2014 Sochi Winter Games, and 54 USD per capita for South Africa (data for Sochi, South Africa and Brazil from Time, 2013). If this amount of money will be confirmed, it means also that Qatar will spend more than one year GDP in the tournament. Also, the focus of 2017's budget is to ensure that major projects related to the 2022 tournament go ahead as scheduled, with about 50% of the annual country's budget dedicated to this effort.

Since mega sport events spending usually does not pay off, especially in the long-term, Qatar should review its strategy and look for positive case studies that associated the construction of a new stadium with more profitable real estate investments. Qatar should look at examples that implement strategies to minimize the debt incurred for the preparation of the stadiums and the tournament.

Müller (2015) reminds us the risk of event take over when dealing with infrastructure related to mega events. Indeed, he states "Mega-event priorities often displace long-term urban

development priorities. Instead of the event becoming an instrument for urban development, urban development becomes the instrument for the event" (p. 10). The costs presented in the previous paragraph seem to go toward this direction, but other factors support this statement. Indeed, there is a very recent football tradition in Qatar. The main league, Qatar Stars League, had its first official season only in 1972, and it features 14 teams, with the most recent team founded in 2009. The teams utilize 10 different stadiums for the matches that are considered more than enough for the needs of the league, each with a capacity between 12,000 and 25,000 seats. Qatar initially promised 12 new stadiums for the World Cup, although, at the time of writing, this number has been wisely reduced to eight. However, even if the number of eight is confirmed and the post-tournament plans approved, according to which the majority of the stadiums would be reduced to half capacity (see Table 3), the number of seats available still would be surprisingly high for a total country's population of 2,500,000 people. Indeed, Qatari nationals are estimated in about 300,000, while the number of seats in the legacy mode would be 284,000, with an availability of about one seat for each Qatari citizen (Table 3).

CONCLUSIONS

Mega-events planning is a controversial form of urban policymaking because, although its wide impact on cities, this impact is often more negative than positive. The article showed how difficult it is to benefit from the stage of mega events and unveiled important issues to consider before bidding. Indeed, those events are very expensive in terms of costs, effort, resources, and people, and cities need to maximize the benefits and limit the damages from their hosting. The study showed that there is potential to achieve positive and sustainable legacies; however, the locations chosen for the event need to be carefully selected according to the morphology and needs of the hosting city. The right mix of temporary, new, and already existing venues; the balance between sport and city infrastructure; the strict control of expenditure; the respect of the local vocation are some of the most important challenges cities need to face and solve. In this, FIFA, IOC and other major event organizers have to clarify their role and advocate all the initiatives that are necessities to promote and support beneficial outcomes and positive legacies,

avoiding malpractices and wastefulness, and enhancing their decision-making process to maximize the benefit from the stage of mega sport events.

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“Gwangju Folly” as Revitalizing Device in Urban Center from a Perspective of Place Marketing Strategy

***Jungmin Kim
Hyunjo Lee
Jaeyoung Choi
Uosang Yoo***

Chonnam National University,
South Korea

ABSTRACT

As the 21st century began, the notion of place marketing came up with the unique urban development strategy of the region following the glocalization. Gwangju Metropolitan City implemented a project to install ‘Folly’, a small decorative building, in various places in Gwangju City as a device for revitalizing the old city center. Although follies are small, they can serve an essential role in deteriorated areas by stimulating cultural activities. Since Gwangju Folly aims to stimulate the city’s center through place-making, it is essential to evaluate the project in this context. Based on a clear evaluation of the characteristic of folly, the place marketing strategy applied to folly project is to develop urban culture, urban economy and urban society simultaneously by providing comprehensive, systematic, cultural, and active urban development to citizens, tourists, and corporations. The study aims to present a new ‘place marketing factor’ for sustainable Gwangju Folly. Therefore, it can be used as a meaningful reference to establish the sustainable marketing strategy of Gwangju Folly by searching the possibility of the urban identity and the regional development that Gwangju Folly can bring in terms of the place marketing.

KEYWORDS

*Place Marketing, Gwangju Folly, Urban
Revitalization*

INTRODUCTION

Gwangju Folly project is a project hosted by Gwangju Metropolitan City and organized by Gwangju Biennale Foundation to install Follies, small architectural artworks created by architects and artists around the world. Folly I was held in 2011, followed by Folly II in 2013, and currently Folly III is ongoing. For each folly project, an art director and a curatorial team are organized, and a theme and sites are selected. Upon completion, the Foundation operates tour programs and programs run with local youth and cultural arts organizations to provide citizens with cultural opportunities. Gwangju Folly was initially promoted to improve the characterless and monotonous cityscape through follies and to establish Gwangju as “Folly City” and a tourist attraction. This is in line with the place marketing strategy, a concept of commercialization of space. The place marketing strategy is a comprehensive, systematic, connected, cultural and active city development strategy that pursues the development of urban culture, urban economy and urban society at the same time by establishing a long-term vision and identity of the city based on a precise evaluation of the placeness through the close partnership among the city-building subjects, and developing city’s unique products based on the placeness using marketing strategy techniques to provide them to citizens, tourists, and companies. Since Gwangju Folly aims to vitalize the city through the creation of places, it is essential to evaluate Gwangju Folly from the perspective of the place marketing strategy and suggest a development plan. Through this, Gwangju Folly project will be implemented in a sustainable and effective manner, and will have a more positive influence in the city.

FOLLY IN CITY

Historically, follies have been widely used in the fields of architecture, visual arts, literature, etc. as strategic places allowing for satire and free from the constraints of social norms, as were seen as a part of light refreshment and stimulation. In addition, follies have been used as critical mediums and objects that cross between aesthetic autonomy and socio-political potential; they are located in the field between contextual conditions and non-contextual states. In other words, although it is placed in a structured urban space, the unstructured device beyond this is

a folly in the modern sense; this is the reason Gwangju pays attention to follies as an alternative in the new creative space, namely, because they overcome the limitations of the existing urban context and communicate with the public.¹ Folly, literally means “a ridiculous act,” was used in city architecture in the sense of a small public facility with cultural characteristics. Since Bernard Tschumi used it in the 1980s when designing Parc de La Villette in Paris, Tschumi’s folly can be seen as a means to organize the whole earth. By using basic elements of design: dot-line-face, each folly placed in the grid system becomes a dot element; the passage for walking in the park becomes a line element; a square or a sports ground becomes a face element; together they give the pleasure of making various unexpected “visual incidents.”²

GWANGJU FOLLY

Gwangju Folly project is carried out on a phase-by-phase basis with different themes and features. Folly I was a part of Gwangju Design Biennale 2011, and ten follies were installed along the traces of Gwangju Eupseong (old city fortress), which inform the existence of Gwangju Eupseong of the past under the theme of “the restoration of historicity in Gwangju.” As such, Gwangju Folly I served as a link between the past and the present of Gwangju. Since Folly II, Gwangju Folly project has become separated from Gwangju Design Biennale and carried out as an independent project. Under the theme of “Human Rights and Public Space,” Folly II showcased eight follies representing the spirit of democratization in the squares and streets of Gwangju in May 1980. Folly III, which has been promoted since 2015, chose “Everyday life in the city” as the key concept in order to get closer to and communicate with citizens, away from the somewhat heavy discourse of Folly I and II. This was intended to focus on the social process and urban experience that produce spaces through follies, and was carried out with the universal topic of Taste and Beauty, one of the everyday factors of experiencing the city. Five follies were developed on the basis of specific urban experiences classified with four action verbs: to see, to eat, to play, and to walk.

Gwangju Folly will form one pattern through clustering and will exert its influence rather than work as a unitary entity within the city. Follies to be located in the city are intended to lead the revitalization of the city’s downtown by

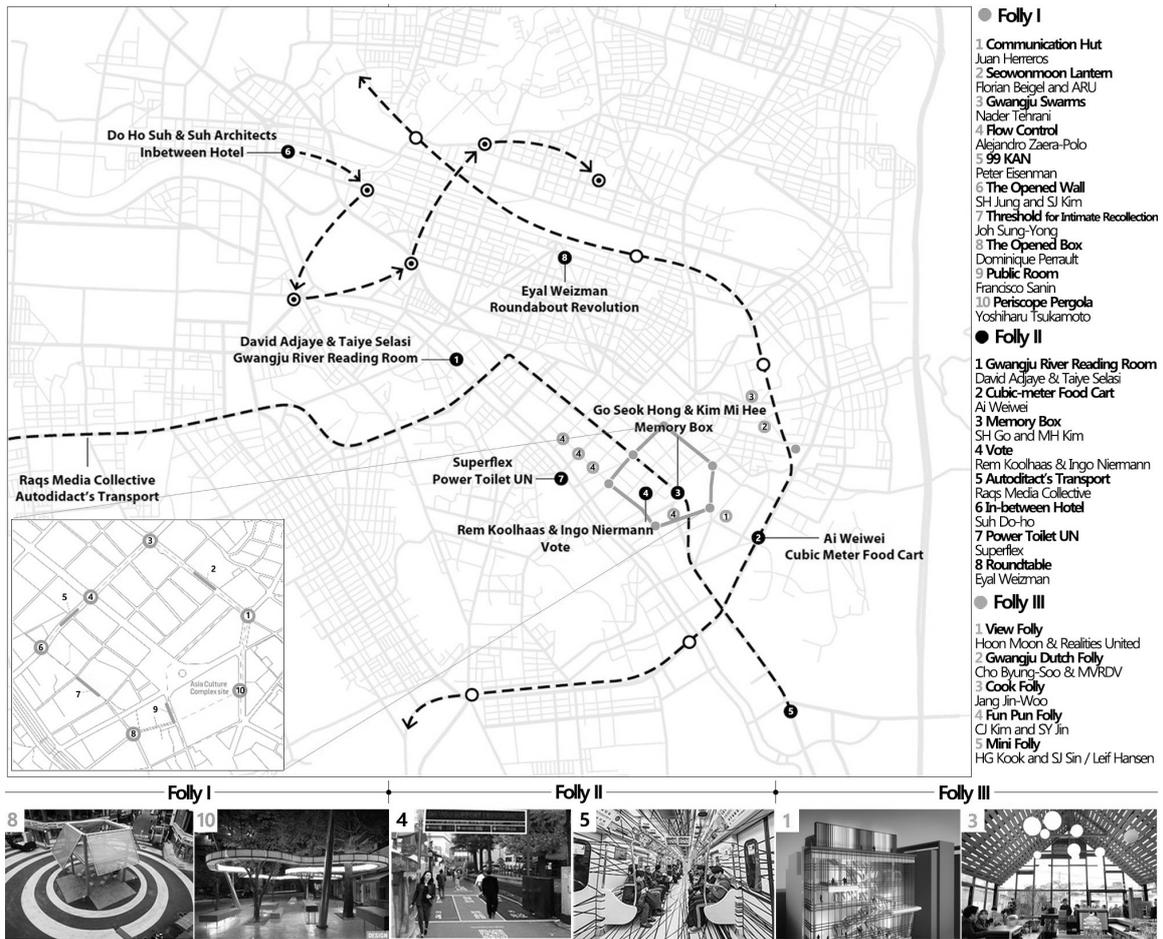


FIGURE 1 Map of "Gwangju Folly" in City³

transmitting a strong cultural powerfulness to the old downtown area of Gwangju which has experienced rapid growth for the past 40 years but is now being suffered by "Hollowing-out" due to the relocation of some major institutions such as City Hall and Provincial Office to the outskirts of the city.

PLACE MARKETING FACTOR

This chapter examines various aspects that evaluate Gwangju Folly through previous research. Park Seong-jin (2012) focusing on the publicness of folly, discusses sustainability, aesthetics, functionality, identity, and stability as evaluation elements of public facilities. Park Yong-gwan(2012), which analyzes visual characteristics of folly, evaluates folly based informativeness, stability, creativity, and unity. Kim Bo-ra's study (2011), focusing on folly's role as an environmental sculpture, analyzes folly based on

factors of placeness, symbolism, environment, experience, and popularity. The concept of the place marketing strategy is analyzed more explicitly in the study of Lee Mu-yong (2006), which cites five factors (sustainability, authenticity, integration, connectivity, and efficiency) as evaluation factors of place marketing.

Upon these related studies, new evaluation factors of the place marketing strategy (placeness, functionality, and sociality) that can be applied to folly were derived through the process of reconstructing the evaluation factors from the previous studies on Gwangju Folly and the basic factors of the place marketing. This is shown in the table below.

The first factor is the placeness. The placeness is divided into the physical characteristics and place identity of the place where follies are located. Physical characteristics can be classified into

TABLE 1 Reconstructed Place Marketing Factor for Gwangju Folly

factor	indicator	contents	method
Placeness	•visual/spatial perception	Is it recognized well?	Survey
		Fixed or Flexible? Closed or Opened?	Observation
	•Place identity	Does it mean to generate a meaning around it?	Folly Archives
Functionality	•Function	Does it function as a folly itself?	Folly Archives
	•activity	People do act around there?	Observation
Sociality	•Participation	Active or Passive?	Folly Archives
	•Social Influence	Political-Economical-Culturaldiscourse	

two indicators, visual perception and spatial perception. Visual perception is a criterion that determines the shape of follies and how well the follies are perceived by the citizens. This is a subjective judgment and can be obtained through a questionnaire survey of Gwangju Folly Citizens Council⁴. Spatial perception is related to the characteristics of the spaces where follies are located, and is an indicator that determines whether or not follies and spaces around the follies are related. The second indicator of placeness is the place identity, which means what follies mean to the place, or what thoughts are evoked when users are at the place. The second factor is functionality. This is subdivided into the inherent functionality of folly itself and the functionality according to the will of the subject, that is, the user. The functionality of the folly itself plays only a defined role according to the designer's intention. This can be confirmed through folly archives of the Biennale Foundation. On the other hand, functionality based on subject's purpose can be confirmed by observing subjective actions of the user at or around the follies. The last factor is sociality. Sociality is also divided into indicators of participation and social influence. Participation evaluates whether the participation of citizens and companies is passive or active in the entire process from planning to installation, operation and management of follies. Social influence is a criterion that determines what kinds of political, social and cultural discourse are formed through follies, and what influences the follies have on the community. This can be obtained through information such as

decision-making method and progress through the folly archives.

These are independent realms separated from each other and have different aspects. If the placeness means the spatial characteristics (cognition and identity) of folly, the functionality refers to the relationship between the subject/ user and the subject/folly within a place. Sociality is a concept that encompasses them, and can be interpreted as a world containing space, subjects, and things, that is, a field of society.

EVALUATION OF FOLLY

This chapter compares the concepts and the features of Gwangju Folly I, II, and III according to the place marketing evaluation factors (Placeness, Functionality, Sociality) derived from Chapter 4.

Placeness

Placeness is a factor that evaluates the physical characteristics of folly and its surrounding space and the in-depth meaning contained in it. Among the three factors of the place marketing, placeness is an element with the most prominent visual effect, and relatively easy to grasp through survey and observation (Table 2).

Folly I presented works of architects and designers, which take on the shape of art sculpture (Figure 2). They are relatively easy to recognize because they conform to the basic characteristics of follies as a public artwork. Folly



FIGURE 2 Gwangju Swarms[Folly I]



FIGURE 3 Gwangju River Reading Room[Folly II]



FIGURE 4 In-Between Hotel [Folly II]



FIGURE 5 FunPun Folly [Folly III]

II showcased works that are gradually taking on the architectural characteristics as in the case of Gwangju River Reading Room (Figure 3) and UNESCO Toilet. Therefore, it became difficult to be perceived by citizens. This tendency becomes more visible for Folly III, of which follies cross

the boundaries of shape by taking the shapes of the sculpture, architectural space, and urban infrastructure.

The folly installed for Folly I project is located along the old site of Gwangju Eupseong. It is

TABLE 2 Placeness of Follies

Folly I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The most recognizable among Folly I, II and III due to the sculptural shape • Can be accessed frequently due to the fixed location (site of Old Gwangju Eupseong) • Fixed/Limitative
Folly II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More architectural form than the sculptural shape • Can be accessed less frequently due to the mobile location • Flexible/movable(mobile)
Folly III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crossing the boundaries of shapes (sculpture-architecture-infrastructure) • Penetrate into more private space (residential area) • Decontextualization; A lower correlation of locations than Folly I and II

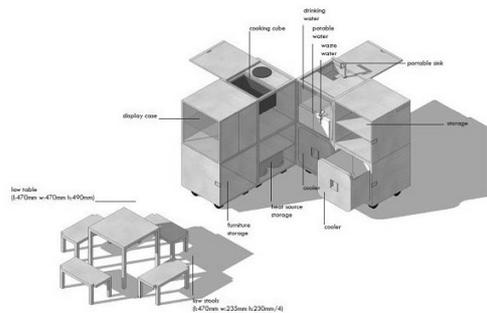


FIGURE 6 Cubic-meter Food Cart [Folly II]



FIGURE 7 The Vote [Folly II]



FIGURE 8 Veiv Folly [Folly III]



FIGURE 9 GD Folly [Folly III]

installed at a fixed location and highly accessible. On the other hand, some follies of Folly II do not stay in one position but move around fluidly. In-Between Hotel (Figure 4) and Autodidact's Transport of Folly II are typical examples. Therefore, it is difficult for ordinary citizens to perceive them unless they visit the follies. Follies of Folly III are located at unpredictable places based on the sub-concept of contingency. This is the case for Cook Folly (Figure 13) located in an alleyway of the residential area that lost its former vitality due to the hollowing out of the city, and FunPun folly (Figure 5) located in the gaps between commercial buildings of the falling-behind commercial districts. These follies are intended play a role in vitalizing the declining area.

Functionality

It determines not only whether Gwangju Folly serves as a sculpture but also whether it has its unique function. The fact that Gwangju Folly is different from the existing Folly prototype is that it performs a function in the city (Table 3).

Emphasizing its locality and formativeness, Folly I, in general, accommodates simple and limited functions, such as rest, entertainment, and gatherings. Whereas Folly II carries out more specific

TABLE 3 Functionality of Follies

Folly I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses more on formativeness than functionality • Simple functions (relaxation, entertainment, rally, etc.) • • Static / Limitative
Folly II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has its own functions • Concrete actions are performed • The shape changes according to the purpose of use(direct participation) • • Dynamic / Active
Folly III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actions are induced based on the basic concept (to see, to eat, to walk, and to play) • Follies are combined with various fields(software); inducing interest through experiences • • Multi-dimensional



FIGURE 10 FunPun Folly [Folly III]



FIGURE 11 Mini Folly-Infinite Elements [Folly III]

actions, which makes Folly II dynamic and active. This is the case for the Cubic-meter Food Cart (Figure 6), of which functions change according to the user's purpose. Or the Vote (Figure 7), which tallies in real time by using user's walking pattern. For Folly III, more diverse actions (to see, to walk, to play, and to eat) are undertaken, which serve as the main design concepts for the folly itself. Notable examples are the View Folly (Figure 8), having a rooftop resting place where Gwangju city can be viewed, and the GD Folly (Figure 9), which provides a street for citizens to gain the right to walk. As such, Folly III induced the everyday activities of the city people, thus paving the way for follies to communicate with local residents more easily.

In addition, it is meaningful in that Folly III tried to combine follies with a new field. The FunPun Folly (Figure 10) and the Mini Folly⁵ combine architectural sculptures as hardware with media arts as software, to represent the identity of Gwangju as the creative city of media arts and invite users to participate through the interactive engagement. However, in part, the Mini Folly-Infinite Elements (Figure 11) has a tendency to decline in functionality as in Folly I in that it serves as a simple sculpture.

Sociality

Sociality is a factor to understand what kind of political, economic and cultural discourses were generated and what social influence Gwangju Folly had in the city. This is the process of establishing the independent governance of Gwangju Folly by means of resolving conflicts among the various subjects surrounding follies (Table 4).

Folly I aimed to attract attention by inviting

TABLE 4 Sociality of Follies

Folly I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Top-down approach (Unilateral/dogmatic) • Projects commissioned by experts: Lack of communication with citizens • Temporary effects
Folly II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bottom-up approach (active and democratic) • Transparency of process through citizen competition • Cooperative governance
Folly III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperation is made among various subjects • A subjective role performed by Gwangju Folly Citizens Council • Integrated and comprehensive governance



FIGURE 11 99 Kan [Folly I]



FIGURE 12 Cook Folly [Folly III]

world-renowned architects and artists and create unique follies. It resulted in a temporary effect. In addition, it did not fully take into account the urban context of Gwangju, which often caused friction with the residents. In some cases, it was left unfinished due to problems related to the interests of neighboring merchant landlords (Figure 12). This shows that the process of Folly I was a very unilateral and arbitrary project with the government being the subject. As a result, Folly II was conducted in a way that citizens can participate in the project through the public idea competition. In addition, as the organization of ‘Gwangju Folly Citizens Council’ was established, the decision-making process changed more democratically. Operation and management were also carried out with the help of citizens and companies forming cooperative governance. It is Folly III that succeeded it progressively. As a representative example, as the problems of youth unemployment and urban redevelopment, which are serious social problems in Gwangju society, have combined, the Cook Folly (Figure 13), a self-sustaining economic model was created. Thus, the Folly

artist and the city bought and remodeled houses in an old deteriorated downtown area, and educated and encouraged a group of young people to form a Youth Cooperative and to propagate new food culture there. Some of the proceeds from the Youth Cooperative are used for operating the Folly Foundation.

CONCLUSION

In order to evaluate Gwangju Folly from the perspective of the place marketing strategy, this study analyzed relevant previous studies and examined features of Gwangju Folly I, II, and III to derive new factors of the place marketing (Placeness, Functionality, Sociality). Through these reconstructed place marketing evaluation factors, Gwangju Folly projects were compared by phase. In Folly I, placeness played an important role, but functionality and sociality were not emphasized significantly. On the other hand, in Folly II, the placeness decreased, but functionality and sociality have become prominent as the citizens council started to play a role in the entire process from project planning to production, operation and management. In Folly III, it seems that the concept of placeness was gradually weakened, and its functionality and sociality are working very strongly. This shows that the concept of Gwangju Folly gradually changes in its role from a simple environmental sculpture to the initiator of political, economic and cultural restoration that plays a social role.

This study is significant in that it examines diversity and branding strategy of Gwangju Folly by analyzing Gwangju Folly from the viewpoint of place marketing. This will lead to more systematic construction of Gwangju Folly’s DB. However, the evaluation of Gwangju Folly in this study is based solely on observation and information and lacks grounds for objectification. For this, the evaluation will be further specified through surveys in the future. As such, it is hoped that Gwangju Folly will become a more sustainable project through more specific place marketing strategies based on the systematic analysis and evaluation of Gwangju Folly, and this can be an opportunity to promote Gwangju city as “Folly City”.

NOTES

1. *Gwangju Biennale Foundation (www.gwangjufolly.org)*
2. Gang, H.J., 2014, *A Study on the Cases of Folly Project in the Contemporary Architecture After Parc de la Villette*, Vol.23(3), pp.144-152
3. Redrawn by Author based on Danielle Rago's article_ <http://www.domusweb.it>
4. Gwangju Folly Citizens Council is a civil council composed of Gwangju's civil social organization and experts, and was established in 2012, shortly after the end of Folly I. It is involved in the evaluation and progress of Gwangju Folly project in the form of governance.
5. The Mini Folly in Folly III project consists of two small-scale independent follies; Spectrum and Infinite Elements

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Envisioning Spatial Practice of Co-Production and Collaborative Consumption in the Urban Neighbourhoods of Singapore

**Han Teng Kenny Chen
Ye Zhang**

Department of Architecture,
School of Design and Environment,
National University of Singapore,
Singapore

ABSTRACT

Powered by information technology advancement, sharing as a novel economic institution has brought forward new collaborative lifestyles (see Botsman & Roo, 2010), entrepreneurialism exchanges (see Spinuzzi, 2012) and social interactions (see McLaren and Agyeman, 2015 and John, 2017) in modern cities. These changes also challenge the conventional concepts of and boundaries between the private and public. For instance, many starts to share the guest bedroom of their apartment, which was previously fully private, with strangers as an Airbnb accommodation to make additional income. Moreover, concerning urban design, this means that existing approaches need to be adapted or new ones to be developed to create new public spaces to accommodate and then facilitate the practice of sharing, in particular, sharing production and consumption. Nevertheless, existing literature on this is uneven and often confounding, and there is no clear explanation of and systematic investigation into how this can be achieved spatially.

This study aims to test the concepts of co-production and collaborative consumption through a design investigation – the notion of repair and its significance to a sharing system designed for regenerating a historical neighbourhood in Singapore. In this approach, repairing is the key driver for different configurations of economic production and collaborative consumption to take place. For instance, a physical–virtual marketplace for work within the neighbourhood is proposed. Several digital screens are introduced to the neighbourhood centre as interactive public installations where different QR codes that link to different work in constant change are displayed. Those who are interested and would like to earn extra income can scan the codes to apply for these jobs. The QR codes are deliberately kept offline and only displayed in one place to bring residents or visitors to the neighbourhood centre. With this as a pivotal case study, we see many possibilities of how existing arguments towards repairing as a form of cooperative sharing can be translated or practised spatially. A Repairing Village potentially becomes the new form of public space defined by different dimensions of sharing. The act of repairing provides an understanding of the cradle-to-cradle product cycle in our everyday living. The

KEYWORDS

Sharing, Co-production, Co-consumption, Community, Collaboration, Repair

interactions between ‘repairing’ and ‘community’ provide the necessary platform for active social entrepreneurialism and new forms of social interaction within and beyond the local scale.

The results provoke the way we design for sharing. We suggested that the design of new public spaces to enable and promote sharing, in this case, co-production and collaborative consumption, will benefit from a framework predicated on the systems approach (Churchman, 1968; Churchman, 1979). This framework allows the relationships between the sharing system to be designed and a larger system as well as the relationships among its sub- systems to be analysed and the underlying forces that may contradict the attainment of the sharing system to be identified and addressed.

INTRODUCTION

Powered by information technology advancement, sharing as a novel economic institution has brought forward new collaborative lifestyles¹, entrepreneurialism exchanges² and social interactions³ in modern cities. These changes also challenge the conventional concepts and boundaries between the private and public. For instance, many starts to share the guest bedroom of their apartment, which was previously fully private, with strangers as an Airbnb accommodation to make additional income. Moreover, concerning urban design, this means that existing approaches need to be adapted or new ones to be developed to create new public spaces to accommodate and then facilitate the practice of sharing, in particular, sharing production and consumption. Nevertheless, existing literature on this is uneven and often confounding, and there is no clear explanation of and systematic investigation into how this can be achieved spatially.

The study addresses this research gap by testing the concepts of co-production and collaborative consumption through a design investigation – envisioning spatial practice of these concepts in the urban neighbourhoods of Singapore through a review of its development process from the perspective of sharing. The results seek to provoke the way we design for sharing. We suggested that the design of new public spaces to enable and promote sharing, in this case, co-production and collaborative consumption, will benefit from a

framework predicated on the systems approach⁴. This framework allows the relationships between the sharing system to be designed and a larger system as well as the relationships among its sub-systems to be analysed and the underlying forces that may contradict the attainment of the sharing system to be identified and addressed.

THE SHARING PARADIGM

Sharing practices have been found throughout history and across the world. Since rehistory, Sapiens came to dominate the world because it is the only animal that can cooperate and share flexibly in large numbers as fundamental for survival⁵. Father of modern capitalism, Adam Smith, positions that while people are often assumed to be selfish, experience suggests otherwise. He argues that we are social beings and individuals derive pleasure from seeing the happiness of others because, by design, their circumstances bring us pleasure or distress⁶. To have a discourse on co-production and collaborative consumption entails a need first to evaluate how the sharing paradigm has evolved over history – the contexts of the sharing systems and their respective forms.

The beginnings of the Industrial Revolution saw goals of increasing productivity in which Smith argued that self-interest and ‘self-love’ motivate humans and that the exploitation of this trait will lead to greater wealth. Such a relatively healthy narrative of technological ingenuity was the result of “skill, dexterity and judgement” in the discussion of manufacture⁷. The individual pursuit for self-interest soon transformed to a consumer culture of ‘more’ in our frenetic quest for personal identity through brands, products and services, helping businesses get bigger while prizing us further apart, which economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen coined as ‘conspicuous consumption’⁸. Regarding the form of sharing, collective- and community-based values were shunned in favour of the ‘Me’ mindset, continuing into the mid-1950s as a kind of hyper-consumption defined by credit and what we owned⁹. Openness was fundamental to the beginnings of the Internet. Its introduction paved the way for new connections between people, disrupting models of ownership and reinventing traditional sharing experiences. Technology enabled peer-to-peer sharing and a new culture of dematerialisation, blurring the divisions

between the virtual and real world, what is public and what is private. A renewed importance of community is recognised, defined by a change in habits and adoption of social media tools as a part of our 'real' life. Peer-to-peer collaborative sites multiplied and start to become hyper-local with the introduction of smartphones and Apps¹⁰, resulting in a proliferation of consumption models in which access is the new ownership. These are social exchanges which require a high degree of trust because the human-to-human interaction is often the focus.

VALUES, LIMITATIONS AND BIASES OF THE SHARING ECONOMY

The new wave of businesses and the myriad of terms which accompany – co-production, collaborative consumption, on-demand economy, now form today's Sharing Economy; a hybrid of social exchanges and economic interests governed by reputation systems. Its commercial agenda is significant as previous notions of communitarian and cooperative vision which focused on personal experiential exchanges appears defined by a small number of firms backed by significant amounts of venture capital. The sharing economy takes its inspiration from one tenet of the Internet culture: a belief in the virtues of openness. Openness and sharing go hand in hand: to make something is to stop it being a commodity. Economically, openness has two roles: it is an alternative to commerce, but it also generates new forms of commerce, and these come with problems of their own which need to be addressed in our investigation to envision spatial practice.

Firstly, the transition to a lifestyle defined by privileged consumption of sharing services. The sharing economy commits that sharing and commerce go hand-in-hand, and entrepreneurship (many of whom are technology entrepreneurs) is the solution to creating social good. Arguably, booking an Uber ride is not "sharing"—it is a purchase of a service— and yet Uber, Lyft, and Airbnb have been hailed as part of a new "sharing economy." Sharing economy companies have successfully married an alternative culture of "going against the capitalist monster" with mainstream capitalism ideals. From the economic perspective, while economist Gary Becker correctly puts it that money is interchangeable with other motivations¹¹, the focus of using monetary incentives to

encourage and amplify social exchanges should be broadened. The effects of incentives are dependent on its design, the form (monetary or non-monetary), and its interactions with intrinsic and social motivations. Surge pricing may provide more shared cars on the roads, but it results in a more inequitable access to shared services for those who cannot afford the prices. Businesses may build on sharing and openness, but commercial instincts will likely drive out generosity and altruistic behaviour. Relating to Smith's statement on the "invisible hand" of the free market, we see invokes in the name of sharing – neighbours helping neighbours (TaskRabbit), the idea of a welcoming host (Airbnb), creating a new form of entitled consumers experience defined by venture capital. Ironically, it is this interconnectedness and openness of the Internet and social networks which allows the realization of Smith's vision.

Following this and secondly, as a model for production and consumption, there is a missing link between the producer and consumer that got lost in mass production. By 'producing' we refer to the act of design, making and distribution of goods and services. 'Consuming' here relates to the maximum utilisation of these resources and assets. The industrialisation of production has provided a wide array of choices to the consumers in the aisles of stores. Being a consumer, however, meant having to navigate through these choices presented to us and making the best decisions instead of being a major role in the creation of these options. Political theorist, Benjamin Barber, cleverly puts it that "we are seduced into thinking that the right to choose from a menu is the essence of liberty, but with respect to relevant outcomes, the real power, and hence the real freedom, is in the determination of what's on the menu."¹² Consumers in the sharing economy do not have the option of trusting each other based on institutional affiliations hence the reliance on reputation systems as signalling mechanisms claimed to strengthen the fragile relationship between quality and trust.

Last but not least, the growing societal, cultural, and technological phenomenon of local as the new branding. Rapid adoption of smartphones has shifted the way we find and evaluate products and services, deconstructing the longstanding belief that there is a linear path to purchase. Today, people are looking for new outlets to express

their individualism yet possessing the desire for intergenerational relationships formed around tools, knowledge, and materials. Technology has become a means of production because of its accessibility which allows for collaborative forms of knowledge and skills exchange. It empowers us as consumers to participate as producers as well and not accept the status-quo or the presented by corporations. This empowerment of the individual is as William Gibson puts it, here now but not yet widely distributed¹³. The culture of making is fast making its presence in the sharing economy with the the 3D printing market expected to reach US\$12 billion by 2025, and peer- to-peer ecommerce site Etsy's revenue more than quadrupled since its founding¹⁴.

If envisioning spatial practice entails a need to prioritise against the issues above, how then could the empowerment of the individual potentially allow us to use architecture not necessarily as a means to solve, but to address the social challenges we face today? In an attempt to answer this question requires an exploratory evaluation of the core concepts of co-production and collaborative consumption in sharing.

THE CONCEPT OF 'CO-PRODUCTION' IN SHARING

The term 'co-production' was coined in the 1970s by Elinor Ostrom, an economist at Indiana University to describe the relationship that the police need communities as much as communities need the cops, explaining why neighbourhood crime rates rose in Chicago when the police changed from foot patrol to cars¹⁵. The concept followed through with further developments by academics and activists such as Edgar Cahn who included principles of social justice¹⁶. Today, co-production is a concept applied in a wide range of fields alongside user and community participation as a way of working together to improve and create user-led, people-centred services. Despite a seeming consensus around the potential of co-production, existing literature and critique is however uneven and foggy as to what entails or what is meant by "co-production," how it can be realised in practice, or what it is that is being co-produced. In addressing what is being co-produced requires an explication of its rationale and scope of participation and involvement. Also on the 'co-' aspect, individual consumers or group of consumers, acting outside of their regular production roles, may contribute

to the manufacture of some goods and services they consume¹⁷. In other words, co-producers may refer to a combination of both the regular and these consumer producers' productive efforts. Distinct features that induce them to co-produce include breaking of barriers between strangers, capitalising upon someone's capabilities through the exchange (getting something back for having done something for others) and mutuality (working together to achieve a common goal).

Following the above, it is important to make clearer the concept of 'co-production' with other concepts that approximate its meanings. For instance, depending on the context, 'co-production' is sometimes used interchangeably with 'participation' and 'co-creation'. While both suggest public and social processes, 'participation' however entails an element of being consulted which differs from the meanings of equal partners and co-creators in 'co- production'. Co-production, as a method, approach and mindset, is very different from traditional models of production as a service. The relationship between producers and consumers is altered; emphasising consumers as active agents, not passive beneficiaries. There is thus an underlying collective value in co-production – be it private, public or a mixture of both.

'COLLABORATIVE CONSUMPTION' AND THE SHARING ECONOMY

Up till this point, we have seen many forms in which sharing presents both historically and culturally. The introduction of smartphones saw massified and commoditised ideas of collaboration and sharing to redistribute underutilised resources in the Sharing Economy; a socio-economic model that separates from other forms of sharing by technology. The concept of collaborative consumption is a new consumption paradigm which made its presence following the economic crisis and increased concerns over environmental protection. It is a form of economic backlash to hyper-consumption as it emphasizes one's temporary access to goods instead of owning them. As an ideology, collaborative consumption embodies a broader set of qualities such as community, sharing, togetherness, helping and learning from each other, and taking within one's necessity.

While collaborative consumption is a fundamental component of the sharing economy, there are also variations to its definitions within the buzzwords 'sharing economy' and 'collaborative economy'. The concept of collaborative consumption is however not one without boundaries because it still embodies its fundamental ideals of community, togetherness, and helpfulness. Collaborative-thinking pioneer, Rachel Botsman, first introduced the concept in 2010 as an economic model based on sharing, swapping, trading, or renting products and services, enabling access over ownership, one which reinvents how and what we consume¹⁸. It was later refined in 2015 "to better encapsulate the behaviours" as a reinvention of traditional market behaviours – renting, lending, swapping, sharing, bartering, gifting – through technology, emerging in previously unseen forms and scale¹⁹. In other words, the collaboration at the heart of collaborative consumption may be local and face-to-face, or more likely that it uses the Internet to connect, combine, form groups, and find something or use someone to create 'many to many' peer-to-peer interactions.

STATE-OF-THE-ART OF CO-PRODUCTION AND COLLABORATIVE CONSUMPTION: A CAPITALIST EXCHANGE SEPARATED FROM CULTURE

The fundamentals of what makes up an economy are the emphasis on resources and transactions. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), 'sharing' in its primary contextual meaning refers to having a portion of (something) with another or others. While it is personal with a dimension of positive emotivity, it is important to distinguish that the act of sharing is not individual but social in nature, yet certainly not inherently free. Similarly, co-production recognises the criticality in the role of participation in delivering goods and services. It requires an active engagement of individuals previously identified as merely passive recipients, to make services work for them, growing their assurance and capacity. Through harvesting ideas of collaborative consumption, sharing economy companies propel to profitability by advocating for services that provide out of concern and a desire to be communal. The sharing economy is projected to grow to US\$335 billion in revenue by 2025. By 2020, Airbnb's revenue is projected to be as much as US\$8.5 billion. Some of the top sharing economy start-up actors by estimated

2017 YTD valuation are: Uber (US\$68bn, #1 global ride-sharing); Ant Financial (US\$60bn, crowdfunding, QR code payments, P2P Wealth Management); Didi Chuxing (US\$50bn, #1 China ride-sharing); Airbnb (US\$31bn, #1 global homesharing); Meituan-Dianping (US\$18bn, #1 global and China on-demand delivery platform); WeWork (US\$17bn, #1 office sharing)²⁰.

Smith's discussion of the human economic behaviour in *The Wealth of Nations* highlights the relationship between the value of a good and the labour that goes into it. Smith argues that humans have a desire for order in the world – the act of making a profit from labour to accumulating riches to gain art, civilisation and education. Individuals participate in the market of exchange for profits since the amount of work put into obtaining or making a good translates into the value of it, through either the owner and creator, as well as the public through such social exchanges²¹. Taking this perspective in acceptance implies that there is no clear separation of what is good for society or the individual, in other words, if individuals are acting in rational and self-interested ways, society and individuals will prosper together. Such two-sidedness to the market provides the natural conditions for co-production and collaborative consumption to occur.

For this reason however, it is important to note that Smith's theories do not provide a clear acknowledgement to the interaction of culture and exchange as an incentivising vehicle for the individual. This is critical because both cultural contextualization and utilitarian perspectives of the economy are essential to the understanding of any economic phenomenon, including the sharing economy. Moreover, most economies today do not isolate within the societies they originate.

Modern economic theories have propelled the workings of market economies and Western economic behaviour, but not other economies because they were shaped by factory industrialisation and market organisation. As the principle of economy-wide mechanism, market exchange transacts the ingredients of production as well as finished goods and services. The term 'market' refers to a physical place of exchange or the process of the transaction for a good or service. Following this logic, there needs to be market exchange before one considers it a valid

economy. By analysing this phenomenon of the 'economy' through the lens of this Western framework separates it from the cultural aspects, in which economist George Dalton argues that the consistency and autonomy of such derivations and assumptions of universal human behaviour onto economic activity wrongly suggest independence from the social and cultural facets of production and consumption²².

DESIGNING FOR SPATIAL PRACTICE OF CO-PRODUCTION AND COLLABORATIVE CONSUMPTION: SPATIAL FORMS VERSUS SOCIAL PROCESSES

Following the underpinnings above allows us to rethink the 'economy' as more than simply an exchange of goods and services, re-evaluating how deeply human interactions, social values and cultural forms are embedded in forms of exchange through spatial practice.

Spatially, space is performative to its design in a multifaceted manner. Architects are, however, as David Harvey puts it in *Spaces of Hope*, often identified as the creators to 'utopias' of spatial forms as if it is a linear relationship between spatial arrangement and social processes. It is not difficult to identify examples of spaces which perform differently from what the designers envisioned them to be. Political agendas also play a significant role in affecting design and performance to space. For Harvey, the design for the spatial practice of something should derive less from a utopia of spatial form and more from a utopia of social process – the workings, interactions and inter-relations of things in space and time²³, a derivative of Leibniz's position that time and space emerge from event and process. Henri Lefebvre pointed out such complexity regarding the conceived space by architects versus the representational space of the users²⁴. Following which is the latter's rich notion of subjectivity and experienced space that needs to be dealt with in a collective sense in terms of personal, communal, political, semiological, and psychological tensions²⁵.

As such, a successful design for the spatial practice of co-production and collaborative consumption should ideally pursue this conflictual balance between the spatial form and social processes, while minimising drawbacks from both. It is an elaboration of Harvey's argument for 'dialectical

utopianism' and Marxian philosophy that spaces play a vital role in accommodating and facilitating social changes, and architects exercise the will to create but do so as a response to conditions both established and in flux that are not created by ourselves²⁶.

DESIGNING FOR SPATIAL PRACTICE OF CO-PRODUCTION AND COLLABORATIVE CONSUMPTION: APPLICATION IN THE URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS OF SINGAPORE

In evaluating the appropriateness of applying the above model into the urban neighbourhoods of Singapore thus involves the creation of a spatial form that not only catalyses the idealistic social processes of co-production and collaborative consumption but at the same time through such processes formulates the dynamic reflection between people. For this reason, a review of the development process of urban neighbourhoods in Singapore from the perspective of sharing is necessary.

About 82% of Singapore's 5.6 million multi-racial and multi-religious resident population today live in public housing developments²⁷. Public housing blocks are typically arranged in clusters termed as precincts, collectively into up to nine neighbourhoods per town, with most neighbourhoods served by a neighbourhood commercial centre (see Figure 1). The concept was first introduced in 1978 by the Housing and Development Board (HDB), the city-state's statutory board responsible for public housing development. It was hopeful that social interaction and community bonding will be optimised while ensuring affordable homes for everyone. Since 1989, the Ethnic Integration Policy ensures that each neighbourhood and block is racially mixed as part of racial integration efforts to prevent social stratification that may lead to social conflict. Housing of different income groups is also mixed in estates and new towns. In envisioning the building of cohesive communities, precincts are typically designed to physically envelop a common space, or centred around communal facilities such as a market and food centre or multi-storey carpark.

Firstly, on the typical typology of its neighbourhoods since the 1980s, ensuring sufficient provision of housing with commercial facilities to connect residents of all races were of



FIGURE 1 Public housing surrounding a market and food centre in Toa Payoh neighbourhood, Singapore's second oldest satellite town²⁸

priority to the developing nation at that time. The Bras Basah Complex was among the first podium-tower typology examples featuring housing blocks “sitting over” a five-storey commercial complex and podium as a means to house more people and hawkers from the Urban Renewal Scheme²⁹ (see Figure 2). Other examples include the Rochor Centre (with commercial activities located around a central courtyard of the podium), Albert Centre (a market and food centre podium), Cheng Yan Court (commercial activities are lined up along the streets while the courtyard is occupied by a carpark), and Waterloo Centre (a four-storey commercial podium isolated from its surroundings, occupied mostly by hardware shops and motor spare part dealers, and often void of community activities).

Unlike today's enhanced connectivity network and presence of social media, the need to connect residents and the Government by providing pertinent information and gathering feedback on national concerns and policies saw the construction of neighbourhood community clubs, each serving about 15,000 households. It is a building which provides common spaces for people of all races to come together, build friendships and promote social bonding³⁰. In our exploration of these community clubs, we should also be mindful of their social control roles as the political undertones of laying the foundation for networks of communication and monitoring for direct political indoctrination³¹. The advent of technology today, however, provokes urban designers and planners to rethink the performance of Singapore's neighbourhoods as they become venues to get to only for the conduct of activities or daily routines – the reality of social



FIGURE 2 HDB's podium-tower neighbourhood typology in Bras Basah Complex

processes (representational space) taking over the conceived spatial forms initially designed for.

Following this and secondly, HDB introduced in recent years the next-generation typology for the newer neighbourhoods of Singapore as part of its roadmap towards developing well- designed, sustainable and community-centric towns in a one-stop live-work-play-learn environment for residents. Central to this new typology is three fundamental aspects, namely, Community, Convenience and Connectivity, and Consultation³³. Regarding Community, the goal is to enhance social interaction and community bonds among residents forged through daily activities or community events. This entails the provision of ample shared community spaces and a sheltered community plaza as a common feature in the neighbourhood centres. The goal of Convenience and Connectivity is to provide easy access to a mix of commercial facilities and local amenities, hence minimising the need for residents to travel out of their town for their daily necessities. By designing with direct connections to transport nodes also meant that the new typology would see better connections with surrounding housing precincts, amenities and facilities. The Consultation design aspect seeks to achieve a neighbourhood centre with amenities, retail and dining options that meet the needs of the residents through participatory design processes with the public on their lifestyle needs and preferences for the trade mix. Examples of this upcoming next-gen typology include the Oasis Terraces (see Figure 3), Northshore Plaza, Canberra Plaza, Buangkok Square, and Kampung Admiralty, all of which intended to promulgate the “Kampung Spirit” —a term used to describe

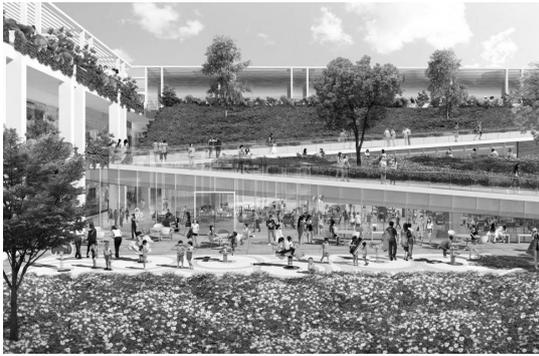


FIGURE 3 Artist's Impression of the Community Plaza at Oasis Terraces featuring lush garden terraces for horticulture, and retail outlets and outdoor areas for communal dining³²

the neighbourliness and cohesion found in kampungs (local villages) of yesteryear³⁴.

Kampung Admiralty is a completed project which identifies itself as an “all-in-one village” integrated development in a bid to be the ‘modern kampung’ of the Admiralty neighbourhood (see Figure 4). A closer exploration, however, raises possible queries on the lack of an incentivising vehicle towards the encouragement of participation in collaborative activities despite the array of shared spaces and amenities made available. This is because while these spaces are well-conceived in community-centric terms such as the community plaza, community farm, community park, they still seem to be lacking that richness in the occurrence of collaborative activities (representational space of the users). The array of retail and dining options available also appears to be defined by big-brand commercial names. While significant design thinking improvements seen here is commendable as compared to the previous typology, the crux in designing for the

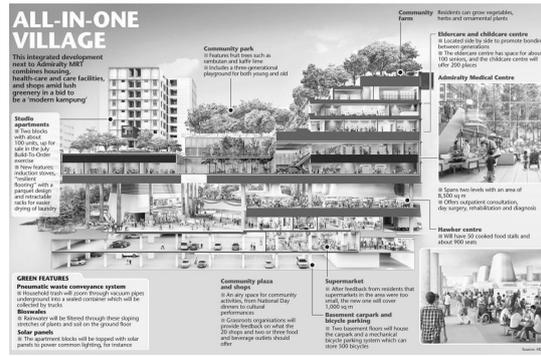


FIGURE 4 Artist's Impression of the all-in-one ‘modern kampung’ in Kampung Admiralty³⁵

spatial practice of co-production and collaborative consumption remains foggy as we still appear to be driving this linear relationship between spatial arrangement and social processes.

Here, we suggest that the design of the future urban neighbourhoods will benefit from a system for sharing, in the form of an incentivising loop to trigger the occurrence and participation in sharing practices, thereby fostering the intended social interaction and community bonds required for the sustainable performance and maintenance of the beautifully envisioned shared spaces. For the purpose of this design investigation, the economic production and consumption dimension of the Joo Chiat neighbourhood is identified to explore a hypothetical sharing system proposal for regeneration of Joo Chiat. The findings may also serve as a prototype to other neighbourhoods in Singapore, not restricted to the same scale of intervention but an application of the framework ideals to public spaces like void decks, carparks. Joo Chiat is Singapore’s



FIGURE 5 An antique furniture maker and art gallery resides within one of the historical shophouses in the Joo Chiat neighbourhood



FIGURE 6 A rich composition of traditional repair and craft-making shops reside in the Joo Chiat neighbourhood

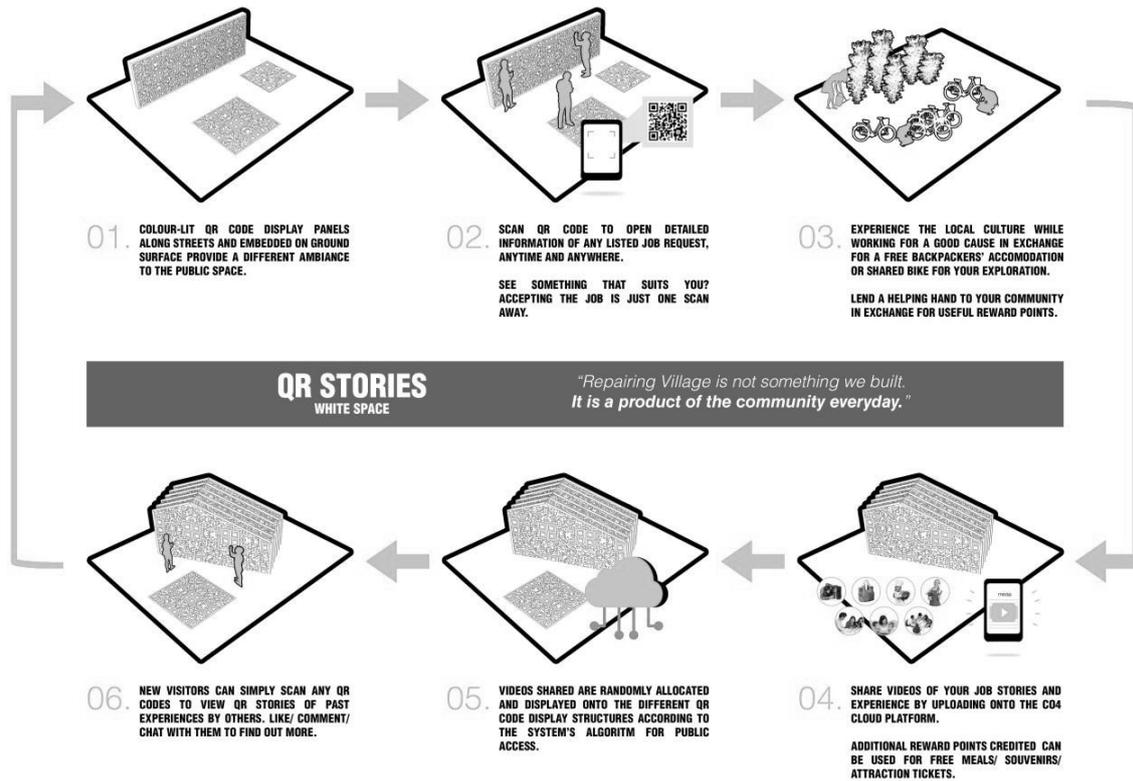


FIGURE 8 System map illustration of the proposed physical-virtual marketplace for work within the neighbourhood.

are first introduced along the shop-lined streets of Joo Chiat and embedded on pedestrian surface paths, adding a touch of ambience to public space. Residents and visitors may scan the QR Codes with their mobile devices to open detailed information of any listed job request, anytime and anywhere. Here, an individual lends a helping hand to the community in exchange for useful reward points such as free accommodation for the tourists or usage of shared facilities. Unlike freelancing remotely, users are exposed to the local culture through working for a good cause. Additional incentives are provided if one shares videos of his or her experiences at the job through the designated cloud platform. Aside from its practical functionality, these QR Code display panels serve to enhance the pedestrian experience in randomly displaying the different QR Codes for public access to these videos. An individual can simply scan them to view the 'stories' of others' experiences or chat with them to find out more. Essentially, a Repairing Village thus potentially becomes the new form of public space defined by different dimensions of sharing. The social

processes between 'repairing' and 'community' provide the necessary platform for active social entrepreneurialism and new forms of interaction within and beyond the local scale.

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS FUTURE URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS DESIGNED FOR THE COMMUNITY

The primary objective of this study is to clarify, and then explicate, the hitherto concepts of 'co-production' and 'collaborative consumption' and their relationships to sharing and design in practice. In doing this, we suggest how envisioning spatial practice of these concepts entails a need to prioritise against the values, limitations and biases of the sharing economy. These claims are further reinforced through an examination of the state-of-the-art of co-production and collaborative consumption from the economic lens in which we argue for the criticality of interactions from both cultural contextualization and utilitarian perspectives. The 'co-' aspects to co-production and collaborative

consumption suggest embedded social processes which cannot be reductively simplified or solely focused on conceiving spatial forms hoping for the emergence of sharing exchanges.

As a pivotal design application example, we see many possibilities of how existing arguments towards repairing as a form of cooperative sharing can be translated into efficacious design for the spatial practice of co-production and collaborative consumption. It needs to be clarified however that by no means should this be a precondition for sharing. The results seek to provoke the way we design for sharing within a broader context.

The design of new public spaces to enable and promote sharing, in this case, co-production and collaborative consumption, will benefit from a framework predicated on the systems approach, allowing the relationships among its sub-systems to be made clear and designed towards the end goals.

In light of the acknowledgements, the design of these new public spaces for shareability potentially questions us to rethink the typology and dimensions of future urban neighbourhoods with maximum flexibility and customisation.

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New Types of Fresh Food Retail in Urban Public Spaces in the Condition of Beijing Phasing out Non-Capital Functions

Junsheng Fu
Wenyi Zhu

School of Architecture,
Tsinghua University,
China

ABSTRACT

Food nourishes us, enriches our celebrations, and sustains itself. Access to healthy food is a fundamental right for all. In Beijing, fresh food retail outlets, formal or informal, have always been the essential parts of daily life for urban dwellers. In the past three years, however, “phasing out non-capital functions” has been made one of the central policy of the national and Beijing local government. Traditional marketplaces, open-air markets and street vendors which are labeled as unsightly, disordered and obsoleted places, are facing measures like “Prohibit”, “Shut Down”, “Control” “Transfer”, “Adjust”.

Under such a circumstance, this article tries to explore Beijing’s new generation of fresh food retail in urban public spaces in transition. The article first gives a briefly introduction of recent removal of traditional food markets. Then the article gives an overview of fresh food retail outlets in contemporary Beijing. After that, three different new types of food retail outlets are focused. Old food markets are gradually being renovation or rebuilt. Some of the renovated food markets continue to serve as vibrant public spaces, while others are losing their original social functions. New generation of food supermarkets appears, with different arrangement of functions and spatial layout, aiming at creating new type of community center. Farmers’ markets are increasingly getting attention, often held in or around commercial buildings and shopping malls, and further activate those commercial space and transform them into a vibrant public space within the markets time. Through field research, it’s proved that different kinds of fresh food retail spaces still play a very important role in contemporary Beijing. They bring vitality into public spaces, create distinctiveness mixed-life places, spark urban revitalization, foster community diversity, and improve public health. With the in-depth understanding and constantly tracking research of local conditions, we can better integrate fresh food retail spaces into communities and public spaces in future Beijing city.

KEYWORDS

*Fresh Food Retail, Urban Public Space,
Food Market, Supermarket, Farmers’
Market, Beijing*

INTRODUCTION

In the past three years, “phasing out non-capital functions” has become the core strategy of Beijing’s urban development. This includes both the new districts constructions of the Beijing’s sub-center Tongzhou District and the Xiong’an New Area, as well as the removal of regional specialized markets, the dismantling of illegal constructions, cleaning up the “holes in the walls” and other urban renovation and environment remediation works. In China, food markets, street vendors, morning markets, grocery stores and other traditional urban fresh food retail spaces, which have long been ignored by designers and planners, are lack of specific criterions, guidelines and management systems, thus causes a series of problems in urban public space and gives people an impression of “dirty mess”. On the other hand, cleaning up food markets and street shops also forced a lot of small vendors move out of Beijing, which contributes to control the total urban population. Therefore, food markets have been important targets of phasing out non-capital function action in the last three years. According to statistics, in 2016, 45 out of 117 markets remediated by Beijing government were food markets, 13 of which were demolished and 32 were emptied. In 2017, within the 120 markets going to be remediated, food markets accounted for 68.

Fresh food access is a basic livelihood requirement for civil life. Despite the problems of irregularities, environmental pollutions, impacts on the city image, illegal business, removal of food markets and street stores make it much more difficult for residents to buy fresh food. Many people complain that life is not as convenient as it used to be. Municipal government responded and carried out “Guidance and suggestion on improving the communities’ commercial facilities during phasing out non-capital functions actions”. It said that in the process of regional specialized markets removal, food markets should be treated differently. For current existing markets, renovation and upgrading according to the standard specification should be the first priority. For those food markets unlicensed or incompliance with the master planning, the principle of “withdrawal and compensation” should be followed to ensure that the service area and the service function unchanged. Alternative measures and multiple ways of food retail should

be established to meet the residents’ demand of getting fresh food. On the other hand, actively looking for vacate or under-utilized space to improve convenience commercial requirements and other public service facilities and to improve the quality of citizens’ daily life. Under this background, this paper attempts to explore the new types of urban fresh food retail outlets in transition, and tries to discuss their impacts and effects on urban public spaces.

OVERVIEW OF FRESH FOOD RETAIL OUTLETS IN CONTEMPORARY BEIJING

Fresh food retail outlets, refers to places selling vegetables, fruits, meat and eggs and other agricultural and sideline products. In Beijing, typical fresh food retail outlets include food market, community food store, fresh food supermarket, community food truck, morning market, Farmers’ market, and so on.

At the end of 2013, the Beijing municipal government promulgated “Construction and management of fresh food retail outlets in Beijing”, which was used for the planning, construction and related management activities of food retail outlets. In new residential area, food markets and community food stores should be designed and built according to the requirement of the residential public service facilities. In existing residential area without enough food outlets, vacate or under-utilized community facilities are encouraged to renovated and transformed into food retail spaces, as well as setting up morning markets, weekend markets, food trucks. At the end of 2016, the Beijing municipal commission of commerce issued five criterions of formal community food retail, to further clarify food markets, community food stores, fresh food supermarkets, hypermarket supermarkets selling food, community food truck as five main approaches of Beijing fresh food retail. The number of fresh food retail outlets in each community shall be no less than two.

By the end of 2016, there are 3924 fresh food retail outlets in Beijing city, with an area of 4.97 million square meters in total. Among them, there are 411 food markets, 1842 community food stores, 295 fresh food supermarkets, 1192 hypermarket supermarket (or convenience stores) selling food, 49 morning markets, and 135 food retail outlets of other types. In addition, 273 food trucks from 5 different companies drive into nearly 600

communities to sell fresh food directly, filling the blank areas in community food retail.

RENOVATION OF TRADITION FOOD MARKETS

In Beijing, food market is an important place for people to buy vegetables and other fresh foods, and is an important source of urban vitality. However, the architecture of food market has been neglected by designers for a long time, and it also gives people the impression of “dirty and messy”. Many food markets were demolished or relocated. In June 2016, People’s Daily published an article named “Do not put the ‘non-capital’ label on food markets”, expressed the concerns about the loss of city residents’ most important channel of obtaining fresh food. Recently the Beijing municipal government also proposed that food market is essential in daily life and need to be gradually upgraded, while its management need to be strengthened at the same time. New criterion is carried out. Community food market should be built accordance with 50sqm for every 1000 residents; small community food market should be area 500-1000sqm in size; medium-sized community food market should be 1000-1500sqm in size; large community food market should be 2000-2500sqm in size.

The first type of renovation or new construction makes food market more and more similar to traditional supermarkets in terms of business model and spatial layout. Dongdan food market, with a history of 100 years, was rebuilt in September 2015. The new Dongdan food market locates in Hepingli, with a total of 7 floors. B3 is used for underground parking lot; B2 is used for warehouse and refrigeration equipment; Floors from B1 to L4 are designed for the consumption area. The new market is over 9700 square meters in area. However, good location, adequate supporting facilities, clean interior environment did not make the new food market get full

satisfaction of city residents. After the initial opening period with prosperity, passenger flow began to decrease significantly in less than half a year. From the space layout, new Dongdan market did not choose the spatial layout of traditional market; instead, spatial model of hypermarket is used. Fresh food, daily necessities, tobacco and non-staple food are arranged on different floors. When looking at architectural appearance, the new Dongdan food market does not have too many highlights either. The lack of transparence and commercial atmosphere of the façade makes it looks like a typical memorial or office building. For consumers, the new Dongdan food market is not the original lively and vibrant food market any more.

The second type of renovation tries to retain the spatial pattern of traditional food market. The Sanyuanli food market in Chaoyang district is not only popular with local residents, but also with foreign consumers, due to its good management and continuous upgrading of environment. The food market in Sanyuanli was established in 1992, from the initial open-air market, to the semi-covered market, to the fully enclosed market now. Sanyuanli food market is about 170 meters in length and 10 meters in width with a single span structure. The consumption area is 1560 square meters. Limited by the shape of the building, the spatial layout of the interior space is quite simple. A main passageway with a width of 3.7m runs through the building, and 139 stalls are arranged on both sides.

The renovation of Sanyuanli food market is gradual and tactical. In the latest round of renovation in 2013, the ceiling of the interior was removed, exposing the sloped roof and the steel truss structure, and skylights were set up to introduce natural light making the space brighter. All the stalls are identical in size as well as logo design. However, through the placement



Figure 1 New Dongdan food market (<http://photo.qianlong.com>)



Figure 2 Fashionable people in traditional Sanyuanli food market.

of different types of fresh food, sellers decorate their own stalls with distinctive features and thus attract customers. The market combines “shopping” with “sightseeing”. Even in the afternoon, the market is still crowded because of a large number of “tourists”. In 2015, Sanyuanli food market hosted the public space art exhibition in Beijing international Design Week, which then became a fixed festival, hosted every August and September. Talented artists turn the market into an art gallery, Sanyuanli food market has been reported by media as “International Style”.

If we compare the two types of transformation of food market, from the urban public space perspective, the latter is obviously better than the former one. The former, however, is the current mainstream. The hypermarket-type of food market is easy to develop and manage, but gradually lose the ability of serving as urban public space. Relevant government departments, academics, and architects should continuously explore architecture and urban design ways, combined with Beijing local characteristic, to update and renovate existing food markets and explore its active influence to urban vitality.

NEW GENERATION OF FOOD SUPERMARKETS

Fresh food supermarket is an important way for Beijing city residents to get fresh food, which can be divided into hypermarket selling fresh food and independent food supermarket. According to the statistics of 2016, the number of supermarkets selling fresh food in Beijing is 1,487. This number has increased rapidly in the last four years.

Compared to the food markets, supermarkets’ opening-hour can provide services to a wider range of people; Compared to community food stores, supermarkets have much more kinds of products. More importantly, through the chain and brand management, supermarkets are more likely to create a comfortable, hygienic and tidy space environment. Compared with the “dirty and messy” urban image of traditional food markets, supermarkets are more likely to be favored by urban management departments. The supermarket pursues an orderly and efficient sales product. Design considerations such as strict partition of cashier area, shelf area and logistics warehouse area, immutable arrangement and organization of streamline with single gateway are not to encourage people to stay in the supermarket for social interaction. Therefore, traditional supermarkets are seldom discussed in the study of urban public space. In recent years, however, the rapid development of e-commerce has greatly affected physical economy, including food supermarkets. The supermarket’s appeal to consumers is beginning to diminish. Traditional food supermarkets are looking for change. Among them, “Hema Supermarket” is the first to appear in the city residents’ vision and life with the new food supermarket form.

Hema Supermarket is created by Alibaba group under their “new retail” concept. It is a new generation of integrated food supermarket, which can be generally summarized as combination of three main functions: fresh food market, delicacy



Figure 3 Entrance, interior space, food stalls of Sanyuanli food markets



Figure 4 Shopping and eating mixed together in Hema Supermarket

food court, and e-commerce distribution supplier. Consumers who come can not only do shopping here, but also choose on-site processing, cooking services, and enjoy fresh food they buy. The first store was opened in Shanghai in 2016. In June 2017, the Hema Supermarket landed in Beijing and quickly opened three stores in Shilipu, Dongba of the Chaoyang district, and Dacheng in Fengtai district.

490

From the location point of view, the 3 supermarkets are close to Beijing 4th Ring Road, and choosing community shopping centers surrounded with large residential area. According to the information on the internet, in 2017, Hema supermarket plans to open another 10 stores in Beijing. In long terms development, they aim at creating a community commercial service network with 3km region from each supermarket. Within the service region of the supermarket, consumers can order fresh food on the Internet and receive them within 30 minutes. Some real estate agents even come up with the concept of “Residential buildings in Hema District”. On the other hand, the booming of on-line consumption doesn't weaken customers' enthusiasm for the

consumption in the real store. Hema Supermarket usually open stores in underground space of shopping malls. The area of one supermarket is usually between 4000sqm to 6000sqm, and sometimes can be more than 10000sqm. The Hema Supermarket located in Shilihe is the first store in Beijing, with an area of 10,800 square meters, more than 3,000 kinds of fresh food and over 10,000 customers coming every day.

The interior space layout is the biggest characteristic of Hema supermarket, which differs from the traditional one. Hema supermarket do not set up a clear functional zoning; Instead fresh food retail, cooking, processing, dining, picking, distribution and other functions are mixed together. Food shelves includes Seafood, Fruit & vegetable, Butchery, Dairy, Rice & oil, Cooked food, Beverage. Food bars and counters includes Chinese food, Gourmet food, Japanese food, Hot pot, seafood bar and so on. The dining table and chairs are arranged in groups, interspersed around restaurant counters and fresh food shelves. Space design combines circular and cross streamlines, without square grid of corridors and shops. Consumers are browsing through different restaurants and food areas, deliberately making the feel of shopping in the market. Consumers can select fresh food from the shelves, take them to the processing window directly, and then find a free table to sit down and enjoy the meal. The scene is very relaxing and lively.

The interior design language of Hema supermarket is quite concise. Marble pavement, black shelves, large glass windows and open kitchens create a modern space marketplace. The height of shelves is about 1.5m, making it convenient for consumers to take food compared to traditional supermarket. The space between two shelves is also pulled up to nearly 2 meters, making it easier for multiple shopping carts to



Figure 5 Unique design of Hema supermarket interior space

pass through at the same time. In addition to the back of house of the packers, there are no extra warehouses in the supermarket. For online orders, the full-time salesperson will pick up the goods and put them on the transfer machine. Above the shelf and below the ceiling, there are a lot of metal orbit and protection nets, with different colors of shopping bag of drifts over from orbit. Through the design, this system has become unique landscape elements in the supermarket. Thanks to Alipay's electronic payment system, the vast array of checkout counters and the crowds waiting to check out in traditional supermarkets are disappeared here. The concept of supermarket entry is further weakened. As a whole, the spatial type of Hema supermarket is more similar to an open food market, which is diverse and dynamic.

Revival of GANJI: Farmers' markets in privately owned-public space

“GANJI” is a Chinese ancient and important form of trade, which means gathering at fixed locations on a regular basis, setting up temporary market, buying and selling goods, such as temple fair, rural county and so on. The small type of GANJI, such as the morning market and night market, is an most important channel for urban residents to buy food. However, since there is no fixed place and the lack of a reasonable management system, this kind of temporary market often make urban public space chaotic and crowded, therefore is banned by city government. In central Beijing, it is increasingly difficult to see the scene of the bustling GANJI.

In recent years, Chinese consumers have become increasingly concerned about organic food. Since 2010, farmers' markets, which emphasizes local and organic food, have emerged in big cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Xi'an, Guangzhou, Chengdu and Shenzhen. Most farmers' market convened by the volunteers or nonprofit organizations, builds the platform for small and medium-sized independent farmers to communicate directly with consumers and citizens. In China, farmers' market has not been included in the official food retail forms and the relative authority of the statistics have not appeared yet. According to reports, among all the farmers' market in China, “Beijing Farmers' Market” is the largest in size and has the longest history.

Set up in 2010, the Beijing Farmers' Market



Figure 6 Vibrant farmers' market in Nali Patio during a weekday

was launched by a group of consumers who are concerned about ecological agriculture issues. Since its inception seven years ago, more than 500 markets have been held and 800,000 customers have been directly served. At the beginning, the markets were held every 1 or 2 months; Now 3 markets are held in a week in average, and more than 150 markets are held every year. There are more than 50 households and businesses attending into the markets.

From the perspective of spatial loctions, the famers' markets mostly hold in the central urban area, such as Dongcheng district, Xicheng district, Haidian district and Chaoyang district. Since September 2010, Beijing Farmers' Market has been held in dozens of different venues throughout the city. From the initial selection of art spaces, suburban farms to hold small-scale experience activities, to now choosing high-quality indoor and outdoor space of commercial buildings with convenient traffic location, better accessibility in large residential area to hold the markets periodicity and regularity, we can see that the farmers' market transformed from an initial “behavior art” gradually into a public-oriented organic food retail outlet. As its growing influence, Beijing Farmers' Market and some venues form a relatively stable cooperation. Some of the commercial place invite and even pay them to set up markets in order to gather popularity and attract customers. According to the research, the current Beijing Farmers' Markets locations are with Sanlitun Nali Patio, Qinghe Dreamport Shopping Mall, Sanyuanqiao Phoenix Shopping Arcade, Liangmaqiao Genesis Beijing Office, Zizhuyuan Shangri - la Hotel, as well the Yizhuang Creative Life Plaza, etc. The markets take turns to

be held in different locations aiming at influencing larger areas. A market is generally held at noon, and lasts for 3-4 hours. The number of people attending the market sometimes can reach as many as 4,000.

The spatial types of farmers' market vary from outdoor public space such as commercial pedestrian street, shopping center plaza, courtyard of commercial building, outdoor garden of hotel, to indoor space such as underground space or atrium in shopping mall. Markets in different locations vary from each other, according to the original sites characteristics. For example, in Nali Patio, the market uses its commercial courtyard for a compact type of layout. The closed-shaped circular streamline connects stalls on both sides. The furniture on site are rearranged at the time of the market. With a large and small octagonal umbrella, white woven table and seat, the farmers easily turn the courtyard into a distinctive marketplace. Every Tuesday noon, rectangular-shaped courtyard with 30 meters in length and 18 meters in width becomes full of urban vitality; In Phoenix Shopping Arcade, a sky- walkway passing through the site, divide the pedestrian street into two regions. When the market is held, farmers arrange the stalls under the walkway in a linear shape, attracting customers from both sides in the pedestrian street. The overhead walkway naturally forms a shelter for each food stall; In the wide lawn of the Shangri-La hotel garden, farmers set up temporary rectangular tents, which are linked together side by side. Large green space is left in the center. As adults browsing for food at different stalls, children can play on the lawn, creating a scene of a party.

If we only looking at the scope of service area, its population and the quantity of food it sells, the role and contribution of farmers' markets in Beijing city is "little" and limited. However, farmer's market, with its modern way, makes the

disappearing "GANJI" preserved and rebirth in modern Chinese cities. The strict screening of farmers and mature management mode, make the contemporary farmers' markets get rid of the "dirty" image and create a comfortable, clean, healthy, vibrant urban public space. Of course, compared with rich types of markets locations in United States such as city squares, urban streets, community parks, public parking lots, contemporary Beijing farmers' markets space is relatively single. Almost all the markets are held in high-end commercial space like shopping malls and hotels. One of the reason is that commercial space, which is known as "Privately owned public space", can provide stable venues and more customers. With the increasing attention on food issues and the rapid development of farmers' markets, the author believes that the types of market space in future cities will increase.

CONCLUSIONS

"Phasing out non-capital functions" and "environment remediation" have not weakened Beijing urban residents' demand for fresh food. Overall, renovated food markets, new generation of food supermarkets, open-air farmers' markets, are all looking for new ways to create a place full of vitality and attracting consumers. In contemporary Beijing, fresh food retail outlets continue to play an important role in urban public space.

The transformed food markets have become smaller and more community oriented. There are less and less large food markets in the city. The interior environment of the market is cleaner and tidier, and the space tends to be in order. However, compared to the traditional food market, to some extent, openness, diversity and complexity are lost. Large number of food markets became a single place to sell food and lost the original neighborhood social functions. In a sense, the



Figure 7 Diverse types of farmers' markets places

space mode and function of food markets become more and more like traditional supermarkets; In contrary, however, fresh food supermarkets began to focus on spatial design. New generation of supermarkets represented by the Hema is a big innovation in both business philosophy and spatial design. As with its business plan, more Hema supermarkets will be opened to form a 3km community service region. What will happen then still remains to be seen. The space layout and function of new generation of supermarkets become more and more like traditional food market; Traditional “GANJI” has continued and developed in contemporary cities in the way of farmers’ markets. At present, almost all the sites to held Beijing farmers’ markets are commercial “privately owned public space”. Shopping malls, shopping streets and commercial quarters do play an important role in Beijing’s public life. The farmer’s markets can further activate those commercial space and transform them into a vibrant public space within the markets time.

William h. Whyte, distinguished American scholar, once said, “If you want to seed a place

with activity, put out food.” Urban fresh food retail space is not only a guarantee for citizen’ daily life, but also an important source of vitality for urban public space. Creating multiple layers of fresh food retail system with enough diversity, rational distribution of food retail outlets with better accessibility, and comfortable and unique food retail spaces with strong openness, do need the attention and participation of Chinese urbanists, planners and architects. This paper attempts to investigate and record the new types of urban vegetable retail space in contemporary Beijing city, and aims to find out the problems, explore potentials, and propose possibilities for future development. Only with the in-depth understanding and constantly tracking research of local conditions, as well as the proper knowledge of food system planning and relative design experience abroad, we are able to contribute in future actual planning and design practices, so as to create better urban fresh food retail space in Beijing.

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The Over-Friendly City: Tourism, Public Space and Mobility in Lisbon

João Rafael Santos

CIAUD,
Faculdade de Arquitetura,
Universidade de Lisboa,
Portugal

ABSTRACT

Despite considerable slowdown in economic activities and constraints to public investment in large scale infrastructure, Lisbon is emerging as one of the most attractive destinations in Europe. Tourism has been driving major changes in the functional realm of the city's historical districts, in which areas in disrepair undergo spatial and functional renewal, taking advantage, with new accommodation, shopping and cultural venues. Recently upgraded transportation nodes, public space renewal and refurbished urban facilities have also played a meaningful role in this process. However, issues such as gentrification and conflict with existing uses are also being pinpointed with criticism, often resorting to the argument of an unbalanced mixture favouring *touristification*.

495

KEYWORDS

*Touristification, Mobility Infrastructure,
Public Space, Urban Regeneration,
Lisbon*

The paper provides insight into some aspects of this process, with a focus on the relational aspects of mobility upgrade, public space renewal and inner-city spatial regeneration. They allow a discussion on the role of central city districts in relation with the upgrade of infrastructural nodes (e.g. metropolitan multimodal interfaces, port reorganization and relocation, new river terminals). Several urban projects are mapped, providing a cartography for the transformation and conflicts between the expectations of Lisbon's stakeholders and the tourist trend-setters.

INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines the emerging fields of relationship between tourism and recently developed projects of infrastructure, mobility and public space in Lisbon. This discussion stems from previously developed lines of research regarding Lisbon's urban and metropolitan morphogenesis and its relationship with large scale infrastructural networks. An initial stage of research provided the theoretical and empirical basis to address metropolitan morphogenesis, with an identification of processes and stages of development from 1856 until 2007 (Santos, 2012a). In a second step, some specific areas in the city of Lisbon with changing patterns of relationship between infrastructural upgrade and public space improvement were outlined (Santos, 2012b).

This paper's specific contribution links the spatial apparatus of metropolitan scale infrastructure with the smaller scaled fabric of Lisbon's central city districts. The focus on public space projects, associated with those of heavy infrastructure, provide the common ground between the morphological approach, post-network criticism and their linkages with specific patterns of urban life – in this case, tourism. An in-depth analysis of Lisbon's tourism is intentionally left behind in the discussion, as the main thematic focus stems from infrastructural space. Tourism, however, is a field from which a timely discussion regarding future prospects for Lisbon's urban development can emerge. Tourism can be approached as a commercial product but also as spatial package with which multiple actors are engaged. A brief literature review in this field is outlined in the following chapter, followed by some contextual data on Lisbon tourism performance. Projects developed in central Lisbon districts since 2000 are addressed in chapter 3. A discussion regarding the conflicts and opportunities in public realm arising from Lisbon's growing attraction as a tourism destination is made on chapter 4. Finally, some conclusions and implications for urban planning are drawn in chapter 5.

THE URBAN FACE OF TOURISM

Research regarding the spatial organization of tourism reveals relevant linkages with urban development issues. The reverse happens in a clear way as well, by acknowledging tourism activities as major drivers of urban attraction, economic

progress and spatial regeneration. As a complex field, it requires a critical approach in order to identify realms of conflict and opportunity, to better understand and inform future development, adaptation and policy-making.

Three lines of discussion can help us better understand the relational aspects of tourism and the spatial and infrastructural apparatus of cities:

- The spatial patterns of urban tourism practice and their evolving configurations
- The arguments relating urban regeneration and tourism
- The (global) connection of (local) infrastructure as an interface between city and tourism

The spatial patterns of urban tourism practice and their evolving configurations

The emergence of tourism as mass-phenomenon came hand in hand with the establishment of Fordist model of socio-economic organization. In such model, leisure and vacation became part of a consumer activity, itself geared to the overall industrial, labour and welfare apparatus engineered in the 20th century (Hoffman et al, 2003). A rather clear spatio-temporal duality between work and leisure shapes both the industrial city and the tourist destination. Under this paradigm, cities and their public realm played a subsidiary role as a sort of detour or small extension of other places such as beach areas, resorts, themed enclaves (Judd, 2003). Even in many cities with a long-established tourism reputation, such as Rome, Paris or Vienna, monuments and museums were the cornerstone of visitor attraction. In these cases, the time and space of visitors was shaped as an archipelago to be toured in packages, often resorting to pre-arranged schedules and transportation.

That duality between work and leisure, even if rather generic, starts to be eroded as part of a wider post-industrial transition. Not only Fordist socio-economic fundamentals are challenged by increased behavioural individualization, productive reorganization and economic globalization, but so are spatial and functional apparatus that supported travel and visitor practices. The extraordinary development of air travel with lowering costs and expanding connections allowed for a much wider horizon. The quest for different and unique experiences

resulted in the exploitation of new distant and exotic destinations, but also in the growing competition between cities to stage events and provide various amenities for a highly diverse target of traveller. Two categories of tourism apparatus may be highlighted:

- the *hypertourism* apparatus (Costa, 1995), in which attractions are devised in themed, enclaved (mega-malls, amusement parks, resorts, casino complexes, completely touristified heritage sites such as Venice...) and media-constructed spaces;
- the *territorialized* tourism, in which multi-functional stimulus shape the visitor landscape, in which always changing relational and sometimes collaborative configurations (Costa and Martinotti, 2003) are established between visitors, city users and residents.

Under these circumstances, the diversification of demand is met by the diversification of offer. In terms of urban spaces, the attraction of monumental sites and classical landmarks is now seen as part of a broader experience, in which places with contrasting characteristics may be featured as well as having attraction potential. Former industrial sites, old port waterfronts or major railroad infrastructures were some of the most visible faces of post-industrial urban scenarios. On the other hand, socially deprived, traffic-jammed or services-oriented city centres were rediscovered as places of identity and socio-cultural potential. Tourism rationales become more entangled with a more sensitive approach to cultural specificities.

Multi-motivated tourists (Costa and Martinotti, 2003) explore variegated forms of appropriation and interaction in a given place. Previous dualities are blurred as the spatio-temporalities of work and recreation give way to far more fluid intermingling. The city becomes again a site for this co-existence. Imagine visitors coming to town for a conference or a business meeting, sharing a late afternoon drink over a belvedere with a nice view with a group of local residents with friends who work in the city but live in the metropolis 20 km away. They are later taken to a music concert designed by a renowned architect, meeting a couple of far-eastern architecture enthusiasts having a guided tour around the building less known intricate spaces. Their guide

is an international student connected to a small local operator which organizes tailor-made visiting tours resorting to internet and mobile apps. All tours start from the newly refurbished marketplace, where vegetable and fruit sellers lend charm and ingredients both to the small food stalls and to the neighbouring residents. This scene reveals different faces a now usual urban landscape of practices. Post-industrial tourism can thus be metaphorically seen as a sort of bricolage experience (Judd, 2003), either tailor-made for affluent tourists, or based on small-scale products available at the urban space, or even assembled piece-by-piece by travellers with lower budgets or seeking their own path of discovery.

The arguments relating urban regeneration, infrastructure, public space and tourism

When conceived as part of urban regeneration strategies, tourism programming becomes closely associated with the various dimensions of urban planning and development control. In terms of public investment, it requires the definition of priorities regarding public realm (amenities, safety, and landscape quality) and public urban facilities. On the side of private development control, it engages with rules regarding not only to accommodation and commercial activities but also to partnership and cooperation in promotion, animation and tourist services.

As noted by Costa and Martinotti (2003:62), tourism has acquired a strategic function in local development policies, replacing industry as the economic backbone and employment driver of many cities. In a service-based economy, consumption and recreation are particularly attractive in the redevelopment of former industrial and infrastructural sites. The discourses of environmental awareness, leisure fruition and employment recovery have driven many large scale interventions to find new uses for such run-down territories. However, when faced with rationales largely determined by market forces, these discourses quickly turn into highly problematic fields of conflict and contradiction (Hayllar et al, 2008; Spirou, 2011; Moufakkir and Burns, 2012; Wilson et Tallon, 2012). Touristification, gentrification and commodification are some of the critical concepts used to triangulate the complex interdependency between tourism, urban development and the socio-cultural realm.

Either seen as a panacea to tackle urban distress or as an engine to drive urban economy tourism is as prone as any other activity to the limits and thresholds of sustainability. Just as productive activities, tourism draws on a multi-dimensional set of resources: spatial, environmental, human, cultural. In cities, these resources are hardly managed as a quantifiable and controllable stock. They are interwoven between material and immaterial; they are co-constructed by many players, both locals and outsiders; they may be reinvented and newly produced just as jeopardized by conjectural and unexpected factors (i.e. the impact of terrorism, socio-political uprisings or natural hazards).

Taking urban mega-events as research cases to address patterns of urban tourism, van den Berg et al (2003), argued for the existence of a European model that differs from the enclave-oriented American model. Given its social and historical stratification, European cities tend to better intermingle tourism spaces with the ordinary city fabric, making large displacement of residents or cultural friction a less common event. However, even cities as Barcelona, with strong civic engagement and a sensible approach to the public realm (Smith, 2005, Capel, 2007), are seen as victims of an over-exploited resource – its own public realm (Diaz-Parra, 2015). In a context of economic slow-down or retraction, the temptation of exploiting the city's capital of attraction through a rather de-regulated model, replacing public commitment and strategic investment in key infrastructure with shorter-term and piece-meal initiatives, may result dangerously risky (Tulumello, 2015). Such risk stems from the commoditisation of everything relatable to tourism. Besides what Spirou calls the commodification of pleasure (Spirou, 2001), one may recall other spatialized forms of commodification: of networks, infrastructure and urban amenities, of urban space or culture.

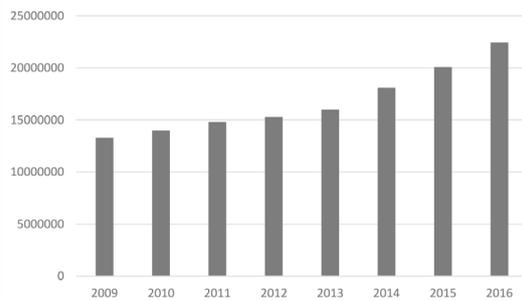
The provision and (global) connection of (local) infrastructure as a support for tourism is probably one of such areas in which frail balances between commodification and the maintenance of its public status are closely associated with the process of decision-making in urban planning. Criticism regarding splintered configurations (Graham and Marvin, 2001) of urban network investment based on dedicated/premium/segregated links to airports, to cruise terminals

or to office and R&D campuses with a number of exclusive facilities and urban scenarios points out to its impact in terms of unequal socio-spatial development. In multi-functional cities maintaining traditionally high levels of continuity and functional co-existence – such as those in South Europe –, these splintered configurations appear to be more difficult to appear. Nevertheless, they are still prone to less extreme forms of differentiated infrastructural provision. Dedicated management entities (the example of Parque Expo – a dedicated company running public space and urban facilities in the former Expo 98 site in Lisbon, from 1998 until 2014), control in accessibility to the inner-city districts (tolls, surveillance, polluting car restrictions) or privatization of urban infrastructure are recurrent in many cities with a prominent public sector (Mendes, 2013a: 44).

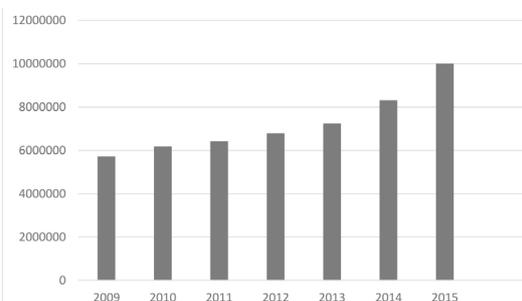
Despite a growing acknowledgement of a much more diversified range of city visitors' interests, a safe, clean, well-kept and well-connected urban environment remains as a key factor in attracting tourists. Fringe groups may also be drawn to peripheral, off-track spaces, better embedded in the local socio-cultural fabric. However, the majority relying on relatively standardized level of urban amenities, a tendency to shape local policies towards their expectations is probably result in higher degrees of socio-spatial divide.

The emerging tourism landscape of Lisbon

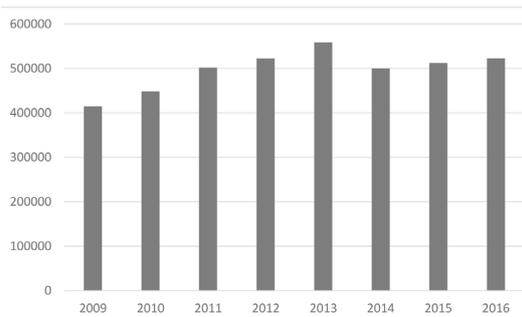
After initial flagship projects with high international visibility, such as the 1994 European Capital of Culture, the 1998 International Exhibition and the 2004 European Football Championship, Lisbon became an increasingly sought tourist destination in the European scene. These projects brought considerable change to the city's infrastructure and spatial amenities, with a strong commitment to the valorisation of urban heritage, public space and cultural venues. International visibility combined with attractive local conditions (relatively affordable prices, mild climate, strong identity, remarkable heritage and landscape sites, friendliness and safety, diversified and cosmopolitan leisure and nightlife offer) resulted in steady increases in the number of international visitors, visible both in the growing airport attractivity (Graph 1) and in the number of hotel stays (Graph 2). Since 2009, tourism sector in Lisbon has increased at an average level of 6% per year with European markets remaining



Graph 1 Passenger movement in Lisbon airport (Source: ANA (Aeroporto e Navegação Aérea), Commercial movement statistics, 2009-2016)



Graph 2 Overnight stays in Lisbon (city) (Source: INE (National Institute of Statistics), hotel overnight stays survey, 2009-2015)



Graph 3 Cruise ship movement in Lisbon port (Source: APL (Administração do Porto de Lisboa), Port activity statistics, 2009-2016)

as the main origin of visitors (55%), despite increasing numbers from Brazil, Russia and China (ATL, 2012, 2013, 2015).

Additionally, specific tourism niches began to take shape and grow as major vehicles of attraction: the cruise ship market (Graph 3), the low cost airline operators, the hostel and bnb sectors (JLL, 2015). City-breaks are currently the most important tourism category in Lisbon, taking advantage of easy access, while maintaining the rather unique blend between European and Mediterranean culture. One interesting issue is discussing Lisbon's touristic performance is related to the severe austerity context it is going through, namely since 2011. Tourism is virtually the only major sector in Lisbon in which high growth rates can be observed. It is, however, a growth that must critically observed, namely in its long-term perspective. Current offer, despite acknowledged as innovative and attractive to urban visitors, remains targeted at a rather lower economic strata of visitors. Lisbon's position in term of economic value remains distant from other cities with comparable numbers.

Tourist offer are mainly centred on conventional city landmarks, such as the historical districts and the monumental area of Belém, but has been successful in diversifying to other stems of attraction, such as the immaterial cultural heritage (Fado, popular festivities, creative hubs, renewed impetus on local associations), the riverfront and other outstanding landscape sites (the city's belvederes or the out-of-town landmarks of Sintra and Cascais), or the less massified activities related to wine production, horse riding, bird watching, nautical and other open air activities, all of which gaining prominence in the metropolitan outskirts regions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SPACE AND MOBILITY INFRASTRUCTURES IN LISBON

The last decade can be seen as a stage of transition in Lisbon's metropolitan infrastructural strata to what it was called the layering of a connective *fabric* (Santos, 2012a). This fabric is established through: 1) the multi-scalar recombination of various mobility, supply and communications networks; 2) the development of well-connected patches of urban development bridging or regenerating spatial and functional gaps in the metropolitan fabric; and 3) the introduction of

complex intermodal transport nodes.

The connection of metropolitan nodes in the central districts

In the meantime, transformations at a local level in the city of Lisbon began to be sensed as the underground system is expanded and connected to the railway, the airport, and to river and bus terminals in a number of new intermodal stations. Public space qualification and urban renewal projects started to be programmed in the areas adjacent to these new stations, taking a role in the framing of a better balanced and cohesive urban structure.

Specifically relevant to tourism, the downtown and riverfront transport hubs of *Terreiro do Paço*, *Rossio*, *Cais do Sodré* and *Santa Apolónia* played a key role in redefining the city's urban flows. These transport hubs were simple terminals of river traffic and railroad lines, without proper connection to other urban networks. Since the late 1990's, they were connected to the underground network defining the first step towards an efficient mobility network in the city central districts. More importantly, they provided a qualified spatial apparatus for commuters, city users and tourists in some of the noblest areas of the city such as the riverfront and the city's main plazas.

The underground station of *Baixa-Chiado* was also an important landmark for bringing that network to the hitherto declining commercial heart of Lisbon. It offers two entrances: one at the downtown district (*Baixa*), the other at the *Chiado* hill. Over the station, one of the most cherished department stores that had burnt down in the late 1980's – as the result of declining commercial tradition – was refurbished as a new shopping mall while maintaining a remarkable urban and architectural integrity. The station and shopping mall became popular links between the districts' lower and upper levels, driving a lasting commercial revival, both for Lisboners and tourists.

The investment in these transport nodes was a meaningful departure from decades of very limited public and political concern with the commercial and urban attractiveness of Lisbon's central districts. The 1970's and 1980's were mainly shaped by powerful centrifugal trends towards suburban axes, accompanied by strong population loss in the inner-city neighborhoods.

The 2011 census has shown, however, a slight tendency of demographic recovery in the most central districts, associated with a new type of residents: young singles and couples, with above average income and attracted to the trendy urban scene. This recovery cannot be properly assessed without a broader perspective on other urban activities, in which tourism is clearly playing a role as a trend-setter in recent years. On one hand, tourist accommodation has increased in number and diversity, its quality being widely acknowledged. On another hand, public space and other urban amenities have also been systematically upgraded and renovated, offering the needed infrastructure to support residential, working and tourist city users. Public space, together with heavy mobility infrastructure, can be said to be a key driver of urban regeneration in central Lisbon. The following section briefly outlines this recently upgraded public space system.

The improvement in the public space system associated with urban attractors

With most of housing in central Lisbon in private hands, the municipality's investment in urban regeneration is mainly focused on infrastructure and public space. This focus also stems from national and EU guidelines, in which public funding in recent years has been directed to environmental qualification and promotion of soft mobility. Such approach, in which physical interventions are prioritised can be better described as urban revitalization initiatives (Balsas, 2007, Mendes, 2013a). National policies on urban development during the late 1990's and early 2000's included a line of investment in the upgrade of spatial, environmental and mobility systems in several cities (MAOT, 2000; SEAOT, 2008). According to Baptista (2013), this investment – labelled Polis Program – is embedded in a Welfare State rationale:

“its focus on public-led intervention, public space for public use, and disciplining of private developers, makes sense in the context of a state apparatus that was still thinking of itself as “modernizing” toward a “European” welfare ideal already in decline elsewhere in the EU and the world at large. With its impetus to extend the benefits of modern city living to a greater number of urban citizens, to fix urban problems, and to use the powers of the state to redistribute social goods and stimulate social cohesion, the Polis Program

constitutes an exemplar of state intervention within a welfare logic that seeks to be a corrective to the logics of capitalist accumulation.” (Baptista, 2013: 600).

From 2008 onwards, and according to new EU funding guidelines, the national urban policies framework is adapted in order to foster social cohesion, inclusion and local partners involvement criteria. In Lisbon, the Municipality establishes as policy priorities the reversion of a four-decade-long demographic loss trend, the attraction of younger inhabitants, and the promotion of inclusion, innovation and creativity through strategic initiatives (Carta Estratégica de Lisboa – Lisbon’s Strategic Charter: CML, 2009a), urban planning (Plano Director Municipal – Municipal Master Plan: CML, 2012) and local interventions (CML, 2009b, UPM, 2009 e 2010, Mendes, 2013b).

Along with the major restructuring and expansion of the underground network in the late 1990’s came the opportunity to redevelop major plazas and squares. Rossio and Praça da Figueira were the first to be renewed, with underground parking spaces, new pavements, lighting, furniture and trees, with a more generous approach to pedestrian space. After a first generation of piecemeal interventions (Balsas, 2007: 248), a more consistent and systemic approach to public space improvement can be detected, especially after 2006 (CBC, 2006; CML, 2008; Salgado, 2012; CML, 2016). Frente Tejo, SA, a specific purpose public agency, is established by the Government to lead a large scale urban revitalization project in the riverfront (Conselho de Ministros, 2008).

This process has extended to other open spaces, defining an increasingly coherent network of



Figure 1 The riverfront system in 2014 (Source: <http://portugalfotografiaaerea.blogspot.com>)

qualified public space, of which one can trace three main systems:

- the riverfront system (Figure 1): *Cais do Sodré – Ribeira das Naus – Terreiro do Paço – Campo das Cebolas – Santa Apolónia;*
- the garden and belvedere system: *Príncipe Real – São Pedro de Alcântara – Graça – Senhora do Monte;*
- the street and square system: *Santa Catarina – Bica – Chiado – Baixa- Rossio – Martim Moniz – Mouraria – Castelo – Alfama*

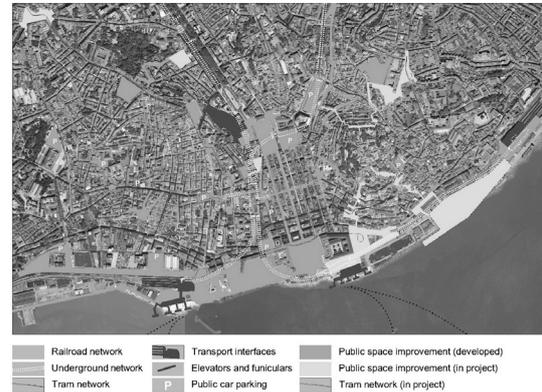


Figure 2 public space and transport infrastructure projects in central Lisbon, since 2000.

The upgrade of these systems (Figure 2) during the last fifteen years had a clear impact in the spatial attractiveness of some of the city’s most outstanding places, but more importantly, established a continuous and coherent public realm system. Other than the UNESCO listed monuments of Belém (Jerónimos Monastery and Torre de Belém), Lisbon best touristic offer comes from the diversified character of its urban fabric, from the sensual relationship with topography and from the dialogue with the Tagus river. On the other hand, the overall upgrade of such public realm system had a clear impact on the everyday life in central Lisbon, with a sharp increase in commercial and leisure-related offer.

In fact, most of these public space improvements were accompanied by the development of food & beverage establishments and some fashion retail stores. This commercial profile reveals a clear prevalence of visitor-oriented commerce, either from outside (tourists) or from the metropolitan area. The reinforcement of pedestrianized spaces

was accompanied by the building of several multi-level parking areas, some of them under large squares, in a process not exempt from controversy (Balsas, 2007). Just as happened with the patterns of commercial change, these parking facilities were mainly targeted at visitors. As it will be discussed in the following chapter, the appropriation of these renewed spaces didn't necessarily translate in benefits to local residents or traditional city uses. Notwithstanding an undeniable urban spatial qualification, these improvements were also the drivers of a new pattern of use and flow, in which tourism and leisure were clearly favoured in terms of urban amenities or the involvement of local communities.

Two cases in which the management of public space and urban facilities becomes directly shaped by the tourism and leisure industry are the refurbishment of Ribeira Market and the setting of a thematic food and music open marketplace in Martim Moniz. The former, a prominent 19th century wholesale market has been partially franchised to a private group in charge of its renewal, animation and management. The same happened to the central space in Martim Moniz square, a rather awkward space resulting from modern demolitions in the mid-20th century. Both venues offer visitors with a controlled environment of food, beverage, animation, either by renowned *chefs* or with ethnic concepts. Although successful in attracting numerous visitors since their inception, they remain largely detached from the neighbouring people, from which they lend character and charm: the vegetable, fish and flower traders in Mercado da Ribeira; the migrant atmosphere of Martim Moniz. In either case, public space was privatized to some extent, despite maintaining its openness and some of its functional rationale. Finally, they share the relationship with heavy infrastructure: underground stations, underground car parkings and recently upgraded public realm in the vicinity. Despite controversy in terms of management regime and public amenity privatisation, these cases remain, however, as evidence of a rather successful strategy to associate urban attractors with the public space system, maintaining some democratic balance in its use and appropriation. Far from thematised enclaves so often seen in other touristified cities, Lisbon's public space maintains a clear Mediterranean character, in which continuity and some sort of functional

promiscuity stand as the fundamental city structure.

The link between downtown and the uphill districts

Part of a wider strategy to revitalize Lisbon's historical fabrics, the mechanically assisted link between downtown (*Baixa*) and the uphill castle districts is being developed by the Municipality. The project provides an alternative and easily accessible pedestrian path through a sequence of linear spaces connected by free and publically accessible lifts. The lifts are embedded in existing buildings which were renewed and refurbished, not only to become vertical connections, but also to accommodate new and attractive activities. The overall project includes two components:

- The renewing and adaptation of three existing buildings to accommodate the lifts – a former market, now turned into a multi-level structure with a retail supermarket, art gallery and creative industries offices, an open air terrace with outstanding vistas, a restaurant and a public car-silo (with 196 parking spaces mainly for residents in the neighborhood); and two old residential buildings, providing space for a visitor welcome and interpretation centre, facilities for the local town hall and residential apartments on upper floors;
- The qualification of the linear sequence of public spaces along paths, connecting the underground station and commercial streets of *Baixa* with the lift buildings, the existing squares at mid-level hill and the castle premises.

This new mechanically assisted link stems from a 130 years old Lisbon's tradition of having funiculars and elevators as part of its transportation system, allowing for mobility across its steep hills and valleys. The programmatic discourse surrounding the new *Baixa*-castle link includes concerns such as social inclusiveness, accessible mobility, mixed-use development and heritage- and public realm-based urban regeneration.

SLOW AND TRENDY LISBON: CONFLICTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The issue of residents vs visitors

Despite city-wide improvements in public transportation, Lisbon's old neighbourhoods

are faced with an elderly, low income and sparse residential population. Recent renovation has been driven by tourism, either for larger facilities, such as hotels, as well as for smaller forms of accommodation, such as bed-and-breakfast or short-term rented flats. The real-estate market has also gained from investment attraction from foreign investors, not necessarily translating in new residents.

Emerging arenas of conflict result mainly from the incremental change in housing ownership and use in regard to the existing population. Traditional residents share a strong cultural and place-specific identity, in which public/private frontiers and privacy thresholds are managed through subtle codes of conviviality (Mendes, 2011, 2012, 2013b). These codes are under pressure (Rodrigues, 2010: 257) and often seen as disrupted by new visitors and tenants. Rising housing prices are translating into diverse forms of gentrification and resident replacement (Pacione, 2001: 212). This process can be framed in the specific modalities of gentrification associated with tourism, heritage exploitation and commercial and leisure development (Bures e Cain, 2008). Apartment short-term renting in historical buildings is replacing lower income tenants, which benefited from decades of rent-freezing. Neighbourhoods known for their quiet and charming atmosphere have been flooded by new gourmet groceries, trendy tea houses and fancy boutiques, along with ubiquitous souvenir shops (Expresso, 2015). Daily life for residents who need to move around the city or the outskirts is becoming increasingly difficult. On one hand, transportation improvements continue to be focused in central districts, leaving fringe areas dependent of private car. On the other hand, restrictions to car traffic and car overload in the central districts often disrupt the local drivers' needs in terms of individual mobility and parking.

Nevertheless, this change is also acknowledged to introduce a much needed renovation trend in terms of architectural maintenance and local economy. However, its repercussions cannot be gauged simply in terms of residents vs. outsiders. The complexity of the urban condition, especially in a metropolitan core such as Lisbon's central districts, under the wider context of globalization, requires a far more open consideration regarding who's a Lisboner.

The controversy regarding the unbalanced process of urban renewal and gentrification can be framed under a widely acknowledged literature. Atkinson's (2004) approach to the pros and cons of urban renaissance, as defined by Rogers (1999) and Roberts and Sykes (2002), continues to offer useful insight. On the positive side, he highlights the benefits of physical renewal, the social mix and the deconcentration of poverty enclaves; on the negative side, the impacts of residents dislocation, the loss of affordable housing stock, the rise on local conflicts, evictions and criminality, and the loss of local population and change on local services are identified. Kohn (2013) also stresses the need to frame the local impacts of gentrification under a wider territorial scope, taking into account socio-political arrangements and organizational apparatus. In his perspective, impact assessment cannot be seen aside from an ideological framework, in which public intervention is extremely bounded by a privately led and market-driven societal matrix.

In the Portuguese context, the research of Balsas (2007) is also helpful as it identifies contextual specificities for the processes of urban renewal in the cities of Lisbon and Oporto. He identifies 1) the scale of urban dereliction in many historical district buildings, 2) the absence of legal tools allowing Municipalities to deliver consistent urban regeneration, 3) the perception that investment on public space is more easily delivered and politically sustained than investment on privately-owned built stock, 4) the less demanding organizational apparatus to deliver public-space renewal and public facilities improvement. This tradition of giving public space a prominent role in government led action stems from a strong corpus of urban design and urban planning literature. Authors such as Gregotti (1981), Portas et al (2003), Borja (2003), Ascher (2004), Marinoni (2006), Neuman and Smith, 2010 and Santos (2012a) stress public space infrastructural capacity to provide a territorial structure and a coherent system of collective spaces.

In what public space and infrastructure are concerned, this issue can be better assessed in terms of a multi-functional and long-term system that supports activities, flows and ideas. The city has always been a space where locals and strangers meet and share. So far, the development of urban infrastructure in central

Lisbon in the last 15 years has been able to deliver considerable improvements to that shared system of streets, plazas and transport interfaces, bringing together very diverse strata of urban users and linking multiple spaces and scales. Prospective opportunities may be identified mainly in the capacity to maintain equitable levels of housing prices and cost-of-living for disadvantaged groups. This challenge, however, is always at stake when the development of public infrastructure and urban amenities come in place.

The overload of infrastructure

Coming out from decades of poorly developed mobility network, Lisbon's major improvements in this field shadowed other less visible trends of overload. The extension and interconnecting of major railroad, underground, river traffic and airport networks in the city increased its overall capacity significantly, despite a strong pressure from private car and individual motorization.

Aside from the large-scale infrastructures, such as the airport and its limitations in terms of future expansion, other local infrastructures are facing increasing levels of overload as a result of tourism development. Some major attractions in Lisbon are precisely associated with traditional modes of transportations, as is the case of three funiculars and one lift dating from the late 19th century, or the *ex-libris* fleet of yellow tram cars. Riding them without a previously purchased ticket is now almost three times more expensive than before. Long queues, delayed stops in popular locations, and overloaded vehicles push local users away. Yet, they are crucial in maintaining this ageing network in terms of financial sustainability, after many years of line closing and replacement by bus lines.

As previously seen, mobility investments are targeting the connections in central districts, especially in the hilly areas, together with the upgrade of public and pedestrian space. However, the interesting side of this investment is being confronted with growing conflict from new forms of transport, especially tailored for tourists (Bloomberg Business, 2015, Público, 2014 and 2015b): *tuk-tuks* that run noisily in the narrow city's streetscape; the tour buses taking and leaving hundreds of cruise ship passengers in central squares for local excursions or dinner at one of the many fado restaurants; the queuing taxi cars waiting for the opportunity of a tourist ride.

While legitimized by a consensual discourse on public space improvement, restriction of private car traffic in the central city or decrease of air pollution control, many of the above discussed initiatives led by the municipality resulted in conflictive side effects in other areas of the city. Traffic restrictions in outstanding sites such as *Baixa* and *Terreiro do Paço*, diverted urban traffic to neighbouring districts which, in turn, fail to accommodate the increased pressure. Additionally, the surge of new amenities attracted visitors from other parts of Lisbon and from its metropolitan area, often using their own car. This phenomenon is especially seen at night and weekends, when public transport becomes a far less convenient alternative. The impact of spatio-temporalities of tourism, leisure and urban attraction in urban infrastructure seems too difficult to grasp and anticipate. Their state of constant flux offers, however, an opportunity to devise new levels of service (i.e. mobility) that better suits the needs and demands of a wider metropolitan realm, while taking advantage of recent investment in heavy infrastructure.

The vision behind strategic infrastructural investments

A critical area, in which future development is being reassessed under wider political visions, is the one relating to the heavy metropolitan infrastructures: the airport, the port and the railroad system. Notwithstanding its overarching complexity, the short-term change in national infrastructural policies has had – and will continue to have – important repercussions on the evolution of the country's capital city. The role of tourism and its stakeholders play in this equation is critical. Two examples reveal this dilemma.

After a five decade-long debate regarding the development of a new international airport 40 km from Lisbon, current decision points to the improvement of existing facilities, taking full advantage of its capacity. The cost-benefit debate has often been assessed in terms of geo-strategic reasoning (Lisbon as a new hub for Africa and South America) and spatial development (the new infrastructure as a driver of regional economic and urban balance in Lisbon metropolis). However, the presence of an airport right in the middle of the city stands as a major argument for current tourism market. Easy and effective connections enable the city-break market associated with a friendly, easily manageable

human scale of the metropolis. Privatization and liberalization in airport and airline market, along with the support of low-cost bases, come together to shape the future configuration of global connection and indeed the spatial pattern of Lisbon metropolis.

The second example comes from the port. Being a multi-terminal port in various locations in both banks of the River Tagus, the port is at cross-roads in terms of the future of city terminals. With major cargo terminals located in very central areas of Lisbon, the competition of scarce space resources is having direct impact in port and municipal decision-making. Unlike many other waterfront cities, Lisbon has kept a vision of a working port city, favouring the maintenance of cargo operations in the city. This approach has not been consensual and considerable debate and claims have been made regarding the need to return unused port spaces to the city. Vast areas of landfill have been redesigned as public space for leisure, culture and commercial amenities, though far from some of the well-known Anglo-Saxon experiences. Prospects regarding the increasing presence of cruise ships and the relocation of large cargo terminals for new urban uses are still far from clarified. Yet, they provide a test-bed to assess the interplay of these different stakeholders.

CONCLUSION

Taking Lisbon as a test-bed for a leveraged approach to urban tourism, mobility and public space can be said to play a meaningful role as a common ground to overcome and go beyond strict confrontation between city residents and visitors. When considered as common ground, mobility and public space are key contributors to make the city as a value in itself. Instead of competition-driven rationale, in which cities are seen as quasi-enterprise entities fighting for a prominent position in the global arena, the argument of a strong relationship between public space improvements and the upgrade of trans-scalar metropolitan connectivity can be seen as a socially aware alternative.

In what urban planning is concerned, the planning of public space upgrade and improved mobility connections as part of a robust network of shared spaces remains as a valued approach to a democratic and socially equitable city. Unlike other approaches in which infrastructural and

public space development occur under a rather focused economic rationale, Lisbon's initiatives have maintained relatively high levels of concern with various strata of city users, going beyond the strict duality of tourists vs. residents. Recent project can hardly be accused of single-minded concern with tourist markets as many of the city's most cherished places were in need of renewal and qualification. Despite an obvious increase of touristification and gentrification processes in the inner city, urban infrastructure policies provide a fair basis for urban development, improving both the quality of access and the quality of urban landscape. If undesired trends are to be fought, then other levels of urban policy must be enforced – namely in terms of private activities, accommodation and quality of service.

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New Dynamics in Urban Spaces as Ignition for Competitiveness based on Local Governance Evidences from Almada, Portugal

Jorge Gonçalves

CERIS,
Instituto Superior Técnico,
University of Lisbon,
Portugal

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to describe and reflect on the experience developed in a metropolitan territory that ambitiously wanted to articulate entrepreneurship, creativity and urban governance. In spaces marked by economic and social crisis, the requirement to mobilize synergies between local actors is even more pressing. Urban areas need to improve their level of competitiveness while there is a weakening of their political and financial structures, which requires, in a mixture of conviction and necessity, the promotion of the creativity and involvement of multiple local audiences.

Central Theme

The central concern of the project was to promote a convergence of interests capable of giving a renewed look at the urban space through the formation of social capital.

Methodology

From the municipality's leadership, Almada Idea Laboratory Project sought to involve university professors and students to generate creative ideas as well as a business hosting centre for the installation of projects with greater viability, and the community in general had the opportunity to assess and discuss the product of this effort. The council offered its urban space as a living laboratory.

Findings

The 126 projects submitted, which gave rise to a broad and still forming group of technology-based companies, their connection to the business fabric and also the strong relation with urban space where they are inserted constitute the materialization of a sustainable process of formation of social capital.

KEYWORDS

Urban Creativity and Innovation, Social Capital, Entrepreneurism, Collaborative Governance, Urban Revitalisation

INTRODUCTION

It has always been expected of cities that they be competent in dealing with innovation and development processes. They are required to do so whilst advancing social readjustment, urban improvement, active citizenship and entrepreneurial competitiveness. Technology and creativity, given the infinite opportunities they provide, have now become a trump card in the hands of cities that have become adept at using them appropriately in terms of time and scale in their response to both general challenges and those relating to the creation of jobs and enterprises in particular.

Given the hectic speed of modern life, one could be forgiven for thinking the concept of the creative city is decades old. Slowly, albeit more slowly in some cities than in others, the perception is growing that creativity can be the key to a future in which they can set themselves apart economically, i.e. built a different future. The studies, projects, expectations and initiatives have multiplied. All regions, at all scales, no matter the constraints, seek to implement this seductive concept that brings qualified employment, “refreshed” identities and new investment opportunities.

Many cities have set out on the initial part of the course and found the learning curve to be long and slow, with a considerable number of setbacks and a limited number of insignificant gains. But this process has shown that a good, consensual and mobilising idea needs a lot more for realisation than simple discourses or exclusively voluntarist actions and attitudes, which, when one considers the targets not achieved, may end up demobilising the key agents of entrepreneurship.

When one imports these convictions to the urban context of Almada, a lot is still to be done, although some changes are already taking place. Creativity has broken with preconceived ideas and surpassed the boundaries of the expectable. It has shown the way for a city that wants to return to the centre; for an urban aesthetic that ranges from the iconic object to the abandoned industrial ship; it has challenged technology to look to improving urban everyday life for residents and other users in a rational and economic approach; its aim is a city that attracts artists, researchers and professionals through the conception of innovative and economically viable urban products in terms of public space, urban furniture and diverse facilities.

CREATIVE AND INOVATIVE CITIES

There is a process of urban and, above all, metropolitan consolidation in course. And this is not only because, as the most recent global statistics show, for the first time in the history of humanity more than one half of the population lives in cities (UN, 2005). The urban mega-regions not only absorb a high percentage of the total population of the territory they are a part of, but also have the capacity to generate financial and economic weight that can be many times greater than their demographic relevance or spatial dimensions (Fujita, Krugman, & Venables, 2001).

It is in this context that a number of convictions and instances of consensus emerge as to what the challenges are that cities face (Harvey, 1990, 2005; Sassen, 1994, 2001; Lo & Marcotullio, 2000) and how only through a strategic response or, if one will, medium/long-term planning, can one guarantee their structured and coherent affirmation (Bourdin, 2011; Rasoolimanesh, Badarulzaman, & Jaafar, 2012).

Urban values that are materialised in the concepts of landscape, democracy and openness are the greatest products of the correct utilisation of those ingredients. Cities, as strategic and complex nodes of constant interaction between material and immaterial elements, become catalytic centres of knowledge and the environment par excellence for creativity and innovation.

Whilst they are repeatedly used as synonyms, there are important differences between these two concepts that should be underlined. Following Nieh (2005), creativity is understood as the capacity to generate or link new ideas, turning it into a competitive advantage for organisations and regions. Such creativity, also referred to as generic creativity, differs from “artistic creativity”, which has more to do with creative practices related to the arts, design and media. As defined in the Oslo Manual, innovation is based on action, i.e. on the implementation of new products, services or processes (or significant improvements in these). Accordingly, innovative capacity is not restricted to generating ideas but extends also to the application of these new products, services or processes.

Creativity, knowledge and innovation, driven by the manifold opportunities generated by globalisation, dissemination of information and

communication, have thus been recognised as the main driving forces behind the economic, social and cultural development of cities. In this respect, UNCTAD is very clear when it declares “In the contemporary world, a new development paradigm is emerging that links the economy and culture, embracing economic, cultural, technological and social aspects of development at both the macro and micro levels. Central to the new paradigm is the fact that creativity, knowledge and access to information are increasingly recognized as powerful engines driving economic growth and promoting development in a globalising world” (2008: 3).

Through globalisation cities have strengthened their positions as the main arenas of territorial competitiveness (Sassen, 1994). And this trend was intensified with the emergence of the creativity paradigm (Florida, 2002, 2008; UNCTAD, 2008). The “creative city” has thus become a very popular concept in recent years – both in the academic community and amongst political decision makers. Indeed, the works of Charles Landry (*The Creative City*, 2000) and Richard Florida (*The Rise of the Creative Class*, 2002), amongst others, have encouraged the adoption of creative city strategies by many local governments. However, the popularity of this scientific work has not prevented the emergence of a climate of scepticism from many quarters, be it because the critics are of the opinion that the theories are not sufficiently backed up and, for this reason, should be regarded more as a belief, as argued thus by Bourdin: “let us do culture, preferably spectacular culture; that way we will attract innovation carriers and we will have the innovation the city needs to create the virtuous wealth circles” (2011: 49) [our translation]; or because they suspect that negative externalities could be generated in relation to cultural identities and the social structure (Bourdin, 2011; Long, 2009).

In many cases the implementation of creative city strategies emerges in response to the industrial decline of cities (Trip & Romein, 2010). Thus, the creative city becomes dependent on its own development trajectory and its roots, but is also linked to its tangible and intangible assets, such as the quality of place, the political and cultural context, the built environment, the economic structure and the local community (Selada, Cunha, & Tomaz, 2012). This combination gives rise to its unique, distinctive and identity character that is

essential for a project with a future, i.e. one that is not merely a branding operation.

Creative and entrepreneurial cities require collective action involving not only the local governments but also knowledge companies and organisations. This is traditionally known as the triple helix concept, in which the conventional decision support tools are enhanced by both territorial-based governance (Ferrão, 2011) and the discussion, selection and legitimisation of strategic guiding scenarios for collective action.

Arnkil, Jarvensivu, Koski, & Pirainen, (2010) go further, in that they argue that the triple helix innovation models should be expanded to include a fourth group of stakeholders – the users or citizens; they call this model the quadruple helix. Creativity and innovation in the service of strategic urban development thus represents a challenge for public authorities – due to the fact that this implicates the local governance system itself, it is not that local authorities alone that take on the role of “building” the creative city, but the authorities in cooperation with the community, enterprises and universities. The vision of creative city governance calls for a more open, citizen-centred approach in which top-down gives way to side-by-side: in other words, open leadership processes.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF AN URBAN PROJECT FOR CREATIVE ENTREPRENEURISM: THE CASE OF ALMADA

Metropolitan and urban framework

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) is now a territorial unit of just over 2,820,000 people (INE, 2011). The last census decade reveals the continuation of a significant demographic attractiveness (above 6%) as well as an increase in its weight nationally (from 25.7% to 26.7% in the same intercensal period). This centripetal capacity can only be generated by an economic dynamic that succeeds in offering employment and remuneration, satisfying the residents’ expectations. In fact, in 2010 the monthly income in the LMA was almost one-third higher than the national average, and almost 40% of people with higher education qualifications are concentrated there. Whether as a cause or as an effect, more than 41% of intellectual and scientific professionals are based there.

But the LMA also invests, perhaps mainly in its municipal territories. Almada is one of its 18 mu-

nicipalities, with its 173,300 inhabitants accounting for 6.1% of the total population. This despite its area of 70km² accounting for just 2.3% of the LMA's 2,962.4km². Its proximity to the heart of the city, the specific nature of its social and economic base and the diversity of its physical and natural attributes give it a unique competitive advantage.

Almada has a long history, and during the past century it has witnessed the flourishing of extensive labour-intensive industrial activity, a phenomenon that has constantly marked its territory as well as the structure of its active population, at least until the end of the 1980s.

The profound economic restructuring that resulted in the competitive repositioning into the area of business services and, compared with other municipalities on the Setúbal Peninsula, a greater inclination towards the area of business services based on technology or which have a high degree of innovation.

Institutional framework

The traditional centre of the municipality consists roughly of the civil parishes of Cacilhas, Almada, Pragal and Cova da Piedade. However, the many changes already noted at the economic, social, demographic, functional and symbolic level extent raise questions to a certain about this centrality and dynamic. The dynamic changes and the prospects already enumerated in the long processes of territorial reconfiguration involve a repositioning of the centre of the town in relation to the adjacent territories and to the region, suggesting a need to implement a revitalisation and renewal strategy as an interim measure given the appearance of socio-urban fragmentation phenomena.

The progressive involvement of the Lisbon region in the activities and services of a “knowledge economy”, prominently asserting itself as the country's main centre of consumption and its main and most diversified tourist region, entrusts Almada with an important role in increasing the region's competitiveness, complementing the region's economic vocation while also asserting its specificity in these domains.

In this context, we should note the importance of research and development in Monte de Caparica, where it is organised around the FCT-UNL, and, as a sponsor of synergies with the world of business, especially through *Madan Park* science and

technology park.

For the relationship between micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises and their contribution to economic growth to bear fruit, it is essential they have the ability to innovate and develop new products founded on sought-after high technological intensity-based productive processes through strategies followed by local institutions, either alone or in partnership.

The FCT in association with the Portuguese Industrial Association, the Luso-American Development Foundation and others, have come together to form UNINOVA – the Institute for the Development of New Technologies, an interface between the university and companies.

As Almada Municipality also hosts half the higher education establishments on the Setúbal Peninsula, we cannot neglect the potential this network of educational establishments and their respective specialisations represent for the municipality. In the 2011-2012 academic year, 10,803 of the 16,929 students matriculated in establishments of higher education in this NUT (common classification of territorial units for statistics) III (PORDATA, 2013) are found in Almada, which represents 60% of the Setúbal Peninsula's potential supply of recent graduates.

The challenge of revitalising a traditional urban space such as the centre of Almada, which has a rich history and identity, cannot be a monopoly of technocratic intervention that seeks to resolve everything. The complexity of the “urban revitalisation” set out in the guiding vision of the Almada Idea Laboratory project seeks a complementarity of physical and material actions and a set of other initiatives that are capable of giving life to and even reconfiguring the initial goals. It is therefore essential to stimulate and mobilise people and activities and to appeal to Almada City Council's ability to steer, via a model of collaborative governance, but always with well-defined goals and means.

Final remarks of a general description

For this reason, the recent thematic developments with full awareness of the resources available in Almada have allowed for appropriation of the idea of creativity as an individual and collective capacity, and not only one that relates to the spheres of academic investigation and debate, recognising its

potential for social and economic dynamisation of the communities. The latter, and the places they occupy, are thus vital spaces for the testing of creative proposals. They become places for the concentration of resources, where creative flows converge in the fields of technology and culture, receive research and development infrastructures and generate aspirations, motivations, imagination and creativity, in addition to being decision-making centres that promote development and processes and dynamics.

Creative territories are, thus, places where one finds the capacity to accommodate an entrepreneurial fabric that incorporates knowledge, education and research institutions that stimulate creation, attractive living conditions, leadership and a tolerant and cosmopolitan environment. Through a multitude of processes for mobilisation of creative capital and intelligence, a city asserts its potential and become a place for the manufacture of products and ideas, providing innovation (Amin & Graham, 1997; Deakin & Allwinkle, 2007) through spontaneous or prepared ignition.

THE ALMADA IDEA LABORATORY PROJECT

Background and motivation

The Almada Idea Laboratory project is the result of a wide range of pre-existing dynamics, processes and relationships between innovation, technology and creativity stakeholders and Almada City Council. But it is also developed out of a number of initiatives that reflect the council's policies in two fundamental spheres of urban life: the strengthening of the social capital and the redevelopment/modernisation of the public space. It is on the basis of this combination of factors and pre-existing situations that it is possible to build knowledge networks using the potentials of the creative sectors – namely, in the production of factors that distinguish and strengthen regional competitiveness, their capacity to generate quality employment or the positive impact on the conversion of urban brownfield sites.

A decisive contribution to this change, that is so distinctive in the context of urban improvement and competitiveness, is made by organisational innovation (managing what already exists) and technological innovation (new contents, concepts and tools) directed specifically towards the urban economy – tourism, commerce, services and the cultural sectors.

The key elements of urban governance and competitiveness, knowledge and innovation will always be, provided they are used correctly, the ideal tool for regenerating a city's attractiveness and thus also reinventing its economy, advancing the practice of citizenship and revitalising the public spaces.

To these concerns one can add the synergies already successfully put in place – those resulting from relationships with qualified stakeholders (New University of Lisbon's Faculty of Science and Technology; Madan Park), the existence of urban spaces with a rich heritage and cultural offer and, also, the execution of multiple strategic studies and more specific studies with a sectoral focus (tourism, housing, roads and transport access, etc.).

In order to encourage new thinking on creativity, urban space, technology and entrepreneurship, the Almada Idea Laboratory project held a seminar in 2011 called *Amazing City—Urban expression of technology and creativity* (see Figure 1), which had free admission and where they announced the winners of the “Innovate to Stimulate” competition aimed at FCT students.

Contribution to developing social and entrepreneurial capital

The pertinence of the Almada Idea Laboratory project is thus demonstration in terms of the initiatives that make up the project, in particular those that involve “Partnerships between higher education institutions and R&D establishments, together with other partner entrepreneurial and institutional partners, with a view to fomenting the creative and innovative capacity of the economic and social fabric and dynamising the



FIGURE 1 Amazing city seminar flyer (Source: Almada Municipality)

introduction of innovation in urban services and functions”.

What one seeks to achieve through the projects that make up the Almada Idea Laboratory programme is to implement that concept through involvement in the whole cycle of knowledge production, from formulation of an idea to the production of innovative mechanisms and services. This results from exploration of the potential within the municipality and also seeks to address aesthetic, social, historic and symbolic dimensions, with the capacity to signify new urban experiences and drive the cultural industries.

In short, the aim is a thematic contextualisation – the integration of technology and knowledge with the fields of tourism, cultural animation, regeneration of the public space and the urban services and creation of a territorial purpose – within the consolidated city. That is the logic behind the Almada Idea Laboratory, the specific aims of which are:

- **to boost the capacity for generating ideas**, taking advantage of the work carried out by the FCT, a research and knowledge generation centre par excellence;
- **to turn ideas into reality**, testing their technological and commercial potential, and mobilising the resources and skills, in the entrepreneurial interaction environment that characterises the Madan Science and Technology Park;
- **to make experimentation and delivery platforms available** for realisation of some of these products and services in a specific territory, through the provision of the physical and virtual infrastructures, galleries, websites and the public space to showcase and integrate the project results;

- **to encourage reflection on the process and contribute to the formulation of a new urban identity** by opening the project and its outcomes to diverse publics and markets, publicising the new functionalities created and generating new forms of dissemination of the ideas and socialising the processes and products through publications.

Proximity between partners has made shared leadership possible, bringing with it all its structures and dynamics and generating synergies that either didn't exist before or were in incipient stages or isolated. This reality, as well as that which results from implementation of the project's many actions – 126 projects in the three editions of the Inovar para Potenciar [Innovate to Stimulate] (see Figure 2) idea competition (see Figure 3), in which hundreds of students took part and a large number of citizens also became involved through the exhibition and publication of the ideas, underlines the contribution of this process to forming new networks of cooperation and strengthening already existing ones.

RESULTS

The innovation in the urban environment stimulated by this project is seen more as a process than an end in itself. Whilst the results are, of course, of interest, there is also the awareness that they can always improve through strengthening of the links between agents and stakeholders. The resulting social capital will provide a future for this dynamic introduced by the Almada Idea Laboratory; it will be measured by the number of technology firms set up, the links between the business and academic works and also the capacity to build bridges to the wider community and, in particular, connect with the city's everyday spaces.

This sustainability is anchored in a specific set



FIGURE 2 Example of promoting flyer (Innovate to Stimulate-Ideas Concourse) (Source: Almada Municipality)

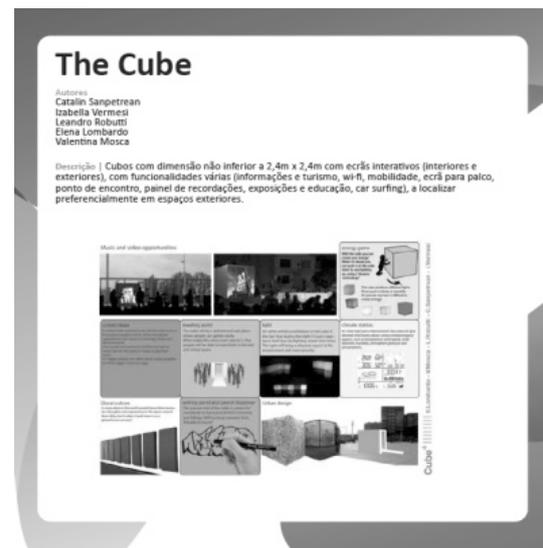


FIGURE 3 Examples of prize-winning projects submitted to the Idea Competition (Source: Almada Municipality)

of projects that are organised along four lines of action:

Line 1: Urban tourism

In Almada, diversification of the tourism offering should focus on alternatives to sea and sun. Nature and culture-based tourism offers particular capacity for development, using the potential that comes from the visitor flows to the Cristo Rei sanctuary and the linking of the sanctuary to the city’s waterfront and to the historic centres of Almada and Cacilhas through the Belvedes and Open-Air Interactivity projects.

Line 2: Research and development applied to the urban environment

Almada, more specifically Monte de Caparica, is home to the largest university campus south of Lisbon. A whole set of municipal policies and projects are aimed at improving the relationship between the university and the city and taking advantage of the former’s areas of specialised knowledge to better the city’s quality of life.

In this context, the Almada Idea Laboratory seeks to harvest the potential installed in the Monte de Caparica campus to guide projects and to stimulate research and the creativity of lecturers, students and investigators in the improvement of the urban environment and everyday life.

The “Innovate to Stimulate” Idea Competition¹

is an instrument that boosts participation and is geared in particular towards aspects such as mobility and accessibility, the redevelopment of historic and heritage zones, the importance of a network of cultural public art facilities, the role of the public space, the need for boost urban animation activities and events and also to support the regeneration of the traditional shopping network. The ideas and projects selected by the jury and awarded cash prizes are given the possibility of implementation and possible commercialisation of the results. Moreover, the three editions of the competition have also led to the same number of fairs exhibiting innovating objects to the public and creating the conditions for recreating the urban environments for application of the ideas – *Percursos pela inovação* [Courses through Innovation].

Line 3: Technical innovation and boosting entrepreneurship

The aim here is to create the conditions for fostering implementation of selected projects through the “laboratorial” space that is Almada. To this end the project cooperates with companies based at the Madan Science and Technology Park, taking advantage of the synergies in place and using these resources to stimulate entrepreneurship amongst university students and researchers. The time frames involved in carrying out these projects do not allow for concrete and final presentation of the results of this line of action at present.

One should bear in mind that the Madan Park is a science and technology park with a particular vocation for enterprise incubation and business innovation, justifying its status as a privileged partner and its role as a platform for the dissemination and implementation of ideas tested in the “Laboratory”. It acts as an intermediate for the companies based at the park, integrating the outcomes of the idea competition in a market-based approach and increasing the potential for expansion for the products developed.

Line 4: Innovation and technology in the urban development process

Contemporary cities are characterised not only by their physical or material aspects but also, and above all, by the fact that their density and concentration of manpower is an added value in terms of the resources available for learning, the exchange of information and incentives for development, imagination and creativity. This concentration of information and creativity is a value added when speaking of the city as a competitive space, a space of appropriation and distribution of resources.

Almada, which is already home to technology and innovation centres, seeks to take the fullest advantage of the dynamics generated by that critical mass when applied to ongoing development; it seeks to develop synergies for the improvement of the technological infrastructures and also to attract more business activities and qualified enterprises.

One can perceive in this approach the nurturing of a network of partners that keeps the Almada Idea Laboratory project alive beyond its formal termination date, overcoming the issues identified by Pereira & Gil (2010) and placing technology and innovation at the service of new intervention fronts. This contributes to the integrated and sustainable development of the city and the surrounding area by means of involvement of the citizens, businesses, research centres, universities and political decision makers. That is the aim of the Creative Territories and Urban Revitalisation project (see Figure 4).

CONCLUSIONS

This project is part of an ambitious Polis XXI program which, among its different objectives, stands out to promote opportunities for cooperation between the various stakeholders by developing concrete projects. This was just another step towards the creation of synergies between local, regional and national institutions, able to survive to this first experience. In other words, the Polis XXI sought to stimulate learning and reveal the advantages of cooperative work for local and regional entrepreneurship.

In this context were supported a large number of projects through its three policy instruments: Partnerships for urban regeneration; Urban networks for competitiveness and innovation; Innovative measures for urban development.

Almada Idea Laboratory Project was just one more example of the result of this innovative program. Its continuity can not be measured only in terms of the persistence of the project but also through its consequences and persistent effects in the formation of local networks and in the changes caused in the institutions involved, in particular regarding their motivation for entrepreneurship among young students.

Designing strategies focused on creativity, entre-

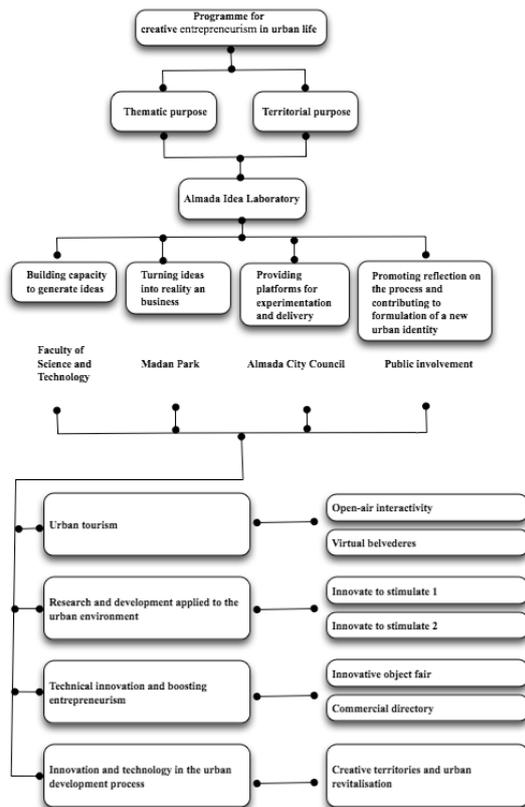


FIGURE 4 Overview of the Almada idea laboratory project

preneurism and innovation, with a strong component of economic, social and spatial regeneration, as in the case of Almada, must also include, on the basis of the experiences outlined above, a number of reflections or recommendations:

1. a creative city concept should be born out of the specificities of the location and its endogenous resources and take full advantage of its potential, quality and respective amenities;
2. the governance model should be open and collaborative, with companies, universities and citizens being invited to reflect on the future of their city together with the local government;
3. a sustainable urban strategy should have clear goals and a long-term vision, even if it is developed from a specific time-limited initiative;
4. an integrated approach is required for the creation of multifunctional spaces for living, working, learning and relaxing, one that is more centred on the local community and its quality of life and well-being and focuses on turning good ideas into business ideas that

create jobs;

5. a test and experimentation space is necessary – both at the level of cultural and creative production and consumption and the generation of innovative ideas and solutions that respond to local needs;
6. Entrepreneurism must arise not only from an individual desire but also from innovative ideas with potential for generating business and urban quality.

In closing, it is important to make reference to the urban policies, as these have proved to be catalysts in change processes, which frequently emerge through highly localised micro-dynamics and need to gain in scale to point the way to a new urban cycle. Through institutional and financial backing these change-bringing dynamics can gain in sustainability and visibility, which would not be possible through their own impetus. This back is, thus, not mere financial support for projects; it is support for the building and mobilisation of the willpower and drive to generate future synergies from creativity-based and city-oriented ideas.

NOTES

1. See, for example, the 2nd edition of the “Innovate to stimulate” Idea Competition (2010/11.wmv, 2011).

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Cultural Governance Coalition and Regeneration of Historical Urban Landscape: a Case Study of Quanzhou Old City

Shuxiang Cai

Graduate Institute of
Building & Planning,
National Taiwan University,
Taiwan;
College of Fine Art and Design,
Quanzhou Normal University,
China

ABSTRACT

Historical conservation has become an inherently entrepreneurial vehicle for urban economic projects in the past decades in China, though such value might not be appreciated till the economic gain of conservation was substantial. After the land reform of 1978, Chinese cities have experienced creative destruction in historic areas. Yet following the trend of cultural consumption since the late 1990s, numerous integrated renovation projects of historical districts were implemented to promote tourism as a promising industry to sustain economic growth. As a consequence of the growth-oriented urban entrepreneurialism, public spaces in the historical urban areas have also been perceivably privatized. To a large extent, capital and the authority of the local government manipulate the future prospect of the historical urban landscape in Chinese cities.

An alternative approach was initiated in Quanzhou recently, which is one of the first cities listed as China's Prominent Historical and Cultural City in 1983. The newly formed governance coalition by multiple stakeholders of the historical city emphasizes social and cultural factors of historical conservation. 'Soundless Lubrication' exhibition series mark the most important manifestation of the collaborative endeavor. Certain types of private spaces are turned into public uses for citizens to propose and curate temporary exhibitions, and the public events reinvigorate and diversify the public spaces in the historical Quanzhou. This cultural strategy encourages public participation in historic conservation, and further establishes a platform for public voices and empowers the grassroots by enhancing the sense of ownership of the old city. But from a critical perspective, it also legitimizes the intentions of the government and the interest groups to capitalize more spatial and cultural resources for future development.

This research adopts participant observation method to look into the process of the cooperation model, and attempts to reveal the spatial contradiction associated with urban entrepreneurialism. In conclusion, a more sensitive approach towards regenerating the historical urban landscape will be complemented.

KEYWORDS

*Urban Regeneration, Historic City,
Urban Entrepreneurialism, Public
Participation*

ENCOUNTER OF URBAN ENTREPRENEURIALISM AND CHINESE HISTORIC CITY

A series of political and economic restructuring in China during 1970s and 1980s reconstructed the relationship between the central and local governments. 'Decentralization and interest concessions' policy in reform and opening changed the financial allocation structure, which gave considerable autonomy of local governments, while also afforded them the burden of local economic development. Later the land reform in public ownership determined the indubitability of 'urban land belonging to the state' through dividing the right to use the land from ownership. In this way, the local governments were allowed to generate revenue by land transactions as a major source of income, which mobilized the initiative of urban construction (Wang, 1997) and accelerated the process of land commercialization.

Under the domestic reform and worldwide globalization, the local governance turned to entrepreneurialism and promoted a 'growth-first' approach (He&Wu, 2009). As an agent of the state and the concrete facilitator of the dominant strategy, local government inherited the power of state to obtain the urban land by administrative power, attracted investment through public-private partnership, legitimized urban redevelopment projects. This shows that the local government is at the core of the relationship among the central government, the individual and the market (Shi, 2015:127). As Harvey (2005) suggested that China's reform and opening taken place almost at the same time with the neo-liberal shift in Britain and America was a special type of neo-liberalism, crossing authoritative centralized control.

In this context, historical conservation has become an inherently entrepreneurial vehicle for urban economic projects. The results of the spatial practice conducted under public-private partnerships have been rapidly emerging across China. But it caused a growing conflict and tension with historic cities therein, to which the commercialization and privatization are the key factors.

Urban renewal is one of the most frequently discussed models, which was complementary to the real estate boom in the 1990s (Zhao, 2012; Shi, 2015). Since then, the local governments

and developers have cooperated to dismantle a large number of old city areas and replaced with commodity houses in order to maximize the value of land. Even with the regulation of historical city conservation, the integrated redevelopment projects still ignored or evaded these terms through various political operations that the plot ratio and the height limitation have been repeatedly breached. Besides, the discourse describing the old district as the opposite of modern city became an excuse to relocate residents, empty the land and build gated communities with a clear boundary dividing the original ambiguous public spaces which was generated during long consultation process of neighborhood life.

In addition to the real estate development, another focus is on the rehabilitation and reuse of historic blocks (Chen, Zhang, 2010; Su, 2015). China has been nominating historic cultural cities since 1982, but the historic conservation has not been taken seriously by local governments for a long time. One hand, the official allocation of funds for conservation are quite limited each year, which is just a drop in the bucket; the other hand, protecting historic districts seems to limit the urbanization and even to be seen as a stumbling block to local economic growth (Zhao, 2002).

However, with the rise of cultural consumption, the historic blocks have brought considerable benefits to the tourism economy and became an important part of local income. The marketing of urban heritage was proved to be an effective policy to help cities succeed in regional competition and economic restructuring (Britton, 1991). The local governments began to be keen on all kinds of cultural construction of historic blocks that countless historic sites are now labeled with national, provincial and local 'historic and cultural block'. These historic blocks were usually renovated in the name of conservation, but finally served for tourism and consumption.

For example, the 'Shanghai Xintiandi' project which won a number of international architectural and cultural awards is under the banner of historic block conservation, but actually appears as historical real estate. The renovation is not concerned with the historical and cultural value of the building itself, but to create a delicate historical simulacrum and atmosphere of consumption. Thus, a large number

of architectural details are extracted to reassemble and the lifestyle is packaged as commodity to sell 'nostalgia' in a refined way which can only be afforded by the few. This 'successful' case was widely imitated by other cities, such as 'Kuanzhai Alley' in Chengdu, 'west lake world' in Hangzhou and so on (Guo, 2011).

Through heritabilization, a great deal of historic space has been commercialized and privatized into Chinese 'Disneyland' - creating a kind of theme parks of cultural historic landmark. As its met the local government's vanity projects of historical cities conservation, cultural construction and economic growth, its popularity is no less prevalent than that of urban renewal. So far it is still an important strategy for the development of many historical cities in China. But in fact, these symbolic places are far from the meaning of public in everyday life. In many cases, the original residents chose to move away for earning rent, or forced to leave because of rising price or over-commercialized. The so-called 'conservation' provides the legitimacy to purify space, hiding the erosion of capital to neighborhood communities and displacement of local life.

Under the growth-oriented urban entrepreneurialism, capital and power monopolized the right to speak and manipulated the development direction of these historic cities. Where the public activities of local life were largely replaced by privatized space under capital operation. The concept of public space was distorted in some degree under privatization.

PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN HISTORIC CITIES

As Harvey (2001: 347) proposed, taking an entrepreneurial stance to economic development seems to be a general consensus of advanced capitalist world. This consensus is held across national boundaries, and even the border of political parties and ideologies. Actually, it is a common experience for most Chinese cities now. The point here is that in this process, the public-private partnership as the core of entrepreneurialism has deeply influenced the traditional concept of public space. Many original public or semi-public spaces were privatized into spaces of capital.

According to the two main models above, the gated community has transformed the urban public space shared by traditional neighborhoods into the privilege space of the landlords. And the consumption becomes the ticket to access the public spaces of commercialized historic blocks. It is to say, the public space meaning the 'common property' in the traditional society, is constantly reframed as privatized property. The pacified and privately owned public space become the mainstream of social mode which is so-called the public sphere of colonization by Habermas (Zou, 2015:2015). Ubiquitous surveillance expresses the exclusivity and purification of public space in the name of security, which eliminates the elements which are unfavorable to the privatized or commercialized public space, such as homeless, bedin, and poverty (Zukin, 1996). The street ballet of daily life emphasized by Jane Jacobs (2016) is no longer the main play of the city stage. On the contrary, state and capital have acquired the render right of the public culture that the public space is merely a courtside seat to watch the wonders of enterprise with carefully monitored (Bolton 1989: 43).

In addition to the mutation of the property-rights attributes of the public space, the reproduction of space needs to be paid attention. Habermas's (1989) discussion on public space focused on the important concept of public sphere. He considered the bourgeois public spaces of salons, cafes and clubs that have been born in the capitalist market economy as a social arena that can debate public affairs rationally, and the critical power field that can give play to liberalism and individualism. Its spatial meaning directs the vision of democratic politics and explores the possibility of popular participation.

But Fraser (1990) criticized that the ideal public sphere by Habermas represented the dominant value of white male middle class, revised based on it, and advocated more inclusive and diverse publics rather than single. Similarly, Carter et al. also pointed out Habermas's excessive idealization and homogenization on the public sphere of the bourgeoisie, proposed that the public perception of urban heterogeneity 'has different positioning...' (1993: xiv). In response to that, Carr et al. (1992) defined the successful public space as 'social bonding agent', which has the potential to bring together all kinds of groups, so that they can learn from each other and become a society that can

accommodate multiple classes, cultures, non-homogenous, and the richest idiosyncrasy. It is emphasized that public space has the interaction and cohesion of social activism.

Even with these discussions, the pluralistic, democratic, and participative public spaces seem to have been transformed into ideal utopia in this consumer society. As Richard Sennet (2017) in the fall of Public Man indicated, although the modern cities have a large amount of public space, the most part is cold and empty. The public space has faded, and become useless. Under the commercialization and privatization, the public space is flatted and simplified on the cultural level, what's more important, the potential of public space for stimulating the agency of social actors is blocked.

At present, numerous critics point to the inequality of social space that the public space is transformed into privatized space, as well as disequilibrium that the government forces and market forces are too strong while social forces are too weak (Guo, 2006). Yet the academics' appeals are hard to resist the dominant structure. How should the entrepreneurialism be shifted from capital accumulation to a more comprehensive view in response to the increasing socio-spatial contradictions? What is the possible negotiation between the conservation of historic city and the urban entrepreneurialism? How can the public sphere rise again? The following part of this paper discusses the particularity of newly formed governance coalition in Quanzhou. From a series of exhibitions held recently look into the possibility of multi-cooperation and public participation under the new mechanism, and reflect on the production of public space.

CONSERVATION PRACTICE OF EXHIBITION IN QUANZHOU

Following with the integral redevelopment of urban heritage, the academic discussion on the topic of authenticity and the problem of placelessness are coupled with reflection on existing practice results. The conservation model of historic district under market-economic oriented public-private partnerships have received a lot of questioning and criticism, which represents the crisis of the local governance carrying out in urban entrepreneurialism on the

conservation of historic city. The 'small-scale, gradual' rehabilitation model has begun to bring up to the agenda in these years, expected to move toward a sustainable development.

Quanzhou is one of the first cities listed as China's Prominent Historical and Cultural City in 1983. But in about a decade from the early 1990s to early 2000s, it also couldn't avoid the fate of reconstruction. The West Street area was the only part of old city preserved intactly, because it surrounds the Kaiyuan temple which is a national protected historic site and is deemed as the core of conservation zone. However, the private houses take up large part of this area while the maintenance funds for the old city conservation from local government is extremely limited each year, which is only 400,000 RMB. With the hope that the property owner can take up the responsibility of restoration autonomously, local government shifted to the conservation mode of 'gradual, microcirculation' in 2006. But the rigorous and complex application process and the requirement of low volume rates have deterred many owners. The problems of collapse of aging buildings, residents moving away, declining rents and industrial stagnation are becoming more and more serious. Although the public sector continuously tried to produce many different conservation schemes in the last ten years, the local governments did not dare to make decisions easily on how to conserve and regenerate the historic districts under different voices, which became a long-term dilemma.

From 2016, Quanzhou began to hold 'Soundless Lubrication' series of exhibitions as a cultural strategy of urban regeneration, which is different from the exhibition mode of the large, formal art center. The characteristic of 'Soundless Lubrication' is just as its name suggests that it hopes to moisten everything silently. It doesn't intervene by the method of large-scale change but small and informal, which is distributed in small spaces in the old streets, unnoticeably incorporated into them, to gradually activate the space of the old city from the points. It may not be new to use exhibition as a spatial strategy of regeneration, but the exhibition in Quanzhou has the following special aspects worthy to be discussed.

Coalition Structure Restructuring

In the former structure of historic conservation, normally local planning bureaus, planning institutes and other specialized departments focusing on tangible heritage represents the public sectors. Although these units have professional authority, in fact, they are very limited in terms of human and financial resources, scope of power and administrative decision hierarchy. The acquiring for additional conservation funds by setting up specific projects takes a lot of applications and long waits. This has led to the difficulties of the conservation of the old city and the constant conflict with the development oriented local governance, which seems to be in a binary opposition relationship.

Based on the experience of all the historic cities all over the world in the past few decade, the conservation concept is constantly updated to make people realize that conservation should not be too attached to the pattern of pre-modern or single historical levels. In 2011, the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, published by UNESCO, pointed out that the purpose of urban historical landscape is not only to protect, but also to maintain and improve the overall human living environment. Namely, conservation should be integrated into urban development strategy, cover a wide and multi-layered urban development, consider and discuss the habitability of the cities as well as the sustainability of each aspect, which involves different stakeholders (Kang, 2012). Therefore, the conservation and regeneration of historic cities must be directly confronted with the cross-domain cooperation. The local governments

are more sensitive to social responses than they have been in the past, looking for balanced conservation and development strategies in a more cautious manner. In 2015, a new mayor who concerns with city culture was appointed in Quanzhou. With all these inducements, the structure of the conservation and development of Quanzhou old city has been reorganized.

The government established the Conservation and Development Coordination Group of Quanzhou Old City (CDCG for short) at the beginning of 2016. The mayor is the direct leader, with the aim of having sufficient decision-making capacity. It includes the office of regulatory affairs and different groups, including planning group, cultural group, policy group, publicity group, etc. The relevant units responsible for the conservation of old cities in the past are also included, other members are on secondment from various public-sector units. At the same time, 'daily work is supported by Quanzhou old city development co. LTD, who is responsible for the conservation.'¹ that is, the role of privat in public-private partnership is set. In fact, the company is a subsidiary of Quanzhou cultural tourism Bloc, a wholly municipal state-owned enterprise. The concept of public-private partnership in the past usually referred to the cooperation between local government and non-governmental private capitals. However, it may also form the cooperation between local governments and wholly state-owned companies under China's unique system² (Figure 1).

Through cooperation between the local government and the company set up by state-owned assets supervision and administration

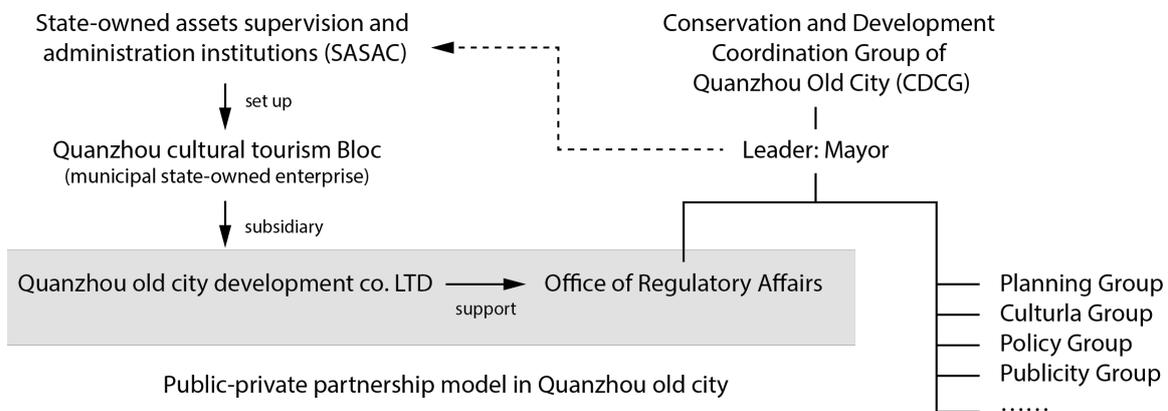


FIGURE 1 Public-private partnership model in Quanzhou old city

institutions, the problem of insufficient funds for conservation can be fixed. It establishes a financial allocation system that the local government can appropriate funds through the company directly. The biggest difference from former conservation mechanism is the decision-making power level of the coordination group that can link up directly with the company, which avoids the difficulties and delays caused by the layers of application in the past. The partnership seems to mean a strong government-led trend and the way of centralized decision-making, while the company, SASAC setting up, still is profitable for the purpose, but there are several factors to restrict. Firstly, the 'small-scale and gradual' conservation principle limits the development framework of public-private partnership, who cannot repeat the pattern of large reconstruction in the past. The second is the organizational model of the mayor as the direct responsible person, which makes the local government be more sensitive on the development of the old city. Thirdly, the governance coalition includes planning company, professional conservation team, local individual actors, etc., any strategy to promote and implement is required to be coordinated and cooperated by various agencies. So that the different roles can be placed equally together to enhance all the voices, which makes communication more direct and effective, and treats the problem of the old city with a holistic view.

Another difference is that public-private partnerships were mostly business-led agenda in the past, with the goal of short-term, efficient benefits rather than social welfare. As Harvey (2001) pointed out in the Spaces of Capital, new urban entrepreneurialism typically dependent on the public-private partnership, to focus on speculative building to engage in investment and economic development, rather than to improve the conditions of the specific areas as its immediate political and economic goals. Today, the speculative entrepreneurialism is not absolute. With the fade and reflection of the reconstruction of old city, the governance has gradually shifted to a more farsighted concept of sustainable development. The private sector is required to move from the attitude of speculative to jointly manage the city, and to take into account the mechanisms beneficial to local growth.

Temporary, informal and participation

In the past, the reconstruction of the old city was always in one step after the decision, so that the maximum interest can be recovered through the short-term construction, and thus the mid-correction is basically difficult. In the context of the restructuring of governance structure, the target of the coalition turns from short-term profit to long-term 'investment' plan. As a result, the exhibition is seen as a loose temporary cultural project and a long-term plan for local cultivation, creating a new set of mechanism. Different from the rigid engineering projects in the past, the exhibition is defined as a soft regeneration method - it is a cultural strategy for revitalization of the old city, meanwhile a kind of space experiment to try the local reaction to the regeneration mode and to adjust gradually. That is, the former is about the cultural contents accommodated in the space, the latter is the micro-renovation of space implemented in the name of exhibition.

The exhibition revolves around the conservation of old city, but doesn't designate a specific person or topic. It opens for citizens to propose and curate according to their own ideas. The participators, spaces and exhibitions are replaced aperiodically. Due to the temporary features of the exhibition, it has not been normalized as some kind of government behavior, which avoids the application process of the traditional system. Under such a mechanism, the exhibition has a certain autonomy, which makes the inclusiveness and pluralism possible. So far, the exhibition has attracted the inheritors of traditional arts, such as lacquer, pottery, Nanyin, puppetry and so on, as well as the young generation who engages in creative cultural industry. There are also sub-cultural group to take the oath of their subjectivity in the old city, local documentaries taken by grass-roots and so forth. The participators show their relationships with the old city through their micro-narration with individual perspective. Since the participators who joined the exhibition have initiative and enthusiasm, they are willing to communicate with the visitors during the exhibition, explaining the contents, sharing their experience in the old city, or organizing participatory activities. As a result, the exhibition has become a medium to encourage public participation and to connect different groups with the space of the old city.

Meanwhile, the micro-renovation of space implemented in the name of the exhibition also accepts the public inspection. It will be continued if it is well-responded, even transferred from temporary to long-term planning. In the contrast, if the public don't approve the renovation, it will use the temporary exhibition as an excuse to alleviate the conflict between the government and the citizens, and then returned to the original state afterwards. This leaves the scope of voicing for the local, and the local daily life can be taken into account. Although this mechanism couldn't accomplish real public participation that the publics' voice is still a reactive response to stimulus, the way of conservation is flexible and the public will feel empowered to concern with public affairs.

The governance coalition hopes to build a platform for public voice through the exhibition, arouse the publics' attention and identification, and empower the grassroots by enhancing the sense of ownership of the old city. In this way, it gives people the confidence to regenerate the old city and trigger self-maintenance, attracting more citizens to involve in the conservation activities. This strategy faces the deficiency of the conservation mechanism in the past, jumps out from the old way to open up a new path for the upper layer and lubricate the relationship between government and citizens. To some extent, it stimulates the initiative of social actors and eases the crisis of the local governance on the development of old city.

SPATIAL INVERSION AND PUBLICNESS UNDER EXHIBITION MECHANISM

Certainly, the local government reconstructing the governance coalition is not simply to promote the conservation of the old city. But what is the intrinsic factor that triggers the practice of exhibition as the method? The last part of the paper will focus on this, and explore the inner contradictions of public space formed by the exhibition as 'event', and the possibility of public sphere forming.

In the traditional urban space, the boundary between public and private is usually ambiguous in practical life which are permeated with each other. Especially in southern region of Fujian province, the form of traditional architecture reflects the permeable boundary that the front

yard of Dacuo and arcade space are the concrete embodiment of the private space retreating for public use. Therefore, the definition of public and private is a relative concept. In addition to the division of ownership by property rights, it can also be based on the power of 'access', as well as the public or private nature of the activities in that space. Namely, the definition of public space is a cross among property rights, access and activity, varying with different situations (Wang, Shen, Lin, 2009). This is similar to the concept of public space in Japan which is determined by events. That is to determine the scope of space at a certain time according to its activity, without a tangible, permanent boundary (Hidaka, Tanaka, 2001).

The exhibition creates an event that the various micro-spaces in the old city are turned over to be accessible, which reinvigorates and diversifies the public spaces in the historical Quanzhou. In a sense, the humanistic spirit of the traditional architecture of Southern Fujian was restored. Comparing with the experience of the middle-class gentrification in the Occident, which is often unable to control the rent and replaced by super-gentrification (Lees, 2000) of the capital consortium, the 'private' role under this new structure in Quanzhou assists the government in promoting cultural strategy and providing opportunities for participation through the large amount of space assets held by them. It looks like the return of publicness, but what makes the event possible is the concept of monopoly rent in essential (Harvey, 2001).

Harvey put forward two forms of monopoly rent, the first is to monopolize the goods or services produced by the monopoly of land, resources or location and the second is the value of the future, rather than the current use. These two forms are usually interlaced. At present, many old city's streets are in decay, the rents are so low that the stakeholders refuse to renovate, or use as storages rather than renting out. This situation is not conducive to city image in urban competition, and unfavorable to tourism and other service industry, which is the condition that the governed trying to reverse. Under the new governance coalition, the CDCG joint planning team perform overall planning, and accordingly the Quanzhou old city development co. LTD will strategically acquire or long-term lease spaces as many as possible. Later a series of conservation actions would be taken by the public sectors, which means the appreciation

of monopoly rent for capital enterprises. In the meantime, with the strategy of cultural governance, the capital enterprise incubates cultural formats with local characteristics by sponsoring exhibitions' participators, also for creating uniqueness or scarcity, which is the core emphasized in the concept of monopoly rent. Thus, local government, capital enterprise, local actors, and stakeholders have their respective roles under the coalition. The conservation of the old city, the development of cultural industry, the monopoly of space and cultural resources are linked together.

From this point of view, the groups participating in the exhibition is incorporated into governance coalition as a unique cultural resource. Though having some autonomy, the fundamental purpose of capital accumulation under the public-private partnership still can't get rid. Besides, it is hard to deny that the groups or industries deemed unsuitable for the old city image were excluded and replaced in this process. For example, a shop later turned into an exhibition space in Jinyu Alley where the government plans to develop tourism was a massage shop before. By implying the illegal activity it may have in an unofficial way, the Quanzhou old city development co. LTD easily persuaded the stakeholder to stop contract with previous tenant. Meanwhile, as a partners and shareholder of public sector, it gained trust to sign a long-term contract which can guarantee the rent income of stakeholder and space management. As MacLeod (2002) noted, the concept of any 'publicness' for renaissance and regeneration is highly selective and systematically discriminating.

When analyzed dialectically, the capital enterprises have acquired more space assets through privatization, but they are open to public use. However, the publicness is possessed in the monopoly and is also selective. Even so, is there any possibility that the exhibition can be a media to enable public sphere under the interaction between the various groups? Backing to the concept of public space by Richard Sennet, whose focus is neither the democratic participation as Habermas', nor the basis for communicative rationality, but the dynamic open public space and the high tolerance of confounding differences. The public space doesn't refer to the narrow concept of reasoned debate only, but also a place compatible with a variety of rational and even non-rational dialogues (Zou, 2015:108).

Because of the irregular, temporary, the formal characteristics, 'Soundless Lubrication' exhibition allows more freedom deviates from certain standards and rules, which gives space to some unanticipated elements. Similar to a carnival festival, participators and visitors can express themselves more freely than daily life. The privilege of temporary becomes the catalyst unleashing the voices of all parties in the process, the inequality deriving from social class or among people is suspended (Stam, 1989:21). Simultaneously, some accidental disorder happened with or without intention makes the dialogue between rationality and irrationality possible. For example, once the exhibition invited the visitors to participate in a writing action, for which a nearly 20-meter wall was set as a message board. Anything could be written down, such as personal memories reminiscing about the past, feelings of gratitude or scold, manifestos of appealing or proposal. The exhibition attracted a large number of people to translate their private inner world into public announcements.

This micro-level interaction is a confusion boundary between public and private life, which is an inside-out action. It is the public sphere that Sennett (2010) collectively named "teatro mundi" (drama mode), in which individuals show their private or special side to each other without any restriction or discrimination. It is also a post-modern public sphere - a deep reintegration through pleasure, passion, friendship, as well as private values and public morals (Bhabha, 1991:65). That is, in such a dialogue between ration and irration, the crowd continuously dismantle and reconstruct the consciousness of 'self' and 'public' which penetrate mutually (Wang, Shen, Lin, 2009). Openness, dynamic, improvisation and randomness overrides the definition of publicness all the time (Zou, 2015:183).

To sum up, through the exhibition mechanism, the governance coalition primarily flipped the significance of public and private in first layer of the physical space and power to access. And the possible disorder created by the exhibition makes an open dialogue between internal private cognition and public reason outside, reason and irrationality disturb the public and private boundary of consciousness under the carnival, forming a second level of meaning flipping. The dynamic interaction of the dual boundary points

to the space contradictions that accompanied by the urban entrepreneurialism, and criticized the concept of controlled and purified public

space from the action. Although it is produced within the structure, it also has the potential of overstepping structure from inside.

NOTES

1. The website of People Government in Quanzhou, 2016. 'Notice of people government on the establishment of the development work coordination group in Quanzhou', website: http://www.fjqz.gov.cn/zfb/xxgk/zfxxgkzl/zfxxgkml/srmzfxgkml/jgsz/201602/t20160229_250507.htm(2017/08/21).
2. The wholly state-owned company refers to the limited liability company is individual contributive by the state, or performed the responsibilities of investor by the state council or the local people government entrusting the state-owned assets supervision and administration institution of the people government at the corresponding level.

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Mobilized Territories in More-Than-Relational Public Spaces Sidewalk Territories of Resistance in Hanoi, Vietnam

Anh-Dung Ta

Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning,
National University of Civil Engineering,
Vietnam

Manfredo Manfredini

School of Architecture and Urban Planning,
University of Auckland,
New Zealand

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INTRODUCTION: TERRITORIALISATION, CONSUMPTION AND EVERYDAY INCREMENTAL PROCESSES IN THE PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE.

The “consumed city” and the “creative city”: Commodification and privatisation of public spaces

Politicians, business investors, city planners, architects and the like are driving our city towards a city of consumption (Miles & Miles, 2004). In discussing this phenomenon, Mark Jayne (2006) states that contemporary cities are being designed and shaped to support consumption practices since economic development is contingent on abilities to offer consumption rather than production opportunities as it was in the past. Sharing the same idea, Sharon Zukin (1991, 1998) coins the term landscapes of consumption to imply this tendency in metropolitan cities. Consumption here is not simply seen as literal goods or services to be sold, but “increasingly about ideas, services and knowledge – places, shopping, eating, fashion, leisure and recreation, sights and sounds can all be “consumed” (Jayne, 2006, p. 5). The historical development of this phenomenon has been apparently depicted by Colin Campbell (1987). Through his book, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Campbell argues that before the eighteenth century, consumption practices were still limited and mainly involved actual needs. However, there has appeared a change in people’s consuming behaviours as consumers tend to buy products according to the attached symbolic meaning and social status rather than their specific functions. Steven Miles stresses on this state of affair by distinguishing the idea of “consumption” and its broader concepts of “consumerism” and “consumer culture”.

As a result, cities have been oriented to satisfy consumers’ dreams and imaginations, leading to the attachment of “cultural” and “creative” interventions in the production process. This addresses the reason for the prioritisation of principles of “liveability” and “creativity” in policies and investments to enhance cities competitiveness (Baycan, 2011; Ho & Douglass, 2008; Jayne, 2006; Scott, 2006). The focus is on a regeneration through creative interventions and cultural activities (P. Cooke

&Lazzeretti, 2008; Richards& Palmer, 2010), representing a shift towards creative, cultural products, the presence of skilled labours driving the new knowledge/creative economy and the infrastructure behind them (Baycan, 2011; Hospers &Dalm, 2005; Hutton, 2016; Sassen, 2012).

A shift from manufacturing industries to creative cities happens due to the fact that the latter generates more profits than the former (Landry & Franco Bianchini, 1995). Indeed, industrial production no longer symbolically and economically stands for a city's triumph (Evans, 2003). The global competition among nations is no longer based on natural resources, advantageous locations or reputation from the past, but rather on the ability to establish and develop brand images (Landry & Franco Bianchini, 1995; Miles & Miles, 2004), which in fact is a creative feature (Evans, 2003). So as to compete with others, the ambition of today cities is to achieve world-class quality, distinctive image (Evans, 2003; Florida, 2014; Landry,2008; Landry & Franco Bianchini, 1995) and eventful character (Richards & Palmer, 2010).

Creative governance policies theoretically aims to produce authentic, plural places that stimulate social participation and inclusion¹, however today governments have been mainly inspired by two types of creativity (organisation & business management and marketing & communications) that relate to economic development and normally lead to the reverse (Laundry &Bianchini, 1995)². Steven Miles and Malcolm Miles (2004) argue that cities are giving priority to just consumption, and the vision of creative city is more towards the city for the efficient of consumption rather than for all people. Although consumption-driven context might open up possibilities for new social and cultural integration,consumers here mainly refer to the affordable, middle-class and rich inhabitants, excluding the working- class and urban poor in our society (Jayne, 2006; Miles & Miles, 2004).

In this context, city spaces are not only consumer places, but also have been treated as a commodity that prioritises economic exchange and neglects its use values in everyday life of surrounding communities (Jayne, 2006; Purcell, 2014). Urban spaces and places are being increasingly constructed, marketed and sold as centres

of consumption, especially when cities are competing with others to become international consumption nodes (Jayne, 2006). This trend is significantly related to the emergence of privatisation that has resulted in new forms of architecture in today cities: as David Harvey (2000) points out: (1) urban gated communities that excludes the poor and promotes social segregation and (2) “commercialized utopias” (p. 168) referring to Disneyland (and the like) and shopping malls that induce people to a fantasy world to consume.

The privatisation of public space has also attracted increasing attention since public space substantially contributes to the consumption-driven basis of the service economy (Glaeser, 2011; Madanipour, 1999,2013), the transformation of city's images (Inroy, 2000; Madanipour, 1999), and the character of localities (Madanipour, 1999). Subsequently, there appears increasing demands of improving, renovating existing public spaces as well as creating new places in many countries.

Through private-public partnership, private sectors play an important role in offsetting financial burdens of public administrations (Defilippis, 1997; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Hodkinson, 2012; Kärholm, 2016; Minton, 2012). Moreover, private sectors also offer efficient control and management and help to increase the number of public spaces (Németh& Schmidt, 2011). However private-public partnership means that the private takes the profits while the public takes the risks (Space of Hope, p. 141). The phenomenon particularly occurs in cities with neoliberal framework, where developers are increasingly granted political and financial power (Harvey, 2000). Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) argues that developers have political and financial power to bend the so-called public spaces in their projects to become segregated place, which tends to attract a certain part of rather than all the public. In accordance with that, Benjamin Barber (2001) further notes that privatization does not emancipate, but rather diminish civil autonomy and that public spaces formerly considered as the symbol of plurality are put aside.

In modern world, with the rise of economic activities to the public realm, all matters pertaining formerly to the private become a collective concern, and this addresses the

reason for the loss of equality, empowering and apparitional role in public spaces (Arendt, 2013; Benhabib, 1992). Economic goal has become the main factor that influences on the current urban regeneration strategies despite of social and local needs (Inroy, 2000). As a result, the public good becomes interchangeable with economic benefit, and this has shifted the delicate balance between private and public interests decisively in favour of the former (Minton, 2012). Public spaces are no longer open systems, accessible to all and encouraging freedom of action, temporary claim and ownership (Brill, 1989; Hénaff& Strong, 2001; Young, 1986), but rather have become over-determined, diminishing diversity and multiplicity (Sennett, 2006).

The meaning of public space has been threatened and distorted in contemporary society, reflected by the dominance of “the narrative of loss” in literature (Davis, 1992; Mitchell, 1995; Sennett, 1992; Sorkin,1992). However, a renewed effort to defend its key role is emerging at all levels of our society, which promotes civic engagement, cultural expression, enhances social cohesion and inclusion, and engenders a sense of belonging and ownership (UN Habitat, 2016).

“Insurgent” urbanism

Much research has focused on vibrant grassroots activities within larger social, political and economic contexts, examining the contested nature of public space and the idea of “agonistic pluralism” (Mouffe,1999). The originator of such studies was William. H Whyte, with his famous Street Life Project. Different from two previous major approaches to analyse public space: form-oriented research (Moughtin, 1999; Sitte, 1986), and form-cognition studies (Appleton, 1975; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1982; Lynch, 1960), Whyte (1988) examines the linkage between form and activities. Particularly, Whyte observed ordinary New Yorkers’ daily practices in public spaces and noticed the correlations between their activities, uses and designed elements. With the aim of identifying what spatial features might increase the use of public space, White did not scrutinise people’s spatial practices according to theirsocial, cultural or political driver. Instead, he aimed for a universal understanding of people’s activities in public areas. As such, his work does not explain the conflicts among different social groups’ spatial practices in public space; in other words, he

neglects why and how a social group can access, occupy and use a space, while others cannot. This argument is important to consider in today cities, as SETHA Low (2006) argues today public spaces are not only facing the threat of being unused, but also the threat ofcontrols, management and designs that intend to leave the spaces only for middle class people, limiting undesirables and diversity.

Margaret Crawford (1995) advanced White’s work and went a step further by focusing on “insurgent” social groups such as street vendors, homeless people and immigrants, and reporting how these people, through their lived experiences and practices, were reshaping Los Angeles’s “residual” public places. Criticizing the dominant narrative of loss, Crawford directed scholars’ attention to different kinds of public areas like sidewalks, vacant lots, front yards and garages, where grassroots actors appropriate the space and produce new forms of social and political arenas. Crawford coined the term Everyday Urbanism, conceived as an alternative approach that reconnects “urban research and design with ordinary human and social meanings” (2008, p. 12). In support of this notion, John Kaliski (2008) traces back to the most influential ideas in the recent 100 year-history of urban planning and design, and shows the gap between the practice of city design and the dynamics of everyday life. Crawford’s idea (1995) has influenced many other scholars who share the same interest in ethnic minorities’ remaking of vacant,open public areas in North American and European context (Millar, 2008; Rojas, 2010; Rojas & Chase,2008; Vergara, 2008).

In Asian cities, with a different social-cultural context, many scholars argue that the meaning attached to public space is different from that in North American and European cities (Drummond, 2000; L. Law,2002). Particularly, “official” public space like communal houses, temples and squares (adopted from Western culture) normally signify the rulers’ power (the state or the village council), rather than being a social, political arena for the public (Drummond, 2000; L. Law, 2002). Jeffrey Hou (2010, p. 3) argues: “in countries influenced by Confucianism in the East, social and individual life is dictated predominantly by obligations to state and family, with little in between. The official public space is traditionally either non-existent or tightly

controlled by the state.”

So far, there has appeared two major branches in literature concerning everyday making of public spaces in the Asian context. The first intends to assess the publicness of “official” public spaces in Asian cities. Some key publications are the works of Anna-Katharina Hornidge&KurfKurfürst (2011) and Mandy Thomas (2001) with a focus on Vietnam and Lisa Law (2002) with an interest in Hong Kong. These authors reach the same conclusion that the traditional perception of public space in Asian cities has been challenged as regular citizens have been appropriating these places to satisfy their private and leisure purposes, instead of being dominated by the state’s control. The second influenced by Crawford is towards “left-over” public areas. The main argument is the globalisation is gradually decontextualizing the social, spatial and cultural association in contemporary Asian cities. Accordingly, some scholars attempt to investigate temporary occupation and adaptive reuse of “unofficial” public and left-over places, highlighting grassroots resistance to such tendency. A recent example of this approach is the book written by William S. Lim (2014). By looking into “residual” public areas like forgotten cemeteries, railway corridors, void decks, and the like in Singapore, China, Hong Kong, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur and Taiwan, Lim offers an overall view of the phenomenon in Asia.

Understanding Hanoi Ancient Quarter

The sidewalks of Hanoi Ancient Quarter (AQ) are an example of places that pose resistance to such reterritorializing tendencies and tenaciously preserve their unique cultural and socio-spatial patrimony.

These places often entail public realms with deeply rooted, idiosyncratic practices developed over centuries of informal and incremental processes. Hanoi’s AQ (also known as the 36 Old Streets) originated from the old Commoner’s City, the main settlement near the royal city, situated next to the Red River – the main river of the Gulf of Tonkin. As such, the district has had an advantage as the place where traders from neighbouring villages gathered and stored their goods and products for the royal helite, as indicated also by the old name of Hanoi: “Ke Cho” - a marketplace.

Appropriation of sidewalk space is widespread in

the district. Residential overcrowding and lack of compensatory living areas³ have pushed people out onto the streets and led to an ambivalence and a temporary inversion of private and public space. Lisa Drummond (2000) coins the terms inside-out and outside-in to address the phenomenon. Inside-out refers to the encroachment of domestic/private activities on sidewalk spaces, in a way that renders these spaces seemingly private. In contrast, outside-in implies a reformulation of domestic identity, supported by state campaigns, promoting a “culture of family” and a new way of life with reinstitution of “the proper nature of women’s roles” (p. 2385). Lack of living area, however, is not the only reason for the inside-out phenomenon. Appropriation of public spaces for commercial activities is rampant (Drummond, 2000; Kim, 2015; Kürten, 2008).

These practices reflect the ingrained habits of local people to integrate living and trading spaces and expand them with informal commercial areas to augment exposure to consumers. These territorial appropriations support the integration of resident communities, migrants and transients, providing social empowerment both on an individual and collective level, strengthening place identity and attachment and fostering inclusion.

This paper analyses the formalisation of grassroots territories on AQ’s the sidewalks. It hypothesizes that the more grassroots territories it retains (a territory in our research is defined as a geographical space effectively used and controlled by an individual or a social group), the more successful the sidewalk become as a social and political arena. The number and complexity of territories upon a particular sidewalk are interpreted as reflection of its diversity and inclusion. This not only refers to the variety of people and their practices, but also to the multifariousness of social group dynamics and bonding networks. In order to analyse these sidewalks, we firstly observe material elements and people’s behaviours, and from this, we diachronically map their fleeting territories.

HANOI’S ANCIENT QUARTER AND THE SIDEWALK CLEARANCE POLICY

The sidewalk clearance policy

Since 2008, the Vietnamese government has activated a strategic plan to clear these “inappropriate” activities from the sidewalks, with

the aim of leaving the spaces available only to pedestrians. In 2008, a decree was issued to ban street vendors' activities from 63 streets of the central district and public spaces around historical sites, official buildings, hospitals, schools, and bus and train stations. It is important to note that the term "street vendors" here refers not only to itinerant street traders, but also to local inhabitants who regularly encroach on the sidewalk to perform their activities. These people cover almost every imaginable small-scale service, including hairdressers, cooked food stalls, lottery stalls, vegetable-sellers, and tea stands.

In 2009, the government went a step further in the attack on street vendors by preventing them from gathering around traditional fresh markets. To achieve the aim, the state proposed a ten-year plan to replace some core traditional fresh markets in the old district with modern supermarkets and hypermarkets. This plan intended to not only clear street vendors, but also transform the appearance of Hanoi into a "modern" capital.

In addition to the early 2000s policies, at the beginning of 2016 the government carried out an experiment to homogenise advertising boards on an important street in Hanoi (Le Trong Tan Street). The aim of this practice is to introduce a coordinated urban image to be eventually applied to all streets. The dimension, position and even the colour of advertising boards are pre-determined to limit the diversity, regarded as the chaotic appearance, of street frontages.

More recently, in the first quarter of 2017, the Vice Chairman of the People's Committee of District 1 (Ho Chi Minh City) stated that in order to turn central Saigon into a miniature Singapore, it is crucial to restore urban order, especially on the sidewalks. This has sparked widespread interest in other main districts, not only in Ho Chi Minh City but also in Hanoi. On January 16, the Vice Chairman personally directed a 2-month campaign with the aim of fiercely removing all shops' encroachments from the sidewalks, returning the spaces to pedestrians. In 40 days, District 1 fined nearly 1,000 cases, with a total value in fines of about 500 million VND (250,000 USD) (Phuong, 2017). Concurring with Ho Chi Minh City, the chairman of Hanoi returned to the topic of sidewalk clearance with a focus on shops' encroaching activities. He declared that if

the illegal, widespread occupancy of sidewalks remains unchanged, it will lead to frequent traffic congestion and accidents and Hanoi will always appear a messy, dirty and unorganised city, losing its image as a "civilized" capital. He further asserted: "That is the big loss, and we can no longer allow some business households to occupy the sidewalk, and let the capital go sluggish" (Long, 2017).

However, there is a strong resistance in favour of street life all across urban Vietnam. In the AQ, local people still tactically occupy various parts of the sidewalks to perform diverse activities according to their needs and desires. These practices range from basic activities such as eating, cooking and washing, to relaxation and commercial practices, most of which are banned by the present policies.

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY AND TERRITORIALITY

Actor (actant) and network in ANT

Actor-network theory (ANT) is a relevant tool to analyse how physical attributes have impacts on the formalisation, transformation and replacement of grassroots territories, because it emphasises non-human factors. Bruno Latour (2005) shows how we have separated society from nature, and thus put the role of society above nature's materiality in knowledge construction. Demolishing this society-nature divide, Latour proposes ANT as a way to achieve a comprehensive system of knowledge: "dispersion, destruction and deconstruction are not the goals but what needs to be overcome" (2005, p.10-11). In ANT, materiality also has agency, and society is the result of the assemblage of both human and non-human elements. Moreover, ANT offers a clear approach to space, referring to regions, distance, scales and topologies (Laet&Mol, 2000; J. Law, 1999; J. Law & Mol, 2001; Mol& Law, 1994), and thus it is valuable in the field of architecture and urban design.

As the name itself indicates, there are two key metaphors in ANT: network and actor (more accurately: actants). A network in social science is a fixed, stable set of relationships between nodes, and these nodes normally refer to people or actors. ANT does not accept this reductionism, which accepts that any social issue is determined by people rather than material entities (J. Law,

1992). ANT levels all distinctions between social/material entities, investigates the links between them and tries to explain the stabilisation of social phenomena in relation to this kind of network (Murdoch, 1998). As John Law (1992) argues: “The social is nothing other than patterned networks of heterogeneous materials” (p. 381). In ANT, the relationships between heterogeneous entities – not the entities themselves – are the main focus (Rydin & Tate, 2016), delineating how one element transforms its role when it joins other associations and helps sustain the network. AN theorists do not search for concentrations of power that will determine and successfully control the network. Rather, power in ANT is assumed to be relational, diffused and a consequence rather than a cause (Beauregard & Lieto, 2016; Kärholm, 2005).

Differing from sociology, the term actant in ANT covers both human and non-human involvement; non-human is no longer absent in the social sciences and humanities (Sayes, 2014). An actant might be anything considered as the cause of action in a controversy (Latour, 2005). Edwin Sayes (2014, p.136) further clarifies the term non-human as “animals, natural phenomena, tools and technical artefacts, material structures, transportation devices, texts and economic goods”. In the present paper, non-human particularly refers to tools, artefacts and physical structures appearing on the sidewalks.

A territory as a spatial actant

Mattias Kärholm (2008) argues that territories are everywhere and architecture is actually a tool to establish territorial controls. The idea of territoriality mainly divided in two approaches: human and political- geographical territoriality, has often ignored territorial materiality and merely investigated social relations behind it (Brighenti, 2010; Kärholm, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2016). Kärholm (2005, 2007, 2008, 2016) further borrows ANT to decode both social-physical aspects of territorial processes. For him, a territory is not seen as a static object, but rather a dynamic ANT network with complex sets of actants.

We borrow the idea of Kärholm (2007, 2016), considering territoriality as spatially delimited and effective control of a territory, and focus on territorial-power relations of everyday practices. A territory in this case is seen as a “spatial actant”,

a host of a certain network, which is continuously produced and reproduced to remain effective (p. 440). The interrelations among sidewalk actors lie beneath the system of territories. Understanding how territories are formed, transformed, and then replaced, might help to disentangle clusters of social and spatial relationality.

THE PRODUCTION OF GRASSROOTS TERRITORIES

Territorial materialities

This paper scrutinises a small group of people who conduct their daily activities on a part of Gia Ngu sidewalk, deciphering how material elements might help them to negotiate with each other and define their territories. Gia Ngu Street was chosen as it is one of the twenty that retain the most traditional, historical, structural and social features of the AQ. Moreover, the street is included in redevelopment plans actuating the above-mentioned governance policies.

The researcher conducted twelve 2 hour-observations as a pure observer in May, 2017, covering three days (two week days and one weekend day) at different times (morning (0600-0700), afternoon (1700-1800) and evening (2000-2100)). Visual methods including videos, photos, sketches, and annotations were used to record the physical settings of the sidewalk and the material tools and artefacts that different actors use to back up their territorial structures. The characteristics of these spatial components and physical objects were also noted. This information provided clues to interpret how these elements might generate and sustain repetitive territories. After each period of observation, the actors' territories will be marked onto a plan of the study streets in AutoCAD. Particularly, different graphic signs (dots, squares in various sizes and colours) will be used to represent people's occupied space. It is important to note that Vietnamese people normally consider the front sidewalk as legitimate extensions of their store, as this habit has lasted for a long time. Indeed, in the past, the ancient district had no pavement, and houses usually had an extra, pop-up, part in front of the frontage to exhibit goods to save inner housing spaces for storage, manufacturing processes and domestic activities. As such, in most of the cases, when parts of the sidewalk are empty, they should be represented as relevant shop owners' territories.

The results show that there were four main actors

contributing to grassroots territories. They were owners of fish-sauce, handicraft and barber stores and an “inner-resident” selling pickles (Figure 1). The term “inner-resident” refers to people living inside the block, in units behind the stores and not facing the streets. There are many small passages at the side of the front house, providing inner residents with access to the street. This is also the place that inner-inhabitants habitually go to conduct their domestic and business activities. Since the passage is not a private space, it is also an ideal storage area, where all the surrounding neighbours can store their possessions. These cover a wide range, including stools, folding tables, hooks and tents. This seemingly invisible space hides a loose structure that local residents use to make use of the outer sidewalk space, creating a much-needed public realm.

Hanoians are in the habit of getting up early, exercising on the streets and buying food on the way back home, and the fish-sauce store and the pickle seller were the first business operators in the early morning. At this time, the two neighbouring shops were still inactive. The sidewalk was empty, and the fish-sauce store and the inner-resident were the main owners of the sidewalk. There seemed to be a close relationship between the two

actors, possibly because pickles and fish-sauce normally go together in Vietnamese cuisine. When there was no conflict or dispute over the use of the sidewalk space, all the utensils of the two actors were arbitrarily laid out.

With a sturdy awning that stretched out enough to cover the width of the sidewalk, it was obvious that the owner of the fish-sauce stall intended to spread its contents as much as it could. The store had a small, very low doorstep, a half of which was not painted or tiled, but rather left blank with the color of the cement. This created the feeling that the doorstep was a part of the sidewalk rather than separated from it. From the street, there is no visible door marking the boundary between interior and exterior spaces. All these factors aim to blur the distinction between public and private space, implying the right to use the sidewalk. Added to that, the inner-resident had a perfect system of hooks and shelves mounted on a wall façade to display different kinds of pickle bottles, jars, pots, basins and baskets. This wall was a part of the fish-sauce store’s frontage, next to the mutual passage space. In the morning, the inner-resident randomly scattered her light and movable items around the front sidewalk, attracting people going by and preventing itinerant street vendors’ occupancy.



FIGURE 1 From left to right: Barber store, Inner-resident’s pickle shelves and baskets, fish-sauce and handicraft store.

When the barber and the handicraft store opened, there was a change in the sidewalk territories. The fish-sauce and pickle stalls normally emit unpleasant smells that might drive away customers of the two adjacent stores, and this causes a latent controversy surrounding the use of the sidewalk. Particularly, the two stores next door intended to delimit the fish-sauce and inner-resident's territories. They wanted to hinder those actors' efforts to intrude onto their front sidewalk spaces, keeping their sidewalk clear, clean and for their customers' parking only. As a response, the fish-sauce store narrowed its occupancy within its front sidewalk and left a part of the space for the pickle seller to inhabit. Many physical objects that had been spilled out in the morning were now tucked away and hidden inside the mutual passage. The pickle seller, in turn, neatly arranged her pots and baskets in front of the passage, waiting for the evening when the barber and handicraft store would be closed.

The barber and the handicraft store had different ways of responding to sidewalk occupancy. In the case of the barber, it had a two-step threshold in a prominent red color, combined with a shiny glass door, to provide a contrast between the neat, well-organised and professional space inside and the messy, diffused and unpleasant space out on the sidewalk. The handicraft store had an advantage in being situated at the beginning of the street, and thus it had two frontages. As such, its aim was not to open to the obnoxious and disordered sidewalk, but to one on the other street. As observed from the Gia Ngu frontage, the handicraft store hung its products in a way that almost filled the whole façade, leaving no space to access. From the other side, the shop was totally open, and freely encroached onto the sidewalk.

In order to clarify the boundaries, the store owners took advantage of the government's permission to park motorbikes and bicycles on the front sidewalk, and used these vehicles to mark their distinct territories. Vehicles were usually arranged either opposite the joint wall of the two adjacent stores, or in front of the mutual passage. Leaving the vehicles there was useful, not only to make clear the territorial limits, but also to push pedestrians out onto the street as the length of the vehicles was almost equal to the sidewalk's width. The parking area varied during the day depending on the number of customers' vehicles; however,

spaces between the vehicles were not wasted. Rather they turned out to be shared spaces for all the store owners and inner-residents to store and hide tools and artefacts such as buckets, pots, chairs, brooms and towels.

The barber and the handicraft store closed in the late afternoon, leaving the sidewalk for the fish-sauce and pickle sellers until midnight. At this time, all the physical items hidden in the passage since the morning were used. All these materials were pop-up parts of the street's frontage, not only bringing economic value for the locals and preserving the whole atmosphere of cultural business (traditional commercial activities, traditional customs, vernacular knowledge and experience in business), but also improving social interaction.

Fleeting territories/ time on the sidewalk (see Figure 2-5)

CONCLUSION

Focusing the formalisation of grassroots territories on the AQ sidewalk, this study discusses the condition of a unique space of resistance that challenges the pervading neoliberal globalisation process and proposes a first interpretation of the phenomenon. The paper, on the one hand, provides a description to understand how local inhabitants appropriate sidewalk spaces according to their needs and demands. On the other hand, by investigating the grassroots territories, it suggests a different way to assess urban diversity and inclusion, hypothesizing that the more grassroots territories are formed, the more inclusive the sidewalks become. The production of territories not only stands for the number of people with their varieties of activities, but also represents the richness of social and spatial networks. The primary objective is to contribute to the research on "micro" aspects of the environment stimulating a better understanding of specificities of Asian urbanism.

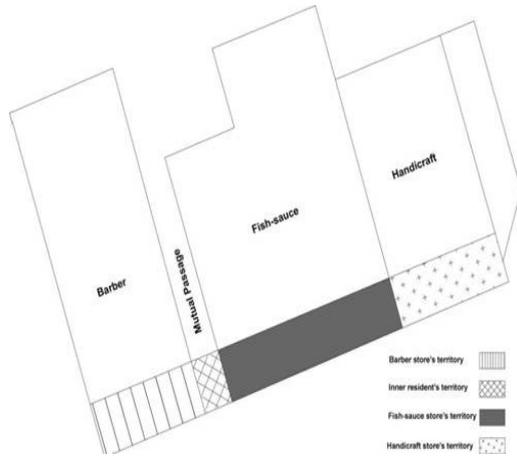


FIGURE 2 It is important to note that Vietnamese people normally consider the front sidewalk as legitimate extensions of their store, as this habit has lasted for a long time. Thus, when parts of the sidewalk are empty, they should be represented as relevant shop owners' territories

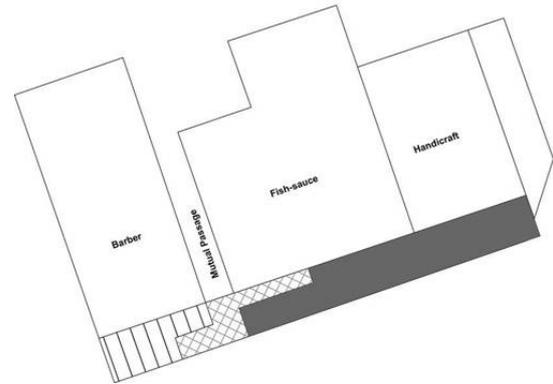


FIGURE 3 In early morning, when the barber and handcraft store were still inactive. The sidewalk was mainly occupied by the inner-resident and the fish-sauce owner

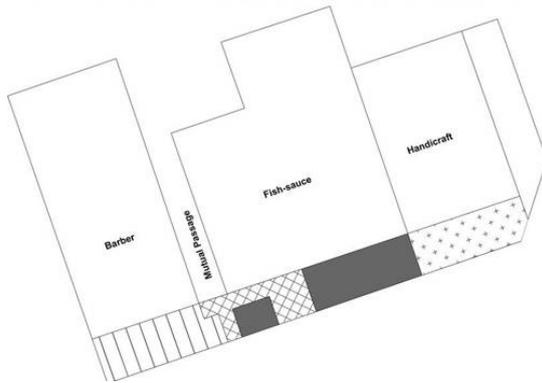


FIGURE 4 When all stores are active. Motorbikes are used to define the territories

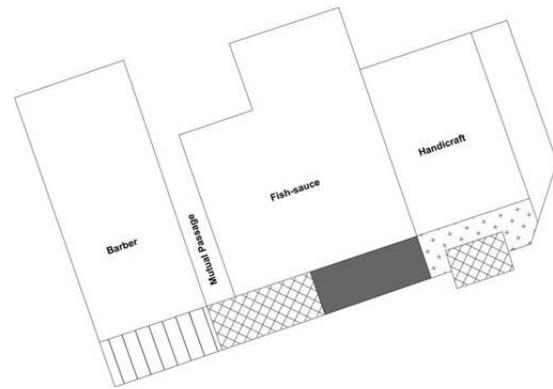


FIGURE 5 When the barber and the handcraft were about to close, the sidewalk was gradually left for the fish-sauce owner and the pickle seller.

NOTES

1. Creative city does not mean a city for only talents or creative people (Laundry & Bianchini, 1995), instead it should satisfy all its citizens' demands and stimulates creativity among its citizens (Yencken, 1988).
2. As Laundry and Bianchini (1995) predict: "There are different and seemingly contradictory types of creativity. The challenge of creativity is to recognise that opposites can be part of the same wholes (p. 22)."

3. The population density of the area reached 823 people per hectare in 2010, with about 5 000 business households (Chi, Nga, & Anh, 2011), and the government has proposed a plan to reduce the number to 500/ha by 2020 (Tu, 2015). A recent paper estimated that per capita living area in the district ranges from 0.5 to 1.8 m² (Loan, 2004). Moreover, most of its residential houses (approximately 4300) are in bad condition: 63% have major maintenance problems, 12% are in a dangerous condition, and 5% are uninhabitable (Loan, 2004).

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Crowdfunding for Placemaking and Community Revitalization

Annika Schuster

University of Applied
Science Stuttgart,
Germany

ABSTRACT

Crowdfunding, the practice of raising capital from a large and diverse pool of donors via online platforms, has grown significantly in the past eight years, most prominently through US-based platforms such as *Kickstarter* and *IndieGoGo*. Evidence from recent years shows that crowdfunding is applicable in different fields such as the creative sector, charity and start-up financing. Recently, crowdfunding has been introduced to a new domain; initiatives that identify and fund projects that provide public goods and services for communities. With so-called *civic crowdfunding* a new potential funding method might be forthcoming to improve urban areas.

The specific field of civic crowdfunding is still in its early stages and not well-known. There is a lack of knowledge about how civic crowdfunding augments or weakens the current public decision-making process and about how it is, or should be, coordinated by the responsible institutions. For that reason, this paper investigates the potential of the subgenre civic crowdfunding as an innovative and collective option of contributing to the creation of local public space. Particularly with regard to the long-term implications and dynamics, which are linked to civic crowdfunding.

KEYWORDS

*Crowdfunding, Placemaking, Public-
non-Profit Private Cooperation*

INTRODUCTION

In this day and age, the decision what to build and where, is less an issue of what is possible, than it is a question of what we collectively want to build. Urban development of any scale seems to be more contested than ever before. That may be an inherent aspect of projects that have long-term consequences. What should be a debate about the built environment, often plays out as a frustrating, slow, complex and expensive engagement mechanism and citizens are no longer satisfied with that. Whereas the physical form of our cities may be slow to change, contemporary society evolves rapidly. New technology has given rise to new communication norms and knowledge use. Our democracy is struggling to keep pace with the changes in our society, but new technology could revitalize local democracy and rewrite the rules of civic-placemaking.

Many cities are presently enjoying a bloom in urban self-initiated interventions. Citizens trying new ways to live, work, move or play by doing unexpected things in unexpected places. Some online platforms promote citizen-designed civic projects, to help them raising finance by collecting small amounts of money from many donors. This has come to be known as civic crowdfunding. Some impressive examples have attracted attention in this field, such as a multi-purpose community center in Glyncoch, Wales, or a floating public pool on the east river of New York City. Even though, large-scale civic crowdfunding projects remain a minority, the question arises: how might we take advantage of civic crowdfunding in terms of the collaborative roles of local authorities and citizen and the effect of their interaction on placemaking and community revitalization in the digital era?

METHOD AND STRUCTURE

The aim of this paper is to kickstart the discussion about way that civic crowdfunding can help to create sustainable and inclusive local development. If successful, it allows any connected citizen to become an actor of placemaking, while pushing forward urban development for local authorities in times of fiscal restraint and discontent of citizen (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.6). However, in terms of adoption many obstacles remain.

To date, academic research of crowdfunding has centered on the field of investment finance. The subgenre of civic crowdfunding has received little direct attention. Where research does exist, it is tightly bound to an analysis of the pros and cons of different online platforms and appears limited geographically to initiatives in Anglo-Saxon countries. Analysis from urban planning, sociology and political science is lacking. This paper draws on literature from across these three fields.

The aim of the first section, is a better understanding of civic crowdfunding practice from its general principles to specific characteristics of actors and their motivations. The second section goes a step further, in the analysis of three case projects to demonstrate the potential of civic crowdfunding for placemaking and community revitalization. The third section discusses the current limits and possible future path of civic crowdfunding. It addresses questions regarding the sustainability of projects, the accountability and risk management of funding processes, as well as the extent to which civic crowdfunding is participatory.

DEFINING CIVIC CROWDFUNDING

Crowdfunding is encompassed in the broader concept of crowdsourcing (Correia de Freitas and Amado, 2013, p.5). The combination of the words *crowd* and *outsourcing* was created by the author and blogger Jeff Howe in 2006. Crowdsourcing comprises all monetary and non-monetary forms of added value on a set project by a large pool of anonymous individuals (Kleemann et al., 2008).

Based on this definition, crowdfunding can be described as a “method of raising finance by asking a large number of people each for a small amount of money”, that is usually facilitated through online platforms (website UKcrowdfunding, Griffiths, 2017, p.11). The first use of the term can be tracked to Michael Sullivan in 2006 although Sullivan, the creator of the now defunct fundraising website *Fundavlog*, did not concretely define the term at that time (website Crowdfunding.de).

The United States is the origin of today’s understanding of crowdfunding (Harzer, 2013, p.56). Due to illegal downloads, the music industry was struggling with enormous sales

slumps by the turn of the millennium. As a reaction, the website *Artistshare* was launched in 2003, which gave musicians the chance to seek donations from their fans to produce digital recordings (Freedman and Nutting, 2015, p.1). Since then, the approach has grown significantly, most prominently through the founding of the U.S.-based online platforms *IndieGoGo* and *Kickstarter* in 2008 and 2009 (website *Kickstarter*, 2017a, website *IndieGoGo*, 2017).

The rise of the crowdfunding industry is often linked to the 2008 global financial crisis and the resulting difficulties entrepreneurs encountered in raising funds (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.5). Today, *Kickstarter* is the world's most important internet platform for crowdfunding. More than \$3 billion have been collected, which has successfully financed 130.000 projects (website *Kickstarter*, 2017b). In 2015 the global crowdfunding industry raised \$34,4 billion up from \$6,1 billion in 2013 (website *Crowdexpert*). The considerable growth in 2014 was due to a rise in crowdfunding projects from Asia (Salman, 2016). The *Crowdfunding Center* (2017b) has over 21.200 active crowdfunding platforms from all around the world presently listed.

The number of platforms as well as projects, supporters and the sum of the accumulated capital are expected to increase steadily (website *The Crowdfunding Center*, website *Crowdfundcampus*). Evidence from recent years shows that crowdfunding is applicable in different fields such as the creative sector, charity and start-up financing. Recently, crowdfunding has been introduced to a new domain; initiatives that identify and fund projects that provide public goods and services for communities. This has come to be known as civic crowdfunding. The civic crowdfunding projects themselves are defined to be more place-based (Griffiths, 2017, p.11, Davies, 2014, p.28).

The term was first used in 2012 by platforms such as *Spacehive* and *Neighbor.ly* in 2012 (Davies, 2014, p.19), but there are several notable prior examples of civic fundraising campaigns that have retrospectively been identified with the term. One of the earliest examples of civic crowdfunding can be found in the 1830s. The *UK public park movement* combined investment of town councils and citizens to finance public parks (Davies, 2014, p.31). Another early example took place in the

United States. In 1844, the American Committee had been unable to raise enough money to finance the *Statue of Liberty's* pedestal and location. After the newspaper owner Joseph Pulitzer appealed to the American people for help, within six months \$101.091 was raised by over 120.000 individual microdonors (website *Crowdfunding.de*).

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CIVIC CROWDFUNDING

The crowdfunding campaign is the central process for a crowdfunding project. Three main actors can be identified; the project initiator, the crowd of donors, and the internet platform (Figure1). The main difference between crowdfunding campaigns and traditional fundraising like charity fundraising and the banking system, is that crowdfunding relies on an internet platform and the fact that donors support and finance a single, very specific project or purpose (Sterblich et al., 2015, p.12). The recent success of crowdfunding platforms can be traced back to the following aspects.

The crowdfunding platforms

Generally, crowdfunding platforms have no explicit restrictions regarding the nature of projects (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.8), however, once the project is accepted by the platform, fundraisers are obliged to give contributors an exact idea around what investments will be used for and how their input will benefit themselves and others to provide a high level of transparency. Additionally, the funding target and timeframe have to be provided (Sixt, 2014, p.61).

Another basic feature of internet platforms is the great publicity which can be achieved particularly through social media (Sterblich et al., 2015, p. 176f.). The ease of use of online platforms allows many individuals to support any of the displayed projects and donors are constantly updated of the project's progress throughout the whole campaign (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.7).

Moreover, donors can contribute any amount of money within the set timeframe and platforms provide secure transactions. Most platforms are based on the so-called "all or nothing" system, meaning that a transaction only proceeds if the project has reached its funding target (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.8). Once the funding target

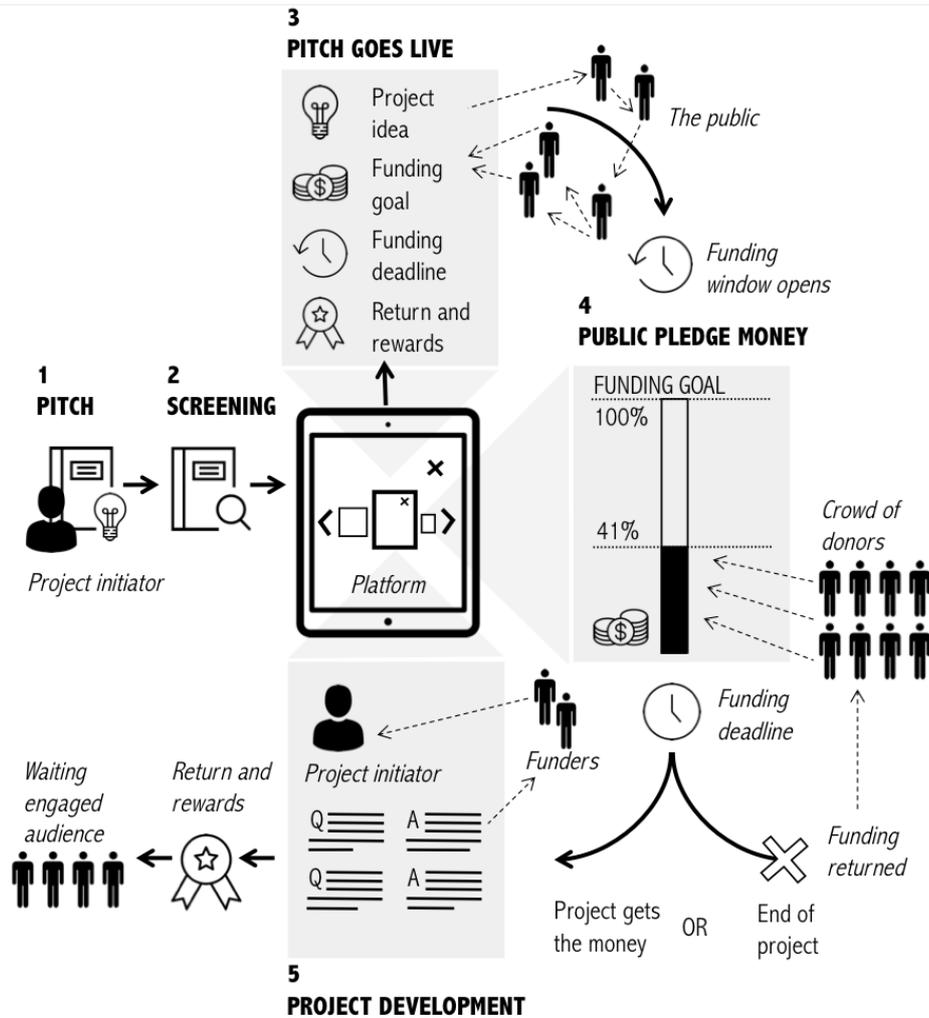


FIGURE 1 General process of crowdfunding (Source: authors' own graph based on Bone and Baeck, 2016, p.13)

has been reached, the project initiator must pass on promised rewards to the crowd, depending on the underlying crowdfunding model (Sixt, 2014, p.62).

There are four main crowdfunding models (Assenmacher, 2015, p.7). *Donation based crowdfunding* is a model in which individuals provide a financial contribution, but no financial or material returns are expected by the donor (Sterblich et al., 2015, p.12). The second model, *reward-based crowdfunding*, is similar to donation based crowdfunding but it consists of contributions in exchange for some tangible but non-profit reward, product or perk (Zhang et al., 2016, Charbit and Desmoulin, 2017, p.9).

In *lending based crowdfunding*, the crowd allows individuals to lend money for a specific project as a loan with interest. It is a short-term loan over a period of 5 to 10 years (Orthwein, 2014 p.17). Lastly there is *crowdinvesting*, also known as *equity-based crowdfunding*. Unlike *crowdlending*, the total loan sum is usually much higher and the capital tie-up takes place over a longer period. In return, contributors receive shares in the funded business, interest on the paid-in capital and stand up for profit if the business does well (Sterblich et al., 2015, p.12).

Each of the above discussed models present both benefits and constraints. The donation and reward based models are the less regulated types of crowdfunding, as they typically involve smaller-scale initiatives. The two models tend to raise funds in short time period, are quick to implement and easily repeated. Investment models, including both

crowd lending and investing, are mainly based on financial return and typically raise a larger amount of money. Due to their more complicated investment structure, they take much longer to set and are less accessible to the public (Griffiths, 2017, p.15). Thus, the appropriate crowdfunding model depends on the funding target and project type, considering the different actors involved and their motivation to contribute. (Griffiths, 2017, p.15, Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.11).

Most platforms have specialized in a crowdfunding model or certain projects types (Sixt, 2014, p.77). The number of platforms specialized on civic project is likely to increase. Civic crowdfunding platforms so far prefer the donation-based and reward-based model (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.16). The way these platforms work is in general very similar to any type of crowdfunding platform. A specific case however, is that civic crowdfunding platforms provide expertise to project initiators regarding civic practice and own networks, to support more offline cooperation with local actors. Moreover, some platforms, such as *Ioby* and *Spacehive*, provide an opportunity to support projects as a volunteer (website Spacehive, website Ioby). Also, some civic crowdfunding platforms do not rely on the “all or nothing” system, allowing funding to be released even if the funding target is not been reached within the set timeframe (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.16).

The project initiators

In theory, civic crowdfunding has no explicit restrictions. Anyone with a community proposal and the will to implement it, is allowed to look for funding. In practice, civic crowdfunding campaigns are usually launched by three types of fundraisers; civil society organizations and local inhabitants, urban creators such as architects, urban planners or artists, and local authorities (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.11).

Many civic crowdfunding projects were initiated by well-organized civil society organizations or citizen, who belong to a community or local association. They are more likely to succeed in crowdfunding, as associations provide additional support such as volunteering and networks (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.12). This suggests that due to its place-based dimension, especially local networks play a key-role in civic

crowdfunding. Davies (2014) identified a high concentration of projects in areas with a large percentage of students. This can be explained by the social media affinity of these groups, which helps to set off and contribute to civic crowdfunding campaigns.

It has observed that most urban creators, both non-profit and for-profit, who initiated a crowdfunding campaign, are actually live in the neighborhood in which the project takes place and often belong to existing civil society organizations and networks. Although most of the civic crowdfunding projects do not yield high profits, some urban creators may also launch a campaign for entrepreneurial reason (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.12).

An increasing number of local authorities initiate or encourage civic crowdfunding campaigns (Griffiths, 2017, p.25). Lack of resources, desire to enhance transparency in public spending or learning more about the citizen's needs are main reasons why local authorities start to think about getting involved or take on significant roles in crowdfunding initiatives (Correia de Freitas and Amado, 2013, p.13).

Therefore, to become a project initiator there has to be a motivation of general interest, a basic affinity for information and communications technology and an integration into virtual and at least non-virtual networks (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.18).

The crowd of donors

According to Baeck (2014), motives differ between people who contribute to civic crowdfunding and the individuals who support charitable causes. Whereas charity donors tend to be driven by altruistic and moral values, the willingness to participate in civic crowdfunding is more selfish. The desire to benefit as a user from the project in question, is the significant criteria (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.18). In reward based crowdfunding, the physical or symbolical reward appears to be the main motivation, but the crowd of donors can also be motivated by the action itself, when projects are well aligned with their interests. A relationship to project initiators is also a strong facilitator for supporting projects. Companies and local authorities use crowdfunding as well to improve

their image or create new partnerships with civil society. Here, the motivation to participate in civic crowdfunding is primarily communication driven (Charbit and Desmoulin, 2017, p.19).

ANALYZE THE POTENTIAL OF CIVIC CROWDFUNDING PROJECTS FOR PLACEMAKING AND COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION

The specific field of civic crowdfunding is still in its early stages and not well-known. Currently, attention and distribution of civic crowdfunding campaigns is largest in Anglo-Saxon countries, with the United States as biggest (website The Crowdfunding Center). Davies (2014) observes, clusters of civic projects around cities in which platforms are headquartered. The dominance of New York-based projects is therefore not surprising, as *Kickstarter* and *Ioby* are based in this city.

Today's geographical distribution of civic crowdfunding projects can mainly be explained by the fact that the crowdfunding practice itself is already well established in Anglo-Saxon countries and by the importance their culture places on citizens' empowerment. This may shift as more

communities or regions become familiar with the practice. It has also strong potential in middle and lower developed countries. In India for example, a variety of crowdfunding platforms are emerging to fund ventures in business and the arts (website EMBARQNetwork).

Aspirations of civic crowdfunding projects: Three outstanding cases

In Europe, one of the biggest crowdfunding campaigns successfully completed is the 390meter wooden *Luchtsingel pedestrian bridge* (Figure 2). This bridge was intended to reconnect the distressed area Schieblock to the city center of Rotterdam after a six-lane highway cut off this formerly buzzing area. Due to the lack of resources, this intervention would have taken 30 years to complete. In February 2011, the *ZUS architectural studio* decided to bypass this delay and started a reward-based crowdfunding campaign. A €25 contribution earned donors a plank for the bridge labeled with their name. The campaign rapidly raised funds for 17.000 planks so construction could begin. To catalyze economic development in the area, ZUS decided after the first success to build a longer and more



FIGURE 2 The Luchtsingel pedestrian bridge in Rotterdam (Source: van Duivenbode)



FIGURE 3 The Whitelock community farm in Baltimore (Source: Chang)

548

ambitious version of the bridge including a rooftop vegetable garden and park. In 2014 the completed bridge was opened just 3 years after the start of the crowdfunding campaign (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.12, Hoffmann, 2016, Michael and Goodinson, 2014).

This example demonstrates one of the main features of crowdfunding, that it allows one to unlock new sources of funds. Due to reduction in public spending and rapid urbanization, local authorities are “expected to provide the same public services for more people with ever declining budgets” (Griffiths, 2017, p.19). Civic crowdfunding provides the opportunity to increase the funds to spend on local-area-improvement projects. Recent studies have shown the optimal length for a crowdfunding campaign is 30-40 days (IndieGoGo, 2015). That indicates a further benefit of crowdfunding, that the speed at which funding can be raised is typically faster than traditional fundraising (Bone and Baeck, 2016, p.23).

In crowdfunding, the crowd decides what it considers to be a worthy project. Baeck et al. (2014) indicate, that the crowd is likely to fund

projects that struggle to attract traditional or institutional funders that either weren’t willing or didn’t have the capacity to fund. In this study, 64% per cent of those projects who had raised funds via donation-based crowdfunding were unlikely or very unlikely to have received financing elsewhere. This shows that crowdfunding allows niche projects to raise funding by reaching a specific target audience or by attracting interest from a more general audience.

One example is a resident-driven farm in Reservoir Hill, a social hotspot in Baltimore. The *Whitelock Community Farm* began in 2010, when residents decided to breathe new life into an abandoned lot. With the help of 200 volunteers, who supported the neighborhood project with \$10,000 of crowdfunded seed capital, the *Whitelock Community Farm* became what it is now (Figure 3). To this day, residents volunteer in exchange for produce and sell healthy and affordable vegetables to their community at a weekly farm stand, which keeps the project running and improves access to healthy food for low-income residents (Hoffmann, 2016, website FarmAllianceBaltimore, website Whitelockfram).

Another example is a project that was carried out in Liverpool. In 2012 council documents proposed a new public space strategy including

demolition of *Churchill Way Flyover*, the only surviving part of a wider plan to give Liverpool an urban motorway network in the 1970s. The costs of knocking down the two elevated roads were estimated at up to £4 million. In response, three local professionals proposed to transform the unloved structures into a cycle and pedestrian-friendly urban park and venue. The team *Friends of the Flyover* intend to use low-cost materials in order to complete the project at less cost than demolishing the flyover. Citizens immediately supported the idea. More than £40,000 from 360 people has been raised through a crowdfunding campaign on *Spacehive* to fund a feasibility study and design proposals, whether the *Churchill Way Flyover* might become promenade with space for arts events, markets, cafes, shops and community gardening projects (Figure 4). At present, the flyover has not been demolished and community events take place on a regular basis (website *Freinds of the Flyover*, Gasparro, 2015, p.15).

At first sight, civic crowdfunding is more an innovative approach to finance area-improvement projects than a type of co-production between citizen and local authorities, but civic crowdfunding campaigns like *Churchill Way*

Flyover build a contrast to top-down decision-making in urban planning. Civic Crowdfunding allows residents to rethink their neighborhoods, and potentially build or renew urban public goods with the permission of local authorities. The approach results in an increased feeling of involvement and ownership on the part of the community and therefore provides the opportunity for local authorities to strengthen relationships with local residents (Griffiths, 2017, p.20, Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017, p.23).

In addition, crowdfunding campaigns can be seen as a catalyzer to generate new ideas in giving space to innovation and experimentation. By allowing citizens to bring forward innovative ideas based on the deep understanding of local conditions, local authorities can make use of the creativity of the public. This may lead to a more diverse range of local-area-improvement projects and foster small businesses. Building on this, civic crowdfunding allows local authorities to gain valuable data about needs of the neighborhood in question. In this way, demand for and sustainability of civic projects can be examined, which can help to direct funds more efficiently (Griffiths, 2017, p.20).



FIGURE 4 The vision of Churchill Way Flyover in Liverpool
(Source: *Freinds of the Flyover*)

Current state of civic crowdfunding projects

The three cases presented are among the most prominent civic crowdfunding cases, which served to illustrate what civic crowdfunding aspires to be. Taken as a whole, civic crowdfunding is difficult to quantify due to the definition of civic itself, which is a slippery term. According to Almond and Verba (1989) a “civic culture” is based on participation in collective activities. The goods which are produced by civic crowdfunding projects should be both not excludable and nonrival. That means, individuals cannot be excluded from use of these goods and the use by a single person does not reduce availability to others. Therefore, the expected output of a civic project is, in classic economic terms, a public good (Charbit and Desmoulin, 2017, p.36).

Different types of public goods can be classified, depending on the degree of non-exclusion and non-rivalry. Goods which are strictly both non-excludable and non-rival, such as clean air, are defined as pure public goods. So-called common goods are not excludable but rival, whereas club goods are non-rival but excludable (Varian, 1992). Public goods that benefit to citizens in one geographical area are known as local public goods. Civic crowdfunding projects as presented above, tend to produce common goods (Scotchmer, 2002). For instance, the *Churchill Way Flyover* can be used by anyone but if it becomes too crowded damages may arise.

Stanford-based researcher Rodrigo Davies (2014) published one of the first quantitative empirical analyses of the typical size of civic crowdfunding projects. The dataset used consists of 1.224 projects, all corresponding to the definition of civic. Between June 2012 and March 2014 projects were collected from four crowdfunding platforms specialized in civic projects and three general crowdfunding platforms. The platforms are located in Brazil, Spain, the UK and US.

80,5% of projects, recorded by Davies (2014), had an average funding target of under \$10.000, the median fundraising goal for a project being \$8.000. The median individual donation across projects was \$62, and the median amount raised by completed projects was \$6.357 (Davies, 2014, p.46). Projects, posted on platforms specialized in civic crowdfunding offer the closest reading

of how the method is operating. These projects sought to raise \$2.099 and attracted an individual pledge of \$58, 51 (Davies, 2014, p.66). Based on Davies (2014) it can be seen that civic crowdfunding projects tend to be smaller scale. Their place-based nature is limiting the number of contributors.

The study indicates that civic crowdfunding projects are likely to have higher success rates than other types of crowdfunding projects, such as those in music and film. The set of studied cases is, however, not comprehensive enough to allow a robust assertion about the relative success rate of civic projects according to their funding budget (Davies, 2014, p.46).

Crowdfunding projects tend to appear in typically low-cost categories and aim to address social and/or local issues. The most common category is Garden/Park (Davies, 2014, p.59). They are widely funded through crowdfunding because they are inexpensive, uncontroversial and appeal to a wide audience (Griffiths, 2017, p.13). Aside from low-cost projects, the dataset of Davies (2014) assumes a bias towards temporary interventions.

In general, crowdfunding projects are not yet to building infrastructure such as bridges and highways. They are small scale and aim to build community gardens or transform busy intersections into walkable, bikeable places (Lorah, 2016).

DISCUSS THE EFFECT OF CIVIC CROWDFUNDING FOR LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND CITIZEN IN TERM OF URBAN PLANNING PRACTICE

At first glance, a civic crowdfunding campaign seems to be a democratic process. But there are concerns and barriers that should be noted.

Potential issues with civic crowdfunding

Some crowdfunding platforms, such as *Citizeninvestor* do not allow any individual or community to initiate a project. Among that, project initiators and donors tend to be internet-affluent people (Griffiths, 2017, p.47). As a result, the so-called ‘digital divide’ has to be considered. Even though individuals are able to have a high-quality access to the internet, they need an understanding of how crowdfunding works and the necessary skills to use the online platform.

These capacities are highly relying on individuals' socio-economic status (Hargittai, 2002). Based on this, some argue, that people who are wealthier and have larger social networks are more likely to run successful civic crowdfunding campaigns (Bone and Baeck, 2016, p.26).

Advocates of civic crowdfunding often frame the concept as an opportunity to participate. The assertion that successful civic crowdfunding campaigns have automatic wide public acceptance, may not be true. Participation in this practice is based on the idea that people 'vote with their wallets' (Correia de Freitas and Amado, 2013, p.47). Therefore, concerns have been voiced that crowdfunding is concentrated in affluent areas and on issues which are more relevant of those who are able to contribute (Sullivan, 2016). This can result in a mismatch between interest and social need. Bone (2016) confirms, campaigns such as those supporting the elderly or people with disabilities are more difficult to crowdfund.

Zhang et al. (2016) dispelled some of this critique. Their study found that donation and rewards-based crowdfunding campaigns include people from a diverse mix of geographical and income backgrounds. Similarly, internal research by Citizinvestor (2014) shows the median household income in the neighborhood in which a project occurs has little to no influence on success rate.

The potential impact of crowdfunded projects in the urban realm reaches far beyond the platforms and their users. These impacts, positive or negative, need close analysis to fully recognize the impact of crowdfunding on equality and participation. In addition to the social aspects, the political value in terms of urban area improvement processes needs to be considered.

Institutional impact of civic crowdfunding

Particularly in the case of the donation and rewards-based models, crowdfunding focuses on one-off donations (Bone and Baeck, 2016, p.27). The challenge arises when crowdfunding campaigns suggest permanent implications in the public realm, which require maintenance long after the crowdfunding initiative has been finished. These costs are likely to fall on the shoulders of local authorities (Correia de Freitas and Amado, 2013, p.13). This should be considered by those local authorities when

approving permits.

Successful crowdfunding campaigns, such as playgrounds, should not be immediately rejected because maintenance might be too costly. Instead, project initiators should be required to prepare a maintenance strategy. In practice, some crowdfunding initiatives are using the initial funding sum to develop revenue-generating schemes that will cover the required ongoing costs (Griffiths, 2017, p.49). Where this is not possible, local authorities should consider the long-term benefits the project brings to the community, rather than only focusing on direct revenues and long-term costs.

Another common criticism of civic crowdfunding is, that it may let the government off the hook for investing in basic infrastructure and services (Lorah, 2016). Rosenman (2015) argues, that crowdfunding leads the government to fragmented development and distraction from larger issues as attention is drawn to projects with visible short-term gains, instead of placing emphasis on projects generating lasting social value and sustainable impact to communities.

Lastly, there are further concerns about the quality of funded projects. Local authorities are responsible for ensuring quality standards of projects in the public realm. They are likely to be the ones held directly accountable if something goes wrong, regardless of whether they initiated or funded the project. Some crowdfunding platforms do perform due diligence checks on project costs and required permissions. To date, it is unclear who is able to decide when a project has been successfully implemented. Local authorities are best placed to fill this void. As part of its permit-granting responsibilities they can enforce acceptable standards within an appropriate timescale (Griffiths, 2017, p.49).

Many of the concerns discussed above can be reduced by enhancing the involvement of local authorities. As they are the traditional executor for urban-improvement projects, local authorities have a wide understanding to evaluate the long-term implications of a permanent installation in the public domain. It is therefore crucial that both project initiators and the local authorities are aware of how they can support and improve the delivery of civic crowdfunding projects.

Possible future path of civic crowdfunding

The method has proved feasible for many small-scale public goods and some larger ones. In the future, not only will the scale and scope of civic crowdfunding projects be of importance, but also their governance and the role of local authorities within these processes (Charbit and Desmoulin, 2017, p.32).

In the future, governing authorities should use the opportunity to involve crowdfunding as a method in their decision-making and other council processes. For example, crowdfunding can act as a method for gathering ideas along with more traditional consultation events or can be used to distribute funds for local-area-improvement projects. Moreover, there are synergies between the mechanism of crowdfunding and participatory budgeting. Participatory budgeting can be described as directly involving residents and community groups in making decisions on the spending priorities for a defined public budget. As crowdfunding is easy, fast and cheap to implement it may act as the initial point on the road to participatory budgeting (Griffiths, 2017, p.51).

To make civic crowdfunding more widely applicable, there are several improvements to be made. Currently, the crowdfunding process offers little room for discussion. A project initiator suggests a project and the crowd decides whether or not to fund it. Particularly in larger-scale and long-term projects there are a lot of different options to be considered and the proposal may benefit through incorporating ideas and knowledge from various sources and people. The introduction of deliberation into the crowdfunding process would improve its ability to finance larger, multi-year neighborhood improvement projects (Griffiths, 2017, p.51).

SUMMARY AND FURTHER WORK

Currently, the disconnection between policy, community and available funding creates a perfect environment to introduce a new tool for placemaking and community revitalization. Civic crowdfunding is the application of traditional crowdfunding to local-area-improvement projects for those who are aiming to produce public goods. The market is growing steadily. Civic crowdfunding projects are place-based and campaigns are usually initiated by residents and

civil society organisations. Even if the mechanism is digital, their success strongly relies on offline social networks. To date, the method seems more applicable to temporary projects or those whose impact can be realised quickly.

On its surface, civic crowdfunding is more an innovative approach to finance area-improvement-projects than a type of co-production of public space between citizen and local authorities. Public participation processes in which the community is seen as a true partner lead to more sustainable projects. Crowdfunding has the potential to contribute local knowledge and increase accountability throughout operations and maintenance phases.

While these benefits drive civic crowdfunding's rising popularity, several concerns have been raised. One criticism is, that certain groups dominate the crowdfunding process, both in terms of initiating projects and funding them. This may lead to a discrepancy between areas of social need and funded projects. Further concerns are articulated around the reduction of traditional funding sources and the quality standard of projects delivered by crowdfunding. These concerns in terms of governance and sustainability are valid and should not be handled lightly.

Nevertheless, crowdfunding already represents an innovative opportunity to create links between and among communities, as well as new joint efforts in public-non-profit private cooperation. If the necessary steps are taken in regulatory and institutional aspects, it has the potential to move from small-scale experimental exercises into a core method for community engagement and can be an option to complement existing policies, such as participatory budgeting, to promote sustainable and inclusive local development.

The next step of this research is to capture insights of the implementation policies and strategies for civic crowdfunding. Aiming to help local and public actors, who are considering shaping the city through this path, to be assured they generate lasting social value and sustainable impact to their communities.

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With the conference 'The Entrepreneurial City', organised by the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the International Forum on Urbanism (IFoU) celebrates an anniversary. It is the 10th international conference of IFoU since its foundation in 2005. Previous conferences have been organised in Beijing, Delft, Taipei, Amsterdam/Delft, Singapore, Barcelona, Tainan, Seoul/Incheon and Buenos Aires. They all contributed to the general aim of IFoU: To strengthen the international exchange and cooperation in the field of urbanism, to support the development and dissemination of knowledge, to facilitate the dialogue between academic institutions, professional organisations, corporate entities and politicians in different countries and continents.

Unbiased views and open debate are strongly needed in the field of urbanism to face the current challenges on global level: urban development is confronted with the fastest urbanisation in history of mankind, resulting in uneven and unequal growth, environmental risks that no longer can be limited to one city, one country or one continent, increasing political conflicts, suppression, ousting and displacement. To face these challenges, the contradictory role of the city as centre of welfare and culture on the one hand, as concentration of political, social and environmental problems on the other must be questioned again.

The 10th conference of IFoU focuses on one of the most important topics for urban development in this framework. How can the city generate work, income and welfare for its residents, how can the city attract investment and new sources of employment, how can the city offer space for new

and innovative economic developments, in summary: how can the city become entrepreneurial? The conditions for the entrepreneurial city have been changed profoundly during the last decennia. Globalisation and a more and more foot-loose economy generated a climate of increasing competition between cities and regions, migration and the amount of (political and economic) fugitives reached a new scale, jobs and employment became unstable and insecure, climate change and other environmental issues require new approaches for working and living. Under these conditions '... planning must become reflexive: it must reflect all possible impacts in the most circumspect manner' (U. Beck).

How to face these challenges, how to reflect the possible impacts? This book is a publication of all conference papers and the authors' responses to the above questions. It is organized in 4 thematic blocks:

1. Economy focuses on the relationship between urban form and economic productivity. How can the shape (and the design) of the city support economic development?
2. Informality investigates the role of informal economies in the city and their impact on urban space.
3. Spatial Models discusses spatial models and typologies to combine or connect working and living in the city.
4. Public Space concentrates on the role of public space in the entrepreneurial city: How can public space be used for social entrepreneurialism, how can public space support new ways of social interaction?

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