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# PRZESTRZEŃ EKONOMIA SPOŁECZEŃSTWO

półrocznik wydawany przez Sopotką Szkołę Wyższą

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## **A few words about the publication**

With pleasure we present the current issue of the Sopot University of Applied Sciences journal titled *Space, Economy, Society*.

This number is extraordinary, because for the first time the whole issue is dedicated to urban and architectural matters in the design, economic and social context. This issue contains articles in English only, mainly from renowned foreign scientists in the field of urban planning. Among them we can find specialists from Europe, Turkey, United States and South Africa, whose field of interest is planning, urban design, social participation and urban renewal.

Why such an extraordinary configuration of this issue? It is mainly the aftermath of the international conference and workshops dedicated to the *Quo Vadis Gdansk? Citizens are planning own city* project, realized in cooperation between Gdańsk University of Technology, Gdansk Foundation of Social Innovation and Sopot University of Applied Sciences in 2015. The whole topic was based on the idea of a “modern agora” enforcing the building of local, open societies. Articles concern public space development, participatory planning, public-private partnership and social responsibility for common urban spaces.

In the first part of the issue we present articles connected with participatory planning, second part focuses on the design tools and part three described the modern agora workshop as an international neighbourhood market. It is preceded by the introducing article.

I would like to thank dr inż. arch. Gabriela Rembarz from Gdańsk University of Technology and dr Debbie Whelan from Durban University of Technology for initiating and coordinating the series of events connected with the *Quo Vadis Gdańsk?* project, the international conference and the *Modern agora for building an open society* workshop, in which also Sopot University of Applied Sciences took part. I also would like to thank all the authors and persons who made publishing of this issue of *Space, Economy, Society* possible.

*dr inż. arch. Grzegorz Pęczek*

## Słów parę o publikacji

Mamy przyjemność przekazać Państwu kolejny numer czasopisma Sopockiej Szkoły Wyższej – „Przestrzeń, Ekonomia, Społeczeństwo”.

Numer niniejszy jest wyjątkowy, bowiem po raz pierwszy całość poświęcona jest zagadnieniom architektoniczno-urbanistycznym w kontekście projektowym, ekonomicznym i społecznym. Numer w całości stanowią artykuły w języku angielskim, w większości znakomitych specjalistów zagranicznych. Są wśród nich przedstawiciele nauk z Europy, Turcji, Stanów Zjednoczonych i Republiki Południowej Afryki, specjalizujący się w zagadnieniach planistycznych, urbanistycznych, a także partycypacji społecznej oraz odnowy i rewitalizacji przestrzeni.

Skąd taka konfiguracja tego wydania? Zeszyt jest zestawieniem zagadnień poruszanych podczas międzynarodowych konferencji i warsztatów związanych z tematem *Quo Vadis Gdańsk? Mieszkańcy planują swoje miasto*, współrealizowanym przez Politechnikę Gdańską, Gdańską Fundację Innowacji Społecznej oraz Sopocką Szkołę Wyższą w roku 2015. Całość jest osnuta na haśle „współczesnej agory” sprzyjającej budowaniu lokalnych, otwartych społeczności. Artykuły dotyczą więc kształtowania przestrzeni publicznych, partycypacji społecznej, współpracy publiczno-prywatnej i społecznej odpowiedzialności za wspólne przestrzenie miejskie.

W części pierwszej numeru prezentujemy artykuły zgrupowane wokół procesów planowania partycypacyjnego, część druga skupia się na narzędziach projektowych, a trzecia z kolei opisuje warsztaty na temat współczesnej agory jako międzynarodowego rynku sąsiedzkiego. Całość poprzedza artykuł wprowadzający.

Chciałbym w tym miejscu podziękować dr inż. arch. Gabrieli Rembarz z Politechniki Gdańskiej oraz dr Debbie Whelan z Uniwersytetu Technologicznego w Durbanie – za zainicjowanie i koordynowanie serii wydarzeń związanych z projektem *Quo Vadis Gdańsk?*, międzynarodową konferencją i warsztatami *Współczesna agora dla budowy społeczeństwa otwartego*, w których miała przyjemność brać udział również Sopocka Szkoła Wyższa. Dziękuję również wszystkim autorom i osobom, które przyczyniły się do powstania tego numeru naszego czasopisma.

dr inż. arch. Grzegorz Pęczek

## **INTRODUCTION**

The idea of public open space is intrinsically connected to democratic processes and notions of freedom. Indeed, the *Agora* of the ancient Greek world was a space in which 'free-born' citizens could meet, philosophise, and negotiate. Although the space rapidly became a market and thus associated with trade, it is important to recognise the basis of freedom and negotiation with which this trade was carried out.

The *Agora*, however, was silent without the participation of the citizens, which, for Hannah Ahrendt were those people who in Athens were free from quotidian duties in order to participate in politics; fundamentally enabled to engage with people, space and society (Ahrendt, 1977:29).

The idea of the citizen then, hangs on the role of the *Polis*: Richard Sennett indicates that the *Polis*, cities in Old Athens meant more than merely a place on the map; it was an enacted whole that embodied place, space and activity. The *Polis* was a place in which people achieved unity – there existed social cohesion; 'What we are sensing in reality and through activeness of our body is so far destroyed that in today's society when you analyse the history, our perceptions, how we move, touch and interact with reality we are a phenomenon...the indicator of these historical changes is how the critics show that the urban mob has changed its character, driven by different things...the physical dimension of perception of the city has changed. In the past this mass of people were crowded in narrow city centres, and today this crowd has fragmented.....crowds gather in commercial malls because of consumption rather than other traditional reasons' (Sennett, 1996). Ironically, far from the bustling image of the people-centred agora, Sennett observes that in the contemporary crowd, physical presence is considered rather as a threat (Ibid: 20).

Further in contemporary times, relying only on social capital embedded in the idea of citizen is insufficient, and expecting the social cohesion necessary for the evocation of *Polis* is no longer a real expectation. However, a combination of individual action allowed for in open society, as well as the goal of common profits embodied in the aim towards a common good, can allow for open and democratic public space.

Thus, the reconceptualisation of public space is not one-dimensional: it involves the complexity of co-governance, in which cities create open and proactive communities and accountable open societies which are always continuing and never ending. Further, the necessity for revitalisation as a critical component of this rethinking of space: contemporary urban communities are a continually changing group of people, socially, ethnically and sometimes spiritually, always debating issues that are self-perpetuating and never-ending. Further, pressure for

an increased standard of living and rapidly developing technologies are in opposition to ideals of common dialogue and debates.

In the Baltic Sea Region, the topic of public space and society is considered as an endogenic factor in the development of the modern day city; whilst this is patent in wealthier, more central examples such as Berlin and Copenhagen, others such as post-socialist Lodz (Poland) also exist which is hamstrung by policy and political procedure. Ironically, policy, that on which social organisms organise their operations, has its roots in the Greek word, *polis*; surely cities and community organisations can revisit these basic definitions in order to unpack viable ways for the future? Cities thus need more effective and self-sustaining solutions, a greater of technology in smart cities, and greater dialogue with respect to process, self-sustainability and awareness in order to create resilience.

For Poland specifically, the most recent two decades are shaped by a great effort towards transformation from a communist social structure towards a more engaged civil society. This is accompanied by rapid and intense infrastructural upgrades. Thus, from 2005, a new form of positive local commitment has been observed; new attitudes towards citizenship have turned many passive inhabitants into a generation of activists, known as the 'Urban Movement'. This pressure group entailed civil society demanding an upgrade of semi-public spaces, and public investment in urban and peri-urban environments. This is in turn driven by NGOs which have as their key aim the entrenchment of democratisation, and the secularisation of the social life in a country which has long been dominated by the church.

This pressure has legislation to underpin it: In 2015, the National Urban Policy Act 2023 was promulgated in Poland which introduces a contemporary methodology to supplement the everyday management and planning of towns and cities: this was supported by the earlier and generically European *Leipziger Charter on sustainable European cities* (2007) and reinforced in the *adoption of the European Urban Agenda, Pact of Amsterdam* (2016). The participatory approaches implicit in these documents allows for a cognitive shift from bureaucratic management methods within governance to allow for greater input by citizenry through public participation. Further, this was reinforced by resolutions of the United Nations Habitat meeting in Quito, Peru (17-20 October 2016) which led to urban public space, participatory planning and safety becoming part of a global discourse.

Jan Gehl indicates that it is not as much WHAT we design as to HOW we design it – co-operative planning and design results in developing relations and enforces personal identity and attachment and identification with place and environment (Gehl 2010). 'Consider urban life before urban space; consider urban space before buildings'. Following such strategy deployed in Copenhagen, this ideal has been replicated in Helsinki and Stockholm: these successes act as impetus for similar development in the region.



The participatory platform of dialogue agrees with Jan Gehl and Jane Jacobs (1960), in that the city must have local identity and that the common ground of meeting, the *agora*, possesses sense of space and identity which are absent in generic mall developments or gated communities.

Public space, and the idea of publicness, is also thus inextricably connected to destination, both physical as one moves to, through and away from space, but also relies on a dynamism and activity which both creates and sustains public space. Whilst the public open spaces, or remnants thereof may exist physically, the absence of such mutually negotiated conceptual spaces in many cities is noted. Many inner city spaces now exist as wastelands due to the effects of changed requirements for urban use, a result of recent histories which fundamentally affected peoples' access to and use of space, globalisation and a consequent mall culture, amongst others. These spaces, it is noted, cannot merely be reactivated with irrelevant intervention: they have to speak with the users of the space in order to reintroduce relevance and social order, in addition to providing needs for the users in a changed society affected by shifting populations, new immigrations and new technologies. This then, can only be addressed through public participation in order to democratise the space and re-energise public spaces in a new century.

The requirement to introduce a necessary level of public participation into the re-creation of public open space is considered a vital component of addressing social space in post-hegemonic countries. For this reason, academics at the Politechnika Gdanska and the Sopot University of Applied Science in cooperation with Gdansk Foundation of Social Innovation, instituted what became as the *Quo Vadis Gdansk, Citizens are planning own city* project; financed and promoted from the EEA funded programme *Citizens for Democracy*. This project involved providing funding for urban mentoring, and intended to assist in strengthening the ethos of thinking about urban space at a grass-roots level. In addition this initiative was to increase the local, public capacity for implementation of public planning processes within districts which would in turn support the development of quality public space (Martyniuk-Pęczek, Rembarz 2015).

The *Quo Vadis Gdansk* project was then thrown out more broadly for comment: In early June 2015, a small group of academics met as part of a parallel critical student engagement dealing with aspects of architecture, its intervention in urban space and the role of community participation in the strengthening of local open society. Significantly, this meeting titled '*The modern agora for building open society*' concerned itself with the potentials of participatory planning as a tool for increasing the capacities of civil society. It was held at the European Solidarity Centre on the edge of the former Gdansk Shipyard, famous in Poland and Eastern Europe as the symbol of democratic changes of the 1980s. Participants came from four continents and from six countries, each with specific histories which informed their approaches to public participation. They were from Germany (Erfurt University of Applied Science), Poland (Gdansk University of

Technology, Sopot University of Technology and Silesia University of Technology), Serbia (Belgrade University of Technology), South Africa (Durban University of Technology), Turkey (Mimar Sinan University of Technology) and the United States of America (Clemson University). It is important to note that this conference was focused around the parallel International Student Workshop, 'Neighborhood's International Market Place' organised by Dr. Gabriela Rembarz from the Gdansk University of Technology. This workshop involved some 30 students from the participating schools, mainly active partners in the Erasmus Program. Importantly the idea of the 'market' was central to this notion, although the definition of the market was not firmly established, given its myriad representations in different cultures. Presented papers, based on the area in which they were involved, were turning around issue of public participation, community awareness and engagement and the means by which simple architectural or urban interventions or lack thereof, may in fact make a significant difference not only to marginalised community areas. The nations represented comprised a mix of states with legacies of oppression (post-socialist, post-apartheid), as well as established democracies with a more stable economy and perhaps, world views but still struggling and challenging all dimensions the urban planning in civil society.

In order to situate the discussion and the potential for introducing varied approaches to the means by which spatial quality of urban space can be improved with an increased measure of social sustainability, Marek Barański, archaeologist and architect from the Gdansk Fine Art Academy, presented work on Çatalhöyük, framing argument towards further discussion. He noted that the inhabitants of Çatalhöyük were brought up with daily routines through which they learned the roles and rules of society, which gave them a sense of belonging, personal continuity, security and wellbeing. These social rules and conventions were significant in that they were set within an elaborate symbolic system in which the performance of rituals was embedded within myth and sanction by the ancestors. Rather than investigating centralised rituals, the people invested in dispersed domestic cults and regulations of the body in the process of socialisation (Hodder 2006).

Doris Gstach from Erfurt University of Applied Science, Germany explains the context of the development of public space in public gardens and the means by which they were managed and run by the public in history. Agata Twardoch from Silesia University of Technology, Poland offers comment on the manner in which the city of Lublin is ignoring public protest at the removal of groves of linden trees in order to develop a car park. Ebru Firidin Özgür from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul presents a different type of urban landscape protest: the Taksim Square protest as a result of the threats of some of the last urban open space in the city by a populace determined to retain it, resulting in a notorious standoff between the public and the authorities. All of these papers speak to different actions of public participation: involvement and accountability, the voiceless, and those with a very distinct voice.

Upgrading of existing buildings from an external point of view is addressed by Mickey Lauria from Clemson University in North Carolina, USA, in which his mixed methodology assessment of an area ripe for urban regeneration using notions of public participation allows for an assessment tool for implementation of regeneration, and at the same time the participation enhances the public 'buy in'. Debbie Whelan from the Durban University of Technology describes an 'embedded' participation in which lack of participation by the authorities ironically allows for greater space for passive community participation. Arzu Erturan from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul speaks strongly of community participation through interview and workshop as a means by which the social value of spaces in the eastern part of Istanbul can be assessed. In their paper, Eva Vaništa Lazarević and Uroš Stojadinović from Belgrade University of Technology, advocate for more design of smart governance as a better approach in planning, ensuring more transparency and relevance in acultural center like Belgrade. Reflection on the lack of social capacity in the efficient use of participatory planning techniques is presented by Gabriela Rembarz and Justyna Martyniuk-Pęczek, from Gdańsk University of Technology, Poland.

Krista Evans from Missouri State University (former Clemson University), discusses the contemporary version of the market place in the American context. Her focus is juxtaposed with case of Warwick Market in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, thus essentially widening the understanding of the topic. For this area of discussions on 'market', Louis du Plessis from the Durban University of Technology strongly articulates the need for self-generated systems such to be seen as having their own value and instead of being viewed by the authorities as a requirement for sanitisation, can act as a framework for supplementary interventions which would be much more effective.

Whilst these ideas are dealt with independently in daily operations in the different nations for most part, it is important that these are considered a fundamental factor in the implementation of better human space and urban place, and that architecture can very simply be brought into the public realm in a very modest manner. A 'think tank' based upon a single case study can therefore bring together not only young minds to formulate solutions, but also people from different backgrounds, different countries and different continents. This allows for sharing of common ways of knowing and doing, as well as allowing the benefits of cross-culture interaction to permeate contemporary societies. And so the *Quo Vadis Gdańsk* project evolved into a more inter-space *Agora Group Research Project*.

Importantly the papers create an interdisciplinary space for discussion: the fields involved consist of landscape, archaeology, anthropology, urbanism and architecture. All focus on the different potential for a user relationship to area.

The future of the Agora Group Research Project is now intended to act as a 'pop up' studio of critique, focussed annually on specific projects at different universities with all comments and academic papers driven to address in part or

in whole challenges faced by the particular university / city and its urban environments in question. It is intended that each of these projects can offer a series of independent and critical solutions together with the associated student workshops, which can assist in highlighting the general awareness of urban space in an area, and thus re-energise public spaces in marginalised districts.

It is hoped that through a more interdisciplinary approach a better understanding of urban space and human requirements can remove architecture from the realms of the elite and bring it back into the hands of the users in the most simple and effective of fashions. Through the participation of different professionals from different backgrounds and different perceptions, as well as an active student workshop, the potential to unlock the solutional rigidity of marginalised urban space could perhaps be realised.

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**SPACE**  
**PRZESTRZEŃ**

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# **PART I**

## **CZĘŚĆ I**

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### **THE PROCESS – PARTICIPATORY PLANNING**

### **PROCES – PLANOWANIE PARTYCYPACYJNE**

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**Mickey Lauria**

#### **FROM PARTICIPATORY PLANNING TO COLLABORATIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE USA**

**Keywords:** participatory planning, inter subjective understanding, and collaborative community development.

#### **OD PLANOWANIA PARTYCYPACYJNEGO DO WSPÓŁPRACUJĄCEGO ROZWOJU SPOŁECZNOŚCI W STANACH ZJEDNOCZONYCH**

**Słowa kluczowe:** planowanie partycypacyjne, rozumienie intersubiektywne, współpracujący rozwój społeczności.

#### **Introduction**

The evolution of Participatory Planning for Community Development (PPCD) in the USA began in the 1960s with the Model Cities Program funding to neighborhood groups in large inner cities, through city planning staff assigned to specific city neighborhoods in the 70s, to the post-1970s, externally contracted planners (consulting firms) and/or pro bono university planning studio classes invited by neighborhood associations to help them with their planning efforts (usually in preparation for or in response to city-wide master planning efforts by the host city). PPCD changed during this evolution in three fashions: the planning stage in which participation was initiated, the nature of the participatory efforts, technological advances that have changed both the nature of participatory efforts, plan visualization, and democratic communication. This paper briefly recounts the history of these changes, presents examples of products developed, and develops a heuristic model of the PPCD process.

#### **1. The Evolution of Participatory Planning**

Participatory planning for community development began in earnest in the 1960s in the context of the Civil Rights Movement's empowerment of low-

income minority residents and in response to urban renewal and other inner city redevelopment efforts of the late 1950s and early 1960s. This civil unrest persuaded national politicians to create the Community Action Program<sup>1</sup> and the Model Cities Program which, at first, directly funded neighborhood groups in depressed inner city areas to develop and implement community controlled redevelopment efforts.

While at first city mayors and state governors clamored for these programs and their funding, they soon realized that it was counter-productive, from their perspective, to fund projects that were not in the direct interest of their patronage system and governing coalition, to further train the leadership of their political opposition, and to build alternative patronage systems that had the potential to threaten the dominance of their own governing coalitions. Thus, they convinced the federal government to route the Model Cities funding through city councils, thereby allowing the councils and local governing coalitions, with a required participatory process, to control the above mentioned political consequences. While this funding route allowed the council and governing coalition to maintain their influence over patronage and to better synergize their redevelopment efforts, the required Model Cities citizen advisory boards continued to train opposition leadership<sup>2</sup>.

In the early 1970s,<sup>3</sup> cities began to develop neighborhood planners who were to be responsible for the planning and community development efforts in particular areas (neighborhoods) in their city (Lauria, 1982). These neighborhood planners were trained in university city planning programs and tended to advocate in the perceived interests of the areas for which they were responsible<sup>4</sup>. As cities began planning for specific neighborhoods, bringing their analysis and plans to neighborhood associations for approval, and making these neighborhood plans consistent with their city master plans, neighborhood

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<sup>1</sup> See Fisher (1984) for a thorough account of the politics involved in the creation of the Community Action Program and neighborhood organizing.

<sup>2</sup> Here I gloss over the black community's challenges to these programs and the many battles for community control.

<sup>3</sup> At this point, mayors and cities codified neighborhood boundaries through both plans (in area plans rather than comprehensive plans) and in citywide community development programs. This creation of officially-recognized city neighborhoods setup formal channels for local participation in both planning and housing/community development while also providing a new framework for political patronage based on a post-civil rights era accommodation of neighborhood and community activism. See (Hallman 1974) for a conceptual development of these quasi-neighborhood governments and Stone and Stoker (2015) for political accounts in particular places.

<sup>4</sup> Peterman's (1999) *Neighborhood Planning in Community Based Planning* codified much of this education and became the standard textbook used in U.S. planning schools.



associations were often disappointment<sup>5</sup>. Much of this aforementioned professional training was handled conceptually in planning theory courses (Klosterman 1981,1992, 2000, 2011) and planning process courses and was handled practically in housing and community development classes and planning studio project classes (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000; Higgins, Aitken-Rose, and Dixon, 2009; Powers, 2017), where professors developed a ‘real-world client’ relationships with neighborhood associations to develop specific community development plans, sometimes in contradiction to already existing city plans. Planning students provided the labor and their professors directed the data collection, analysis, and plan development. Students presented their plans to the neighborhood association. Neighborhood leaders used those plans to persuade cities to invest in their communities in particular ways or to counter existing private development proposals and existing city plans that the neighborhood association did not think were in the neighborhood’s interests.

Regardless of whether these neighborhood plans were consistent with private proposals and city governing coalition interests, participation tended to occur at only two stages in the planning process: early general goal setting and then later by reviewing or approving action plans. It was the professional planners, either in the form of professors, students, or city planning staff, who determined what data was needed for analysis and goal evaluation and who decided on the transformation of those goals and data analysis into action plans. This level of participation would often be categorized as “consultation” on Arstein’s (1969) classic ‘ladder of citizen participation’ because often these professional planners would unconsciously use their middle class and professionally infused-values to specify (operationalize) goals and action plans that later would not be perceived in the interest of the low-income communities for whom they were advocating (see Foley and Lauria 2000 for a later example of this in New Orleans)<sup>6</sup>.

As the federal funding for Model Cities ended and the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program<sup>7</sup> began in the late 1970s, and as city councils became disillusioned by either community groups’ dissatisfaction with their neighborhood plans or by having to fight neighborhood plans that

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<sup>5</sup> Davidoff (1965) provided the planning professions pluralistic political awakening with advocate planners moving to the forefront in inner-city redevelopment efforts and normative assertion of plural plans.

<sup>6</sup> This account is of the dominant narrative. It does not adequately account for the long-term participation of minority planners, landscape architects, architects, and political activists in the many planning and development projects in contradistinction to this dominant narrative.

<sup>7</sup> The 2014 special issue of the journal of *Housing Policy Debate*, 24, 1 (Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) at 40: Its Record and Potential) provides a detailed history and evaluation of the program.

were inconsistent with private development proposals and city-wide plans<sup>8</sup>, the number of city staff neighborhood planners began to decline and were ultimately eliminated during the 1980s. This trend was further exacerbated by the late 1980s' and 1990s' neoliberal public policy shift that emphasized market-based, public-private partnerships in urban redevelopment, as cities returned their attention to large scale redevelopment projects like casinos, convention centers, and sports stadiums to the chagrin of many inner city neighborhood planning activists<sup>9</sup>. Again in the 1990s, the need for large scale comprehensive planning rejuvenated neighborhood coalitions and their efforts at community based planning. Thus, PPCD became the purview of the non-profit sector (often with foundation or other philanthropic funding) and/or pro bono efforts from university city planning department training/classwork/community service learning projects.<sup>10</sup>

## **2. Participatory Planning Projects**

Participatory planning projects usually included the following components:

- 1) an initial meeting with the community group and organizing strategy,
- 2) a neighborhood data base and GIS strategy,
- 3) a participatory planning process,
- 4) an empowerment/sustainability plan.

The purpose of an initial meeting with the community group was to come to a common agreement on the nature and extent of the project and to develop an organizing strategy. In early PPCD projects, the professional planner (city staff and/or university professor) would meet with neighborhood leaders to delineate the project: data to be collected, analysis to be done, maps to be made, specification of the participatory process, the final product/plan to be delivered, interest group/stakeholder identification, and the roles and responsibilities of the planners and the neighborhood leadership. The neighborhood leadership was usually responsible for developing and implementing a strategy to ensure neighborhood resident participation and the participation of the various interest groups/stakeholders. This would include a strategy to publi-

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<sup>8</sup> Connerly and Wilson (1997) provide a promising example of such responses in contradiction to the many negative responses throughout the U.S.A. For example, compare to Lauria and Soll (1996) or Foley and Lauria (2000).

<sup>9</sup> This shift is well-documented in Fainstein's (1994, 2001) analysis of inner city real estate developments in the late 1980s and 1990s and her claim (1991) that city planners' focus, at the time, shifted from a focus on the public interest to a focus on making a deal with private interests.

<sup>10</sup> See the Center for Neighborhoods at the University of Missouri at Kansas City: <http://info.umkc.edu/aupd/center-for-neighborhoods/> for a current example of these efforts.

cize the planning meetings, where and when the meetings were to be held, the actual logistics of the meetings, and the organizing strategy that would ensure adequate attendance at the meetings with particular attention to the different subpopulations in the community. It is this initial meeting that changed dramatically over time as community leadership would negotiate, if not delineate, the specifics of the project.

In early projects, the professional planners would develop the neighborhood data base and GIS strategy to be used to analyze existing conditions and to develop specific goals and later action plans. In these early projects, the neighborhood data base consisted of U.S. Census data at both the city and neighborhood level (see Table 1), maps of the relevant data (population characteristics, housing conditions as described in the Census, crime statistics if locally available), City Zoning maps (see Map 1), existing land use, and housing condition data collected for the neighborhood (see Maps 3). Later, as technology developed, a relational data base that allowed picture-based data to be linked and updated for each property in the neighborhood would be developed (see Figure 1). Also, with the rise and acceptance of citizen scientists collecting and monitoring environmental justice activities (Heiman, 1990, 1995), and the development mobile technology, residents began to participate in data collection, particularly for items not well covered in existing data bases such as the Census (housing condition data), crime data (e.g. street activity patterns) and city service data (e.g., sidewalk, street lighting, and road conditions)<sup>11</sup>.

Usually, the participatory planning process would be composed of two series of community planning workshops. In the first series of workshops, collected and mapped data would be presented, planners would explain the trends and issues captured by the data analysis and map representations, and resident feedback would be attained. In the second series of community planning workshops, a spectrum of potential action plans would be presented, along with the specified goals they were meant to meet. These workshops would be conducted in different neighborhood venues to ensure that the various subpopulations would feel comfortable attending (e.g. a senior housing complex, churches of different religious affiliations, a community center/school, etc.). Later, as with city-wide planning efforts that require continuous monitoring and re-evaluation, planners learned that participatory planning for community development efforts also require regular meetings, perhaps monthly, for similar monitoring and evaluation purposes, but also as a means to continue the integration of neighborhood residents into the community development process.

It was in these workshops that residents, in early projects, had the most influence in this planning process. Residents could indicate which action plans

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<sup>11</sup> See the participatory GIS movement Talen (1999), Elwood and Leitner (2003), Sieber (2006,) and Elwood (2008).

they would rather see implemented in their community and thus which goals they wish to see achieved (see Map 4). They could suggest which land uses they wished to see increased or decreased in their neighborhood, which crime prevention environmental design and policing strategies the city should focus on, which housing conditions should be addressed first (weatherization, paint, structural, etc.), what traffic calming strategies or transportation strategies would be appropriate, where to demolish blighted structures, which vacant lots to give to community development corporations or to develop community gardens upon, and which public spaces should be better landscaped, etc. But these resident influences were confined within the context of predefined professional planner parameters. Later, with earlier participation in the data collection process, residents would begin to influence the analytic strategies pursued, the specification of the goals, and thus the direction of the action plans<sup>12</sup>.

Lastly in the early projects, the PPCD process would end with the professional planners using the feedback from these workshops to develop a technical report/plan for the neighborhood leadership to use in representing the neighborhood's interests in city planning efforts and/or proposed redevelopment plans. More recently, as citizen empowerment goals were accepted, the PPCD process added an empowerment/sustainability plan that included a technological acquisition plan and a training process for the neighborhood organization staff or volunteers to maintain and update data, thereby decreasing the need for external professional support in the future. Here the planning professionals specified the necessary technology, helped find funding sources for the acquisition of the needed technology, and trained the neighborhood organizations' staff or volunteers to update the data bases and to develop future community development strategies<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> This is not necessarily a harmonious process. First, neighborhood and community leaders are pre-disposed to focus on the kinds of problems they have the skills to handle and their own values and experiences shape the agenda while neighborhood residents may disagree. These internal value disagreements are real and need to be recognized and worked through. Second, Development-oriented leaders tend to rise to the top and maintain positions of influence with city leaders that may not be supported by widespread neighborhood participation.

<sup>13</sup> While some interpret this focus on data and technology by university professors and technically oriented city planners as solely a byproduct of their training and expertise and argue that neighborhood leaders need only concern themselves with the use data, information and visual graphics as a persuasive device and as a planning tool to organize attention, this misses the point that data, methods of analysis and technology can, often unconsciously, structure and point to particular issues and particular solutions and strategies for community development. Thus, an awareness of these issues and resident participation and the incorporation of local knowledge in this portion of the planning process is crucial.

### **3. From Participatory Planning to Collaborative Community Development**

As professional planners were confronted with the realization that their professional and class values, rather than those of the residents in the neighborhood, were identifying the salient conditions in their communities and directing the analysis, proposed solutions, and strategies for community development, they began to search for ways to increase the effectiveness of residents in the planning process (See Forester 1989). It was clear that fostering participation from the very beginning and throughout the planning process would help thwart their undue coloring of the planning process. But the conundrum facing professional planners was how. Residents in low-income communities were not trained in data base development, the use of secondary sources of data, analytic methods, nor the specialized tools of plan development. While not solving all the above-mentioned difficulties, the development of mobile technology, social media, and big data analytics has facilitated resident involvement in all phases of the PPCD process (Shannon et al., 2016).

In this context, residents can participate in the data collection phase, using mobile technology and applications that place their real-time data on web platforms that instantaneously produce maps of the conditions they wish to see changed (See Jerry Shannon's work with the Georgia Initiative for Community Housing: <http://www.fcs.uga.edu/fhce/gich>). For example, Map 5 was produced with resident volunteers using a tablet application ([https://comapuga.shinyapps.io/millen\\_flexdash\\_v5/](https://comapuga.shinyapps.io/millen_flexdash_v5/)). Residents can use Twitter, Facebook and Instagram to promote community workshops and more effectively encourage the participation of more segments of the community. Community workshops can be augmented with web-based collaborations, further broadening resident participation (see Stern, Gudes, and Svoray, 2009). Residents can experiment with web-based GIS (See Shannon's Community Indicators in Athens: <https://comapuga.shinyapps.io/AthensSocialAtlas/>) and thus participate in the analysis phase of community development planning (See Map 6). Here they can alter the categories and the data they helped create and generate maps for their planning purposes. They can share their maps with other participants via social media to mine different perspectives and generate further insights. With their participation in the data collection process, residents begin to influence the analytic strategies pursued, the specification of the goals, and thus the direction of the action plans. This expansion of 'what knowledge matters in planning' to locally generated knowledge, heightened both professional planners' and community residents' sensitivity to local history and focused their attention on the uniqueness of place, even in our homogenizing global capitalist context.

However, as Jerry Shannon (2016) argued, these technological fixes do not resolve social/political issues and user-friendly software and hardware does not remove the need for training. In many senses, the use of these tech-

nologies make those social/political issues more visible and the need for training more apparent. According to Jake Wagner, co-founder of UMKC’s Center for Neighborhoods, Data-rich environments can be very mono-cultural, favoring certain personalities and abilities while ignoring a deep engagement with actual people in favor of databases and spread sheets. More data does not mean better information and unfortunately what we have lost in the process is attention to a robust, public sector planning apparatus that can manage citizen engagement in the context of deepening inequality, ecological crisis and the co-optation of “sustainability” by pro-growth, gentrification forces (personal communication).

Conclusions

In conclusion, the conjunction of the transformation of community development planners’ ethos and technological developments allows community development planning to move further toward a participatory democratic community development process. The intensive participation involved creates the potential for intersubjective understandings of the conditions in the neighborhood and the subsequent development of plans that would be well-received and reflective of a future to which the residents aspire<sup>14</sup>.

Table 1  
**Selected Housing Data Comparison for  
A.P. Tureaud and New Orleans**

	A.P. Tureaud			New Orleans		
	1980	1990	% Change	1980	1990	% Change
*Housing Units	9,463	9,203	-3%	226,055	225,573	-0.10%
*Percent Owner Occupied	37%	32%	-13.5%	36%	36%	No Change
Mean Value Owner Occupied	\$70,577	\$68,733	-3%	\$117,155	\$105,289	-10%
Mean Value Contract Rent	\$259	\$299	15%	\$313	\$338	8%
*Excluding Public Housing						
**All Dollars Adjusted to the 1996 Consumer Price Index for Comparison Purposes						
Age Under 18, Age Over 65 and Poverty Levels						
	% Under 18		% Change	% Over 65		% Change
	1980	1990		1980	1990	
New Orleans	29%	27%	-7.50%	12%	14%	17%
A.P. Tureaud	32%	31%	-3%	13%	15%	15%
	% In Poverty			% Children of Those in Poverty		
	1980	1990	% Change	1980	1990	% Change
New Orleans	32.5%	31%	-4.60%	40.6%	41%	1%
A.P. Tureaud	43.7%	43%	-1.60%	43.7%	42%	-3.80%

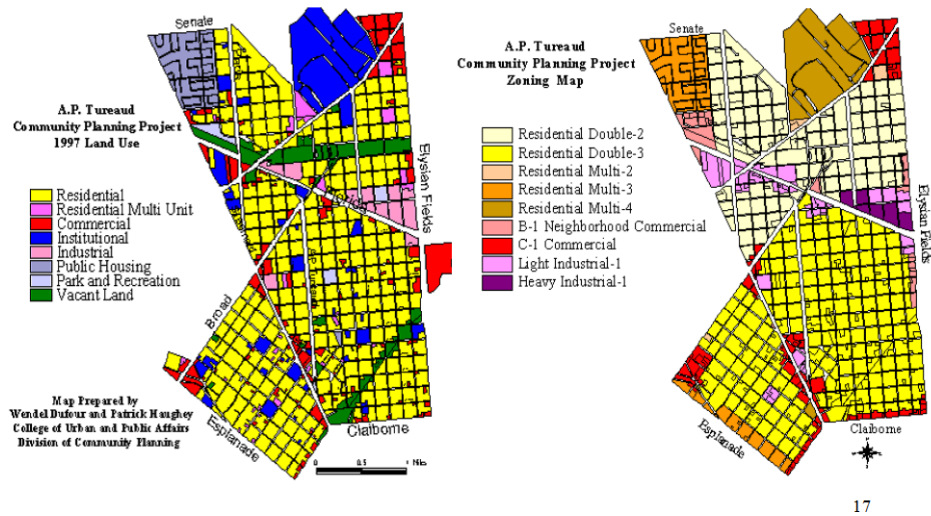
15

Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

<sup>14</sup> See Harper and Stein (2005) for the theoretical underpinnings of this planning process in a collaborative setting.

**Map 1.**

# **A.P. Tureaud Landuse and Zoning Maps**

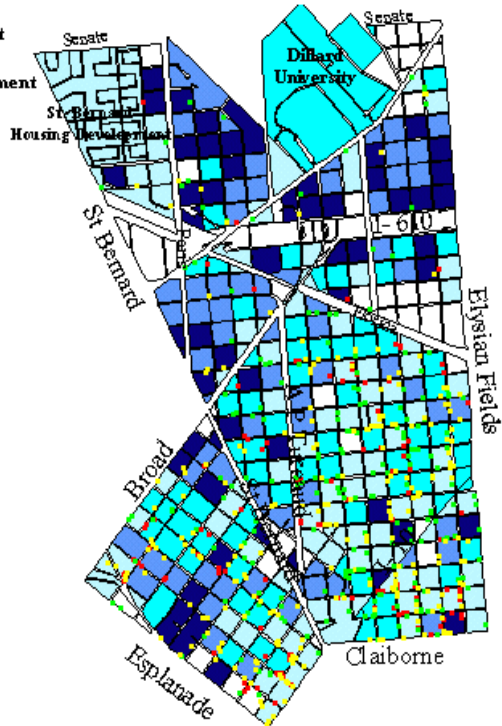
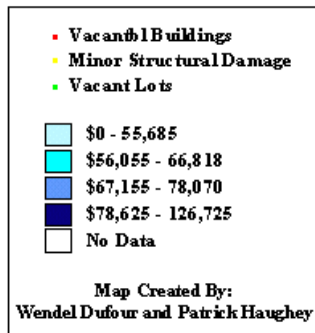


Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

## Map 2. Mapping the Data

A.P. Tureaud Neighborhood Planning Project  
Partnership in Homeownership Program  
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

Map Data:  
Mean Value Owner Occupied Units  
Source: 1990 U.S. Census



Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning



Map 3.

## A.P. Tureaud Building Conditions

A.P. Tureaud  
Community Planning Project

Spatial Distribution of  
Abandoned Houses, Vacant  
Lots and Properties with  
Minor Structural Damage

- Abandoned House
- Vacant Lot
- Minor Structural Damage

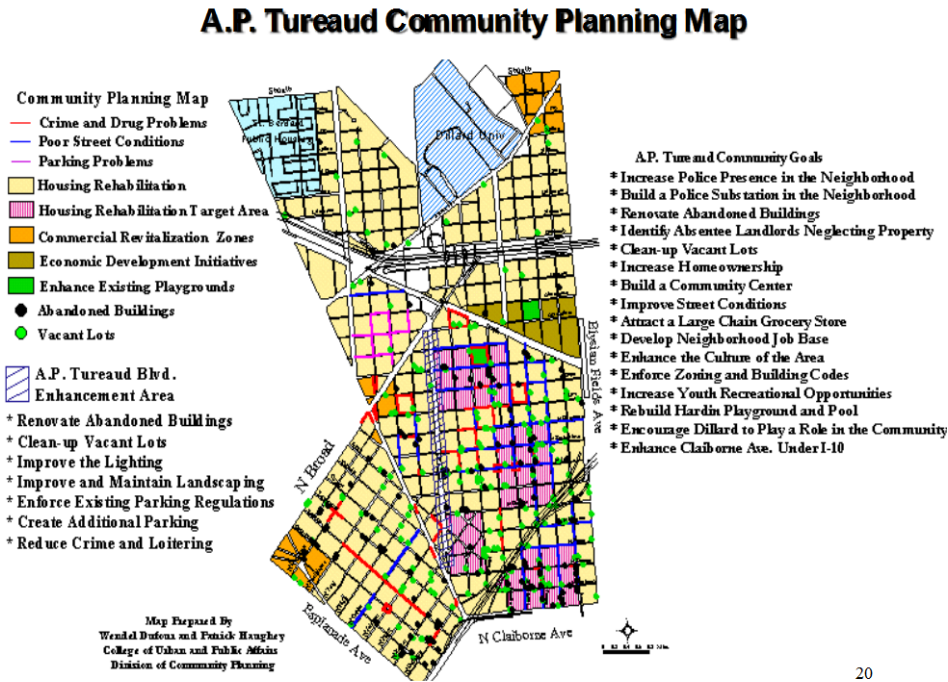
Source: 1997 'PicBase' Database

Map Prepared By  
Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey  
College of Urban and Public Affairs  
Division of Community Planning



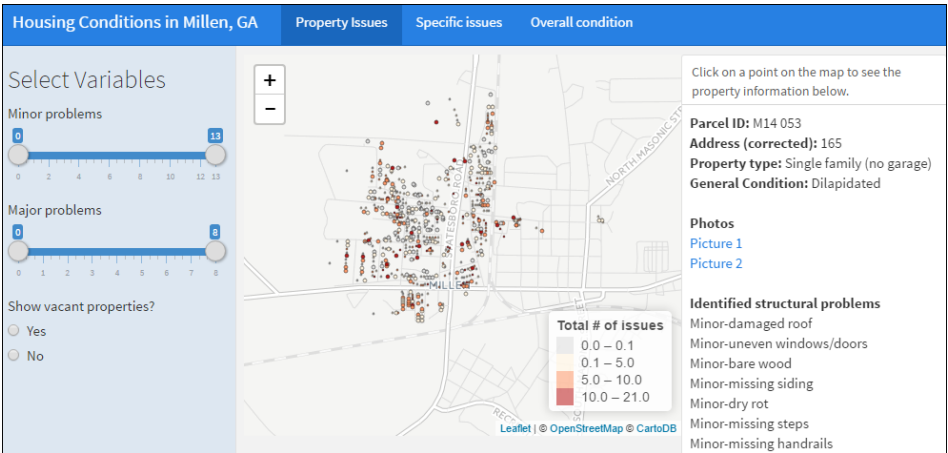
Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

Map 4.

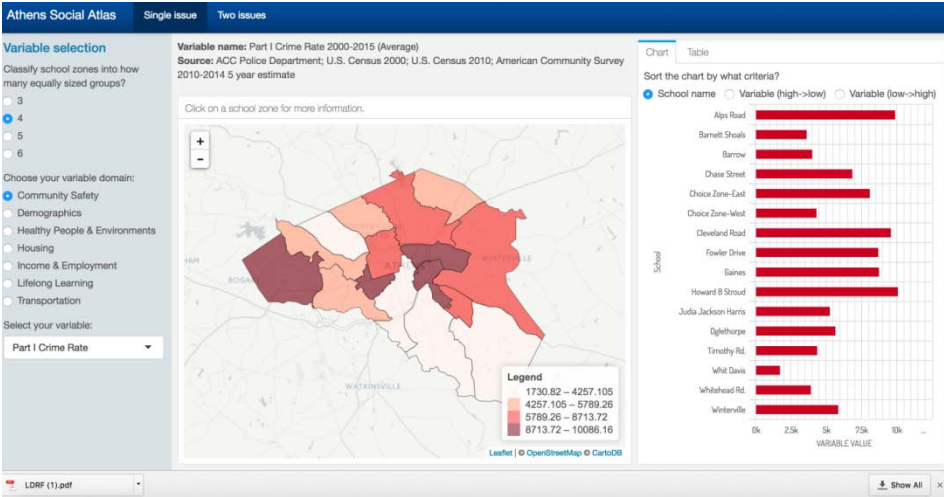


Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

Map 5.



Map 6.



Source: <https://comapuga.shinyapps.io/AthensSocialAtlas/>

Figure 1.

# Picture/Text Database: GroundTruth

The screenshot shows the GroundTruth database application. The 'Property Attributes' section includes fields for St Num (1723-17), St Name (ABUNDANCE), St Type (dropdown), City (New Orleans), State (LA), Neighborhood (APT), Units (2), Beds (0), Baths (0), Structure Type (Double Shotgun), Condition (No Visible Damage), Land Use (Residential), Lot Size, Tract, and Sq Ft Footage. There are also checkboxes for Historic, Vacant Lot, and Abandoned. The 'Sale Price', 'Est Ret Cost', and 'Appr Val' are all listed as \$0. A 'Comments' field is at the bottom. The 'Client / Owner Data' section shows a photo of a house with a date stamp 'MAR. 21. 1997'. Below the photo is a 'Load Images' button and a field for 'Image Name should be: 1723ABUN.jpg'. At the bottom, there are navigation buttons: Record 22 of, Add, Delete, Search, Display All, and Exit.

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## Streszczenie

Początki Planowania Partycypacyjnego dla Rozwoju Społeczności (z ang. PPCD) w USA sięgają lat 60. XX wieku wraz z uruchomieniem funduszu Programu Miast Modelowych dla grup mieszkańców w śródmieściach dużych miast, poprzez działania urzędników-planistów skierowanych do określonych grup w latach 70., jak również poprzez działania zewnętrznych biur planistycznych (firm konsultingowych) i/lub prace projektowe na zajęciach z planowania na uniwersytetach, wykonywane pro bono na zaproszenie stowarzyszeń sąsiedzkich jako pomoc w ich wysiłkach dotyczących planowania przestrzennego (zazwyczaj były to przygotowania dla lub w odpowiedzi na wielkomiejskie zamierzenia planistyczne – masterplany – przygotowywane przez miasto). PPCD zmieniło się na trzy sposoby podczas tej ewolucji: w fazie planowania, w której partycypacja była inicjowana, w samej naturze wysiłków partycypacyjnych, w rozwoju technologicznym, który zmienił zarówno naturę działań partycypacyjnych, wizualizacji planów oraz komunikacji demokratycznej. Ten artykuł skrótowo opisuje historię tych zmian, prezentuje przykłady wypracowanych rezultatów i rozwija model heurystyczny procesu PPCD.

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## **CIVIL ENGAGEMENT IN PUBLIC OPEN SPACE DEVELOPMENT**

**Keywords:** participatory planning, public open space development, civil engagement.

## **ZAANGAŻOWANIE OBYWATELSKIE W ROZWÓJ OTWARTYCH PRZESTRZENI PUBLICZNYCH**

**Słowa kluczowe:** planowanie partycypacyjne, rozwój otwartych przestrzeni publicznych, zaangażowanie obywatelskie.

### **Introduction**

Civil engagement has a long tradition in open space development. It was already during industrialisation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when citizens around Europe organized and (co-)financed the implementation of public green spaces. Urban open space development was not an established public planning task by that time. German cities faced a fast and nearly unrestricted growth. Parallel to first professional voices, who called for keeping a minimum amount of space open for recreation and for climatic benefits within the dense city, citizens organized themselves to develop public green spaces. The creation of the Türkenschanzpark in Vienna/Austria<sup>1</sup> and Varosliget (city park) in Budapest/Hungary<sup>2</sup> and the Bürgerpark in Bremen/Germany<sup>3</sup> are based on such civic action. However, the relevance and modes of civil engagement in open space development have changed and are a common feature in many projects today.

A major move towards a more participatory urban development in Germany happened in the 1960s, when civil activists protested against established top-down politics and called for more democracy and, going with this, for a more active role in urban development. "The way into participative urban development started in Germany in the late 1960s when urban regeneration projects provoked protests, squatting and finally a broad range of self-help initiatives participatory wave (in terms of „citizen initiatives“, social movements, self-help groups etc.) was still in full swing during the 1980s (and probably more pronounced then than in most other European countries)."<sup>4</sup> As one consequence to this, participatory elements were introduced to urban planning processes and formalized for example in §3 (participation of the public)

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<sup>1</sup> Loidl-Reisch 2012: 349pp

<sup>2</sup> Nehring 1979: 42pp

<sup>3</sup> Bürgerpark Bremen n.d.

<sup>4</sup> Wollmann 2004: 11

in the German Building and Construction Law. In addition, a wide range of informal participative approaches have been developed and established in spatial planning processes over the past decades. Several cities actively promote such ways of civic engagement by providing information about options for volunteer work in various thematic fields. Websites support engagement and networking by offering information about various options of engagement and about initiatives and agencies working in the field of volunteer work in the district or city. In addition some cities have installed coordination offices for civic engagement, where people can get advice<sup>5</sup>. The involvement of civil society has become part of the contemporary planning paradigm, which is more and more based on a dialogue-oriented planning culture in formal as well as in informal processes.

## **1. Towards participatory planning**

A dialogue-oriented planning culture includes multiple links and alliances and manifold forms of co-operation.<sup>6</sup> Public open space, especially green space, however, seem particularly suitable for a dialogue with civil society. Open space related projects motivate people to get involved, as they are of high relevance for the quality of life of citizens, in practical terms of everyday use as well as in terms of places of people's identity. But, as Quayle and Driessen van der Lieck point out, a participatory and more democratic decision-making process is needed not just for the societal benefits of citizen involvement but in order to combat the development of an anonymous urban landscape in an increasingly globalised world. In their opinion it's just the creativity of many individuals, which can create the richness and diversity needed for a liveable urban environment<sup>7</sup>.

The ways, how local authorities co-operate with civil society, can be distinguished along the level of influence of civil society<sup>8</sup>. On the lowest level, information, for example about a new urban development project, is given to the public, but no influence on the decision making process in this project is possible. Often, however, involvement in open space issues goes beyond that level. This can be observed well in complex and large development projects, where many planning aspects are just handled on the information level, whereas concerning open space related issues within the project, the public is involved in the decision-making process. People are actively involved and can

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<sup>5</sup> For websites see e.g. Cologne: <http://www.stadt-koeln.de/leben-in-koeln/soziales/ehrenamt/informationen-und-ideen-fuer-ihr-ehrenamt> and Berlin district Steglitz-Zehlendorf: [http://www.berlin.de/ba-steglitz-zehlendorf/verwaltung/nga/buergerengagement\\_nga.html](http://www.berlin.de/ba-steglitz-zehlendorf/verwaltung/nga/buergerengagement_nga.html); for coordination offices see e.g. Berlin: <https://www.berlin.de/buer-geraktiv/engagieren/>

<sup>6</sup> Selle 2013: 13ff

<sup>7</sup> Quayle/Driessen van der Lieck 1997: 100

<sup>8</sup> See for example SenStadt 2011



– to a certain extent – influence the decision making process and therefore the product, the open space. Typical approaches are, for example, local residents participating in a planning workshop to re-design their neighbourhood park or square or plan a new yard for the school of their kids. Involvement goes even further, when citizens do not just share their ideas and wishes but take over certain duties. In open space projects these can cover construction work and plantings in a new design as well as longer term responsibilities such as watering young trees, maintaining roadside green or flower beds in public parks or maintaining playgrounds. The activities shall foster identification with the neighbourhood. At the same time, this kind of co-operation is an expression of financially struggling municipalities.<sup>9</sup> Civil actors take over responsibilities, which would originally have to be fulfilled by local authorities themselves.

Parallel to local authorities who involve the public on different levels, citizens continue to be active themselves in bottom-up driven processes. But rather than protesting against a certain situation, which was a main motor for such activities in the 1960s, these activities are nurtured by an individualised society, which looks for possibilities for self-determined activities and for shaping their own living environment. This includes a position moving away from asking public authorities to do something for their citizens - to fulfil their need in a demand-supply manner - towards a self-organized fulfilment of “spatial wishes” and needs. This can be understood as the open space related expression of the overall societal change towards a pluralistic ideal, which accepts diversity in needs, attitudes and expressions. Terms like do-it-yourself culture (DIY) and hands-on-urbanism illustrate such attempts. The rapidly growing number and variety of urban gardening project, which can be found all over Germany, are especially well illustrating this kind of self-fulfillment of demands. This overall trend has raised the question, how far existing types of public open spaces such as conventional parks are able to cover such demands. Some professionals argue for an extension of the spectrum of the typology towards more indeterminate open spaces, which would allow for more freedom of self-initiative of civic actors<sup>10</sup>.

## **2. Some examples of participatory planning and design**

The following projects illustrate different ways and levels of self-initiative of civic actors in the production of public open spaces and in which types of open spaces they are implemented. All of them are based on some kind of co-operation between local authorities and civil society, but with co-operation going beyond the widespread levels of information meetings or the collection of ideas and wishes from residents. Instead, citizens take over an active role in defining an open space, its meanings, functions and appearance.

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<sup>9</sup> The maintenance of public green spaces is especially suffering from financial cuts in Germany, as this belongs to the ‘voluntary tasks’ of local authorities.

<sup>10</sup> Ward Thompson 2002

The first example shows a way how to combine civic engagement in maintenance work (fulfilment of public duties as a form of civic engagement) and the wish for self-defined action. The Kantpark in Duisburg/Germany<sup>11</sup> is an example for a citizen initiated co-operation between civic and public actors. Starting point was the situation in the Immanuel-Kant-Park, a historic public park of around seven hectar in the city centre. People with kids from the neighbourhood who frequently use the park were annoyed by its appearance (problems with low maintenance, alcoholics, drug dealing and consumption) and wanted to create a place where their kids could play safely and could get in touch with 'nature'. In 2013, the families organized themselves in a loose, informal group of around 30 people and got in touch with city administration. In co-ordination with the environmental department (responsible also for the public parks in the city), Kants Gardeners planned and implemented a gardening area with raised beds in the park, which they maintain themselves since. They further help in the maintenance of the public playground in the park.

**Figure 1. Garden beds in Kant Park/Duisburg, installed and maintained by citizens.**



Source: Doris Gstach

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<sup>11</sup> <http://kants-garten.de/>

Discussion and agreement upon the design and planting ideas of Kants Gardeners were verbally arranged with the city department responsible for the park maintenance. The environmental department supported the work of Kant's gardeners in the beginning by preparing the soil (including the use of machinery) and in a continuous process, by giving advice on planting material etc. During 2015, a redesign plan for the park was developed in a wide participatory process, including Kants Gardeners and their ideas. As the collaboration between the volunteers and the city showed to work very well in this park, the city plans to initiate similar activities in two other parks. Similar forms of co-management between public and civic actors in existing public parks can be found in other cities and projects.

The following project goes one step further. It shows, how co-operation can act as fundament for the co-production of a new kind of park. Again, citizens started activities in a bottom-up process. This was the starting point for a process oriented co-production by civil society and local authorities <sup>12</sup>. The so-called Bürgerbahnhof Plagwitz („Citizen Station Plagwitz“) in Leipzig/Germany is developed on a former railyard. In 2009, the „Initiative Bürgerbahnhof Plagwitz“ – IBBP, (Initiative Citizen Station Plagwitz), an initiative of citizens, living in the neighbourhood, artists, business people and associations was founded with the goal to develop and implement ideas for the future use of the area. IBBP understands its approach as urban laboratory. The initiative works on an informal basis. There are no memberships. Decisions are, as much as possible, made in consensus. Project teams develop individual topics or ideas. The overall coordination is done by a team of three people. Supported by the publicly financed neighbourhood management office, which was already active in the district before, the initiative first launched various activities in the railyard area (joints walks, breakfast, evening events etc.) to raise awareness concerning the potentials of the place with a broader part of population and to collect ideas for future uses. The group also initiated a planning workshop, bringing together actors from the public sector and citizens. The role of the initiative as a core actor in the development process was strengthened over the years. The initiative became part of an inter-departmental coordination group within the local administration. As during the past years, more and more old uses in the area do shut down and built structures are to be demolished, the initiative - partly successfully - negotiated the conservation of historic features and the development of areas for public instead of commercial uses.

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<sup>12</sup> see [http://www.buergerbahnhof-plagwitz.de/stadt\\_gestalten.html](http://www.buergerbahnhof-plagwitz.de/stadt_gestalten.html)

**Figure 2. Public playground including features of the former use as part of the Bürgerbahnhof Plagwitz/Leipzig.**



Source: Doris Gstach

Representatives of IBBP also became jury members of an appraiser-based architectural competition for the area and a member of the official steering committee for the development of the area, installed by the city. Based on their initiative, an area of around 8.000 m<sup>2</sup> got reserved for citizen projects in the draft concept. First ideas such as a boulder area, a community garden and a construction playground have been implemented in the mean time, based on collaborations of various actors. Other ideas such as a camping area for scouts, urban agriculture, an orchard etc. shall be realized over the next years. And there is space for further, new ideas. The whole project is based on an intense, ongoing dialogue between different actor groups. Citizens take over a crucial position in the production process. This intense form of co-production is not common and goes beyond widespread modes of .co-operation. The fact, that various open space related projects in Leipzig, especially interim uses, were developed in a co-operative manner over the past years, might have supported this success. It has trained certain communication skills in civil society as well as in public administration and trust that such processes might lead to a successful result. The project has recently become a case study in a running

research project about co-operative approaches in urban open space development in Germany<sup>13</sup>.

In the search for possibilities for self-initiative action of civic actors in public open space development, interim uses of vacant lots for open space uses have gained a certain popularity since the 1990s in Germany and beyond. The “emptiness” of vacant lots, meaning the lack of design and defined uses and functions seems an ideal starting point for many ways of appropriation. Their temporary character also promises tolerance towards mistakes and failures. The Austrian architects and urbanists Robert Temel and Florian Haydn<sup>14</sup> see interim uses as symptoms of an alternative understanding of urban planning. Instead of leaving the development to public authorities and the business sector, interim uses would explore the possibilities to appropriate the city. The interim project „Mach was (T)Räume“ demonstrates such an exploration. It was initiated by an architect in the frame of the documenta12, an international arts exhibition in Kassel/Germany in 2007. His idea was to promote self-initiative action of local people by stimulating them to appropriate unused public open spaces in the city. The concept was developed and implemented together with a group of students and in co-operation with the local advisory board of the documenta and the local environmental and garden department. Four places were chosen for such activities. A construction of red bars to sit on was installed at each place. They symbolically marked “territories” available for appropriation. Further, a range of initial activities such as art performances, painting workshops and games for children should draw the attention of the citizens to the places.

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<sup>13</sup> For further details about the research project see <http://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/FP/ReFo/Staedtebau/2015/UrbaneFreiraeume/01-Start.html?nn=1186136>

<sup>14</sup> Haydn, Temel 2004



**Figure 3. Art performance as initial activity, “Mach was (T)Räume” Kassel.**



Source: Heidrun Hubenthal

After these initial interventions, which were organised by the project team, the places should become appropriated by local residents in form of self-initiative activities. In the further course of the project just two of the four available places became actively used in the promoted way. At one of the places some local groups from the nearby estate began to use the site for gatherings from time to time. Another place was accommodated by two artists. Their activities on the site became more and more provocative and became subject of heavy discussions in the city and in the media. The site was increasingly occupied with a variety of furniture and other things and started to get a messy appearance.

**Figure 4. Artists' intervention on one of the "Mach was (T)Räume" sites.**



Source: Heidrun Hubenthal

When the users dug a large hole and wanted to set a car in concrete on the site, the activities were brought to an end by the police and the place was cleared. The clearance caused a sort of disillusionment about the potentials of open and self-initiative action.

This project is especially suitable to take a critical look at the aspect of freedom and openness for civic engagement and for self-defined activities in open space production. In a truly open process the results are unpredictable. But as the example demonstrates, the results might not necessarily be tolerated or accepted. In this case, critique and finally the end of the project were set because of the appearance of the site and because of safety risks going along with the large hole in the ground. While safety aspects are always a critical point in public space (however, depending on the tradition and existing regulations concerning certain standards), the appearance of a site might be a point of discussion. The example makes clear that the call for self-defined action, for more freedom for civic action is a big challenge. Leaving routines in the production of open space and allowing for a high level of civil engagement, causes uncertainty with public actors as well as with citizens about how to act, what is possible, and what to tolerate. All kinds of dialogue-oriented planning processes require the definition of crucial aspects such as an agreement on framing

conditions and decision making processes and the scope of action<sup>15</sup>. But a high level of 'self organisation' of civil society, Selle points out, can just be reached, if it is limited in certain concerns. Projects tend to be successful, when they are time restricted, related to a certain group (demographic) of people, a specific topic and/or related to a specific place.<sup>16</sup> But in addition, the example makes clear as well, the more open in terms of results the development of open spaces is, the more it needs an ongoing and intense dialogue between the involved actors.

### **3. Perspectives of civic engagement**

As much as we might see the need and advantages of civic engagement in open space development, as much we have to be aware of some critical and limiting aspects. It has to be realized that it is not just about two parties, public authorities and civil society alone. In fact many actors are involved in open space development processes and also civil society itself plays manifold roles. Public authorities are just one actor out of many and often they are not the most powerful one. As they just can share the power they have themselves, their options to involve civil society is limited to their own scope of influence. This influence, which is already limited, is supposed to be in further decrease<sup>17</sup>. Especially projects with major economic interests limit the openness for real dialogue oriented processes including civil society.

Further, the willingness and ability of civil society to become active is limited. This touches the fundamental question, how far civic engagement, especially self-defined appropriation processes can fulfill our idea of democracy in planning and the goal to plan for the public good. During the last decades a lot of experience has been gained concerning participation processes. It has become obvious that it is always just a certain percentage of people who are able and/or willing to get involved, to express their ideas and wishes. This is true for common levels of involvement, but it is even more the case in bottom-up driven activities. Undetermined open spaces do not just offer freedom for self-definition but actually demand for this. This, as the sociologist Wulf Tessin<sup>18</sup> points out, needs a certain courage and ability to define the meaning and function of a place. The result might be a place which stays empty or is being appropriated by people who are strong enough and capable to do so. The latter, as the last example described above illustrates, might lead to a much more exclusive form of place and use than a public space which would be produced in a conventional planning process.

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<sup>15</sup> Various publications point at crucial aspects for successful dialogue-oriented approaches – see for example SenStadt 2011

<sup>16</sup> Selle 2007: 65f

<sup>17</sup> Selle 2007: 68

<sup>18</sup> Tessin 2004: 39



Finally, civic engagement also needs space which is open for self-defined action<sup>19</sup>. Activities of this kind can produce interesting places and enrich the public realm. But as public space is a limited resource in most cities, also the freedom for self-defined activities are limited. Care has to be taken that a balance is kept between individualized demands and the wish for self-fulfillment on the one and for common interests of the broad public on the other hand.

## Conclusions

A dialogue-oriented planning culture is hard to reach. A broad perspective is needed from all actors being involved as well as a broad consensus and openness throughout all parts and levels of local authorities towards a dialogue oriented role. All this has to be exercised in many steps and projects. „Strategic action, which creates new modes of governance, works through lots of small interventions around particular projects and initiatives, in networks, in discourses and practices.“<sup>20</sup> Some current open space projects show perspectives in this direction.

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## Streszczenie

Artykuł opisuje zjawisko zaangażowania obywatelskiego w kształtowanie otwartych przestrzeni publicznych w miastach. Rozpoczyna się rysem historycznym zjawiska, przechodzi do kwestii planowania partycypacyjnego, a następnie wyjaśnia zjawisko zaangażowania obywatelskiego. Artykuł jest wzbogacony o szereg przykładów z terenu Niemiec (m.in. z Duisburga i Lipska), ilustrujących opisywane zagadnienie i kończy się wnioskami autorki.

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**Ebru Firidin Özgür**

## **URBANIZATION, URBAN PLANNING AND PUBLIC SPACES: KADIKOY AND ATASEHIR CASES FROM ISTANBUL<sup>1</sup>**

**Keywords:** public space, public sphere, publicness, urban planning, Kadikoy, Atasehir.

## **URBANIZACJA, PLANOWANIE URBANISTYCZNE I PRZESTRZENIE PUBLICZNE: STUDIUM PRZYPADKÓW DZIELNIC KADIKOY I ATASEHIR W STAMBULE**

**Słowa kluczowe:** przestrzeń publiczna, sfera publiczna, publiczność, planowanie urbanistyczne, Kadikoy, Atasehir.

### **Introduction**

Within this paper, public spaces are not only taken as spaces for leisure time, but also as a space in which the 'public sphere' becomes a tangible, visible and recognizable *milieu* to reinforce an open society. Although 'public sphere' is an ambiguous term, of which there is no particularly accepted definition, it is widely accepted that a strong 'public sphere' is one of the precise indicators of an open and democratic society. Public spaces thus, are one of the essentials of the 'public sphere'. The changing nature of cities, privatization of spaces and services, and planning practices all have some significant impacts on the public character of cities. In this context, in the first part of the article, the relation between public spaces and the public sphere is discussed within the framework of a democratic and open society. In the second part, the focus is the relation between urban planning and public spaces, related with citizenship, privatization and the role of public spaces in urban life. In the third part, two cases from Istanbul will be discussed according to the related findings of a research project. The fourth and final part is the conclusion.

### **1. What does public spaces has to do with public sphere?**

The term 'public' is an ambiguous one, which is used in diverse perspectives in most languages, and also in Turkish. The word 'public', indicates things that are open to and involve everyone. Further, it can also be simply the opposite of

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<sup>1</sup> This article is drawn from a research project. It presents the one part of the theoretical framework and a case study, and does not include the full spectrum of results (Firidin Özgür, E; Sayın T; Seçer, S; Göğüş, B, 2014, The Transformation of The Use of Public Space Within Private-space-led Urbanism: Cases of Kadikoy and Atasehir Districts, Istanbul; Project no: 2013–11; Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Directorate of Scientific Research Projects, Istanbul).

'private', or things and services related with 'the state'. Hence, the term 'public' may also be used as a representational sphere of the state.

The concept of the public sphere, in its widest and basic meaning, refers to a means by which both positive and negative ideas on the issues regarding a wider part of society can be addressed: hence it is a medium of communication, such as newspapers, TV, radio, and in the last few decades, the internet. It is thus much more than physical space. Habermas (2003) emphasizes the basic characteristics of the public sphere in his work, which are openness, public opinion and a general issue that creates public discussion, and accentuates the change on historical grounds that constitute public sphere, from the rise of bourgeois democracy to the last century.

Sennett (2010) analyses the "fall of the public man"; once a part of the public sphere as an actor, he has fallen down since contemporary society divided into private communities. As a result, cities, as the scene of public life, lost their vividness, authenticity and pluralism. Sennett (2010) argues that urban society improves itself with a diversity of people and life styles, and the urban place consists of public spaces, and hence shrinking publicness and public life of cities creates the danger of the loss of diversity, which inevitably will end up with a society divided into parts alienated from each other, and dull urban places. Besides these works, the literature discussing the public sphere reveals a large variety of aspects, from perspectives on social classes (Negt ve Kluge, 2005) to gender (Fraser, 1990). These later works on the public sphere focused more broadly on the freedom of speech, the power relations between the ruler and ruled classes, and micro-power domains inside these classes within capitalist societies. However, this paper discusses the public sphere, within the framework of democracy, freedom of speech and action, and civil society.

Theoretically, the relation between the public sphere and public space depends on the fundamental principles of the public sphere. Mitchell considers the public sphere within the framework of human rights and democracy, and explains the "necessity of public space" as follows: "This is so simply because public democracy requires public visibility, and public visibility requires material public spaces" (2003: 148). From this perspective, on the one hand public spaces are an essential means for freedom of speech and assembly, and on the other, in a democratic society, public spaces and services should be delivered on the basis of equality to all members of society. Madanipour (2010: 2) argues in the Introduction to *"Whose Public Space?"* that, "Public spaces, ..., should be produced on the basis of equality for all by being accessible places made and managed through inclusive processes," and emphasizes a few lines below the argument that "recent attention to public space is rooted in the structural changes that societies around the world have experienced in the past thirty years whereby the provision of public goods, such as public space, has been under pressure through the ascendancy of the market-based paradigm". One of the results of this pressure is the construction of places known as 'pseudo-

public spaces', which are not accepted as public spaces since they are exclusive through design and security measures, although they do contain some facilities for public usage. Examples are shopping malls or themed parks.

So, what are the basic characteristics of a public space, or more simply, what makes an urban space public? Madanipour (1999), Varna and Tiesdell (2010), and Nemeth and Schmidt (2011) consider these questions, and have developed several models to measure the publicness of urban spaces. Ownership, management, activities and accessibility are the most common criteria in these models.

Ownership refers to the main distinction between the public and private; citizens may claim their right to use urban space if it is owned by the public. However, there are counter arguments such as that fact that public authorities may impose restrictions on the use of public spaces for the public interest, such as homeless people being marginalised from public spaces (Mitchell, 1995). The measure of management depends on the assumption that the private sector may impose distinctive restrictions, but an urban space managed by the public should be open to all citizens. This is also related to whom and which parties are involved in the process of decision-making. The diversity of activities contributes to the vividness of a place. The characteristics mentioned above should be taken into account as the criteria to measure the degree of publicness of public spaces. Accessibility is a similar challenge. On the one hand, all public spaces should be physically accessible, and on the other, public activities should be accessible to all.

Public spaces are seen as the basis of urban life. They are spaces to gather, meet, watch around, stand and use equally for all citizens, also allowing people to experience the diversity and vividness of urbanity. Hence public spaces not only make life more colourful and vivid, but also reinforce the potential for different parts of urban society to understand each other. In this regard, public spaces are gaining more importance in the age of urbanization that promotes living among like-minded people in a divided society.

## **2. The Relations between Urbanization, Urban Planning and Public Spaces**

The shrinking role of the state in controlling a free-market to regulate redistribution of public goods, urban services and investments has changed the nature of planning. However, the public sector itself became an actor acting like a part of the private sector; accordingly urban planning became a tool for state agencies to deliver the needs of a free-market economy. This shift in the roles of public and private sectors has changed the nature of urbanisation.

Public spaces such as parks, streets, green areas, are defined places that anyone can enter freely. However, the growing role of the private sector in urban development and in the delivery of urban services may end up with the

privatization of public goods, services and spaces. A private sector investment must be profitable in a free-market economy, and hence urban services provided by, and urban spaces designed and managed by, the private sector, are for the people who can pay for them, for "good consumers". Privatized urban spaces can become places of exclusion in which certain activities (i.e. skaters or street vendors) are prohibited, designed for security and surrounded by surveillance cameras and guards. This tendency towards privatization is explored in the early works of Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) as a new phase of socio-economic relations.

One of the well-known examples of privately owned but publicly accessible spaces is in Manhattan, New York, which is planned through bonus spaces. Nemeth (2009: 2482), examines this publicly accessible space and argues "Perhaps most importantly, the bonus space model is problematic when viewed through a lens of citizenship and representation" and concludes, with referring to Valentine (1996) that "Citizenship and representation are directly related to visibility and to making physical appearances in publicly accessible space, so space cannot be called truly public if its 'maintenance requires the marginalization or exclusion' of a particular constituency". There are similar works on public spaces in European cities, regarding the changing nature of urbanization and privatization of public spaces. Langstraat and Van Melik (2013) compare Dutch and British cases in terms of the involvement of the private sector to the production of public spaces. Their findings reveal that "There seems to be a bigger reluctance from the part of Dutch local governments to involve private parties in public space than in Britain. Perhaps this could be explained by differences in welfare state regimes, with governments playing a more central part in urban planning in social-democratic Holland than in liberal Britain (2013: 447)" These cases are of interest as they show that the involvement of public parties in the delivery of public spaces makes spaces more public, and that there may be further a strong relation between the government and urban policies on public spaces and services.

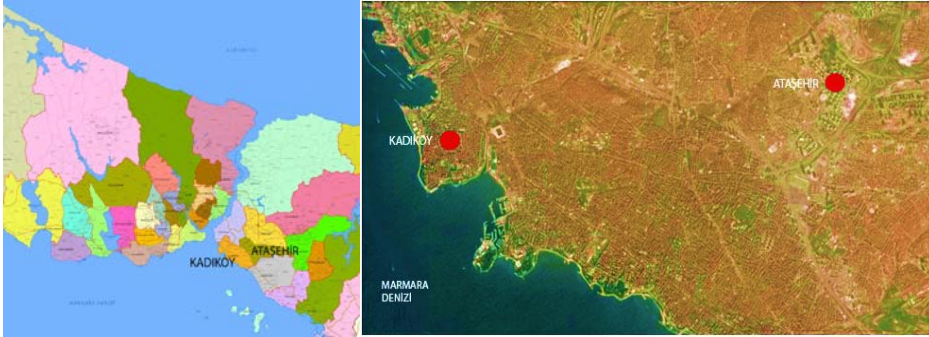
Even though there are several discussion on publicness of urban spaces today, the conceptual references of egalitarian public spaces, such as being open to all, allowing freedom of speech and demonstration of human rights has not changed. This shows the strength of public spaces in the social life of cities. There are examples proving that reinforcing public spaces of cities in relation with public facilities has a direct influence on the social cohesion of citizens. One of the examples is the city of Bogota that returned civic pride to citizens and invigorated social cohesion as a consequence of considering public spaces as a fundamental part of public policies (Berney, 2010).

### **3. Two cases from Istanbul: Kadıköy and Ataşehir districts**

Research conducted in two different districts of Istanbul using the above framework indicates some relevant results (Firidin Özgür, et al., 2014).

The main objective of the research was to understand the possible discrepancies between two unlike districts representing the core and the close periphery of the Istanbul metropolitan area (Map 1). The field research was based on questionnaires (300 for both areas in total) with users, interviews with inhabitants (9 for both areas in total) and interviews with the officials from both municipalities. Although, the research covered wider respects, the results regarding above framework is discussed below with the following three headlines: open society and democracy, privatization of public spaces, and use of public spaces. Both areas are owned and under the management of local authorities as public bodies. Hence, the discussion of privatization is not valid for either area.

**Map 1, 2. Location of Kadıköy and Ataşehir in Istanbul (1), and in the Asian part of the city (2)**



Source: Istanbul Grater Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Area Plan Report, 2009 (1); produced by googleearth map (2)

Kadıköy is a central district in the Asian side that developed mostly in the last 150 years. It was built-up in a street-block system and is a vital place. Bahariye Street and Mehmet Ayvalıtaz Square at the end of the street were chosen for the research area (Photographs 1 and 2). Ataşehir represents the new fashioned outer district of Istanbul. The west part of Ataşehir was developed as an allocation of gated communities and shopping malls, next to highways, and built-up mostly in the last decade. Cumhuriyet Park and Square were chosen for research in west Ataşehir (Photographs 3 and 4).

The field research was conducted on three different levels: questionnaires with users, as well as reviews with residents and also with officials from both municipalities. The main characteristics and observations on the usage of both areas were considered.

**Figure 1, 2. Bahariye Street and Mehmet Ayvalıtaş Square**



Source: Ebru Firidin Özgür

**Figure 3,4. Ataşehir and Cumhuriyet Park and Square**



Source: Barış Göğüş

### **3.1. Findings regarding an open society and democracy**

The results were similar for both places on this issue. According to the questionnaires, users were in one hundred percent agreement that public spaces were places for demonstrations and protests, and these kinds of democratic actions should not be restricted. Residents also totally agreed that public spaces were places for people to make themselves visible by demonstrating and protesting in a democratic society. Officials from both municipalities stated that they did not have any restrictions on public spaces, and the right to demonstrate was fundamental for a democratic society, provided protesters did not vandalize the environment. Users declared that everyone could use public spaces, and these should be open to all, under all circumstances. Similarly, both the municipal officers argued that they considered all parts of society especially the elderly, children and handicapped people as the users of the public spaces they designed and managed. But, interestingly, the officer from Ataşehir Municipality said that they considered west Ataşehir as a prestige area since gated communities developed for upper-middle class residents were located there, and for that reason, they paid special attention to using more attractive designs in the public spaces there. Additionally, he expressed that



they found ordinary designs sufficient for the poorer neighbourhoods within the municipal boundaries.

### **3.2. Findings regarding privatization of public space and pseudo-public spaces**

A common idea against privatization was shared by the officers of both municipalities. They had a common vision on the issue reflecting strong opposition to privatization of public spaces. They defended the idea that public spaces should be owned and managed by public bodies, especially by local municipalities. An officer from Ataşehir Municipality specified that they did not even want cafes run by the private sector in the parks. The officer from Kadıköy Municipality explained that they imposed restrictions on private sector advertisements on tents or parasols used in the public space, since these kinds of commercials dominated the whole space. Users too, were also mostly against the privatization of public spaces. Of interest, it emerged that users of Kadıköy were more open to the idea of privately maintained public spaces than the users of Ataşehir. Answers to the question as to “who should do the maintenance of public spaces?” were the private sector at 17% among the users of Kadıköy, while it was only 5% at Ataşehir. This may indicate that the users of Ataşehir were more aware of the results of privatization of management given that they used and lived in a district dominated by private management and restricted access given the proliferation of gated communities and shopping malls. Regarding this result, reviewees living in gated communities at Ataşehir saw the responsibilities of municipalities rather related with public works on infrastructure, transportation, the road network and automobile traffic. Lastly, people living in and using Kadıköy, reflected that they did not use shopping centres, unlike those subjects living in Ataşehir where shopping centres were the first places to go to in their leisure times.

### **3.3. Findings regarding the use of public spaces**

Results of questionnaires show that Bahariye Street and Mehmet Ayvalıtış Square at Kadıköy were places for people to spend their time regularly. Users spent long hours at these places (60% of the users spent 3 hours and more). On the contrary, 54% of users of Cumhuriyet Park and Square at Ataşehir spent half an hour at most. Everyday users of the places at Kadıköy were 30% while it was only 13% at Ataşehir. These results show that Bahariye Street and Mehmet Ayvalıtış Square were places that created regular users on a daily basis, but Cumhuriyet Park and Square in between gated communities did not appear as the spaces used in the same way. Accordingly, users of Ataşehir complained that there was nothing much to do, the place was noisy and the automobile traffic had a disturbing effect, while users of Kadıköy complained of the noise, there were not enough places to sit and the automobile traffic had a disturbing effect.

Another aspect of built environment is related with human relations. At Kadıköy, people were keen to generate good relations with the people and shopkeepers who lived in the same neighbourhood. This was mainly the result of the built environment of Kadıköy that encouraged people to use the streets since residents could find what they needed within walking distance. Residents of Kadıköy used places in the immediate environment to go shopping, go outside to have some fresh air, or to walk around, and even to watch a movie or a theatre since it was enough to take one step on the street. Direct relations between private and public spaces in a mixed use neighbourhood reinforce social interaction. On the contrary, residents living in gated communities at Ataşehir declared that they did not even know their neighbours.

## **Conclusions**

Although it is not possible to discuss public spaces in all its dimensions, this paper aimed to discuss the relationship between public spaces and the 'public sphere' in an open and democratic society, through examining the character of public spaces and their use with two examples from Istanbul. The contemporary societies in which we live still consist of a ruling class and a ruled class. One of the ways to raise the voice and being visible for ruled classes is to use the means of 'public sphere', and public spaces are essential for being visible. However, public spaces have further roles in urban life as places for interaction and socialization, to have some fresh air, and to see different people. These are the places we share with others and take a common responsibility for the whole society.

The issue of privatization of public spaces is problematic: in a segregated and divided society citizens from different classes do not share the same places in cities, since privately managed spaces are organized for the capacity of paying consumers. This turns citizens into customers, which undermines the rule of equality of citizens in a democratic society. From another perspective, if a society is ruled by democratic governance, urban policies are developed in an open and participative process, which in turn affects the policies towards the management of public spaces of cities.

Today, cities are developing as a constellation of private spaces and services which was once delivered by the public. This is a process related to the strengths of the private and weaknesses of the public sectors. As long as public bodies and agencies are strong enough to regulate the private sector on behalf of public policies, this will have a direct and positive impact on public spaces of cities and uses of them. As cases from different countries show, the control of the public sector over the private sector on behalf of publicness is essential to delivering public spaces and services.

Specifically, in Istanbul, gated communities, shopping malls and office and residential towers become the only way to develop the metropolitan area under the pressure of real estate developers as a strong actor of the private sec-

tor. However, the city of Istanbul still has core districts that encourage a good relationship between the places and neighbours as was shown in the two cases above.

The municipalities that were reviewed are still reflecting on the idea of public space as a core of urban life. The results of this research also show that people, users, residents and officials have some preconceived ideas with regards to public spaces and public life of the cities. Yet, these clichés also may come from the belief in democracy. These consequences give some evidences that there is a connection between the perception of public spaces and beliefs of the idea of democracy. This assumption opens a door to thinking that urban planning and urban policies reinforcing the publicness of public spaces may support the democratic processes of society: more research is required on these diverse aspects.

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### **Streszczenie**

Artykuł podejmuje kwestie przestrzeni publicznych jako czegoś więcej, niż tylko przestrzeni czasu wolnego. Przestrzenie publiczne urastają bowiem do rangi wrażliwych, widocznych i rozpoznawalnych poziomów wzmacniania społeczeństwa otwartego. W drugiej części artykułu opisano związki między planowaniem urbanistycznym i przestrzeniami publicznymi, w relacji do prywatyzacji, obywatelstwa i życia miejskiego. W części trzeciej natomiast artykuł podejmuje studia przypadków dwóch dzielnic Stambułu (Kadıköy, Ataşehir), w relacji do wyników projektu badawczego.

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## **STRENGTHENING THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES' COMPETENCE FOR ENGAGING IN PARTICIPATORY PLANNING**

**Keywords:** urban mentoring, participatory planning in Poland, public space, democratic city.

## **WZMACNIANIE KOMPETENCJI LOKALNYCH SPOŁECZNOŚCI DO UDZIAŁU W PLANOWANIU PARTYCYPACYJNYM**

**Słowa kluczowe:** mentoring urbanistyczny, planowanie partycypacyjne w Polsce, przestrzeń publiczna, miasto demokratyczne.

### **Introduction**

A European city nowadays is, by definition, considered a city of a democratic tradition (the Leipzig Charter 2007), guaranteeing equal development opportunities for its inhabitants, making it a common good and a collective responsibility<sup>1</sup>. In this context, awareness of the constant need to strengthen the actions aimed at development of a civil society has been too low in Poland. Only few circles combine the issues related to socialization of urban planning with the development of democracy in a country still marked by the heritage of the socialist past. The low level of public trust (Stompka, 2007), characterizing today's Poland, stigmatizes the social dialogue, which as a tool for working out a compromise and for balancing the interests could not be practiced and developed in the socialistic past. Nowadays, the issue constitutes a diagnosed barrier to the development of a country wishing to match the quality of city life to the standards of its western neighbours. The issue of a poor public dialogue regarding the urban issue is part of a broader background of the problem, which Carmona et al. (2010) describes using the concept of communication gaps. These gaps result from the asymmetry in knowledge and in experience, they generate conflicts, cause loss of understanding, and are the cause of manipulation (Carmona, Tiesdell, Heath, Oc 2010).

This issue of supporting the process of levelling the communication barriers in implementation of the participatory model of city planning was addressed by a year-long research-implementation project completed in the fall of 2015 (QV), titled "Quo Vadis Gdansk? The residents plan their city". An inter-

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<sup>1</sup> Miasto - wspólne dobro i zbiorowy obowiązek (City – a common good and a mutual responsibility), I Kongres Urbanistyki Polskiej (The First Congress of Polish Urban Planning), Gdansk 2002

disciplinary project-team, composed of urban planning theoreticians and practitioners, worked with the representatives of the local communities within four different districts of Gdnask. Participatory elaborated micro strategy for improvement of the quality of public space became the reason for broadening the competencies of the district councillors and of the local activists, which would prepare them for taking a better partnership attitude in future cooperation with municipal planning authorities.

The article describes the genesis of undertaking the subject that was realized as part of the QV project. It systematizes the knowledge on similar foreign practices which combine development of planning competencies, in the context of strengthening the participatory planning. Against this background, the paper documents the local activities of the research team, on one side, by illustrating the process of forming a new model of planning, and on the other, by showing development of the method involving incorporation of didactics into the process of implementing scientific studies.

### **1. The model of urban mentoring as a method of levelling the communication gaps in planning**

The competence to participate in public dialogue authorizes people to take positive and constructive attitudes in planning. Effective communication is a feedback process of speaking and listening, based on a common baseline for an agreement between the speaker and the recipient. The dialogue connection between both parties is expanded through existence of common basic knowledge unquestioned by all discourse participants. Not without a reason the RTPI (the Royal Town Planning Institute) promotes its activity with a maxim: mediation of space, making of place. In the manual titled „Public Places Urban Spaces the dimensions of urban design”, top British urbanists - Carmona M., Tiesdell S., Heath T., Oc T. (2010) - distinguish 5 main axes of misunderstanding planes emergent in the process of urban space planning: 1. a professional – a layman, 2. a designer – a non-designer, 3. a designer – a user, 4. strong – weak, 5. reality – the vision of the future. A very significant gap in the dialogue between the professionals of various specializations, different generations, and even different approaches within the same industry, however, are not mentioned. This gap is responsible for the low level of integration and socialization of urban planning in Poland, as advocated by the National Urban Policy 2023. This document is evaluated as a significant achievement on the way towards a departure from the current, far imperfect model of planning in Poland – a unique conglomerate of the solutions implemented by the old, socialist and the new neoliberal system, which proves the unfinished transformation of the political system (Billert, 2012).

Awareness of the complexity of the problem of communication gaps should shift the issues related to the subject of new tools for civic urban education onto the forefront of every city's important development priorities. Inspir-

ing examples have been provided by the German urban practice, which for decades has been trying to break through to Poland via numerous joint initiatives proposed by the academic and the professional circles. The political assumption<sup>2</sup> adopted at the turn of the 1970's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, regarding the expansion of the social co-decision zone, after decades resulted in a highly-developed system of participatory planning. Long-term observation of the German revitalization experience, built on the participatory planning model, has allowed putting forward a thesis that the social change which has taken place in urban communities has become one of the main revitalization achievements. Openness to innovation, public trust, social integration or activation of the communities now is the basis for enabling the cities to pursue further development challenges, which require widespread social competencies (Rembarz, 2017). For many years, German practice has been a very strong inspiration for the Rembarz / Martyniuk-Pęczek research team, in development of their approach towards the issue of the studies on a city as well as in their educational practice.

Systematic development of the didactic workshop, treated as a kind of a practice-based scientific research on the method, allowed the QV project team to create a new urban planning curriculum (the Social Academy of Planning), in the form of participatory planning based on an authorial model of urban mentoring. Inviting a group of students to a monthly workshop as permanent project participants enabled the skills of both the young professionals and the local communities to be strengthened. A feedback relation in a workshop setting was used here: the student studies, the teacher teaches. This model should be considered as a valuable social innovation.

Urban mentoring (hereafter UM) is a type of counseling – a partnership relation between the professionals in the field of urban planning and the local communities, oriented at discovering and developing the community's potential. UM assumes that the community has significant competencies in terms of the knowledge on the local conditions and needs. Professional assistance is needed to broaden the scope of understanding, on the part of the community activists, of the mechanisms and the tools of city planning and management. It facilitates preparation of the community for a dialogue with the professionals who are mainly represented by the local administration and authority representatives. Simultaneously, UM applied in combination with other participatory planning tools allows a two-way exchange of the knowledge necessary to deepen the diagnosis of the condition in the district and to create auxiliary coordination plans and strategies systematizing the inner discussion on the actions undertaken in the urban space. This aspect constitutes a strong UM potential for

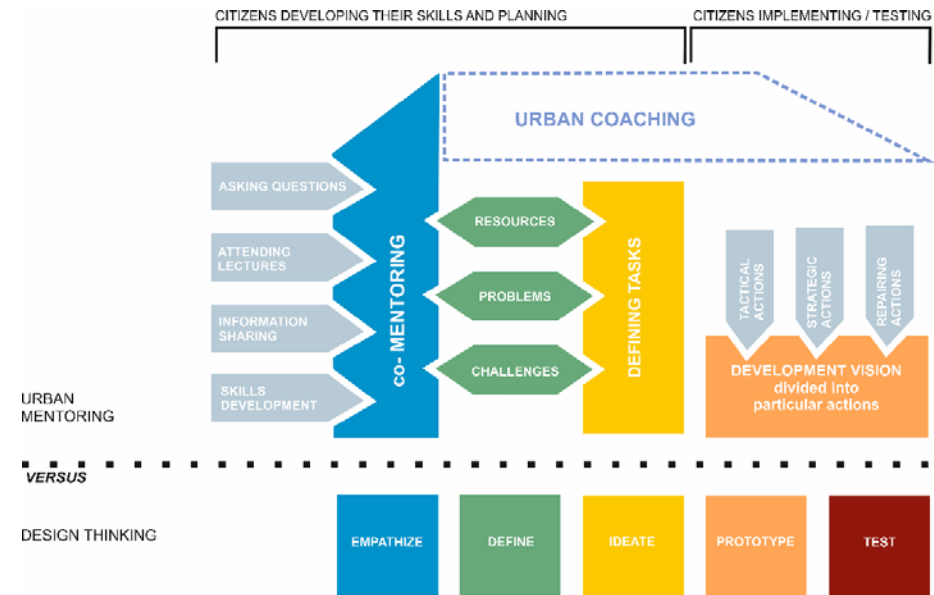
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<sup>2</sup> The words spoken in 1969 by the Chancellor Willy Brandt: "We want to have the courage for more democracy. (...) Our society's co-decision-making and co-responsibility in various areas will be the driving force in the upcoming years", nowadays are used as the genesis of the currently functioning practice of wide participation (Senatsverwaltung fuer Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt Berlin, 2011).

enhancing the competence in practicing urban activism on the part those who are not willing to participate in traditional trainings and courses. The method teaches by not teaching – it structures and broadens the knowledge on the spatial issues and on the methods of solving them in a systemic manner, thus it facilitates better, independent organization of the actions, by enhancing their efficiency. (Martyniuk-Pęczek, Rembarz, 2015).

The method is also applicable in broadening the competencies of modern planning among interdisciplinary groups and teams of professionals, which are necessary to strengthen the integration of urban planning and city management. UM is a tool for substantive, grassroots support of the ‘bottom-up’ process, requiring a significant shift beyond the ‘needs and preferences’ model (Vischer, in Carmona, Tiesdell, Heath, Oc 2010). “Rather than to confuse, seduce or manipulate an audience, communications might be used to challenge it, and to expose and reveal new insights”. (p. 332, Carmona, Tiesdell, Heath, Oc 2010).

**Figure 1. The urban mentoring scheme**



Source: Authors

## 2. The rationale for taking up the issue of participatory planning in the context of raising the planning competencies of communities

There are four main motives for undertaking the topic of the QV project, which have been diagnosed during the study-design work, the interviews with the representatives of the local communities, as well as resulting from the analysis of municipal planning documents and from the activity of the municipal services:



- a noticeable lack of harmony and spatial order in the housing districts – low quality of the shared (public) urban space;
- an increasing activity of the local communities for improvement of the place of residence, as part of the so-called urban movement, requiring support and coordination;
- lack of modern and effective methods for supporting the cooperation on the lines: the residents – the residents, the residents – the professionals, the residents – the professionals – urban administration, in terms of the planning and management of urban space;
- lack of the city's spatial policy at a district level, which would be based on a vision of the city's development that would be clear and comprehensible for the residents, which, in turn, results in information chaos, conflicting or passivity of both parties, but most of all in a permanent loss of the spatial potentials.

The idea of urban mentoring is based on the experience of British organizations associating city planning professionals. The economic crisis that brought back the far-reaching liberal ways of urban planning (*laissez-faire*) in the late 1970's resulted in emergence of the movements favouring a new form of impacting the private (commercial) sector, among both the professionals as well as the social activists. New, effective ways were sought for increasing the standards of spatial order (the quality of the housing environment and the aesthetics of the landscape) as well as for socializing the decision-making process in planning – nothing about us without us.

### **3.1 Anglo-Saxon inspirations**

Planning without consideration of the local community – the primacy of private interest before the public one – has been facilitated in the UK, because it is realized by county institutions, distantly from the local business-personal conditioning. The response of the professional circles, which were further backed up institutionally by the government, entailed educational, training and advisory campaigns implemented by two most influential organizations: The Town and Country Planning Association TCPA<sup>3</sup> (an equivalent of the TUP – Society of Polish Urbanists<sup>4</sup>) and the RTPI Royal Town Planning Institute<sup>5</sup>, whose slogan 'mediation of space – making place' for over 40 years has symbolized the professional support offered by this institution to formalized local communities, private investors and municipalities, as part of the „Planning Aid England” pro-

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<sup>3</sup> [www.tcpa.org.uk](http://www.tcpa.org.uk)

<sup>4</sup> <http://tup.org.pl/>

<sup>5</sup> [www.rtpi.org.uk](http://www.rtpi.org.uk)

gramme<sup>6</sup>. At the same time, the RTPI Future Planners<sup>7</sup> has been addressed to the young people thinking about city planning as their career direction.

One of the important pillars for supporting the knowledge on urban planning, which has been valued among the decision-makers and the broader society and has particularly affected the subject of a beautiful spatial form, is the CABA committee. The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment was established in 1999, at the beginning of the period of implementing the so-called 'urban renaissance' policy carried out by a national unit and meant to advise on architecture, urbanism and public space during renewal of the cities as well as to implement a new edition of the new city program called 'ecotowns' (Punter, 2009). As of 2011, the CABA renamed as the Design Council has continued lobbying: inspiring and influencing the persons making decisions about the shape of the building structure and of the landscape, through distinguishing well-designed buildings, spaces and places, promoting the examples of good practice as well as by providing experts and practical advisory. The most well-known program of substantive support offered by the CABA (the Design Council) is the Design Challenge<sup>8</sup>.

The main impetus for development of the activity of the institutions and the associations involved in fostering widespread awareness of and knowledge about the significance of city planning is emergence of a strong lobby within the society, which has been demanding inclusion, in the national and the local policies, of the issues of creating a so-called good city, i.e. a healthy, comfortable and socially equipped (inclusive) one. In conservative systems that promote liberal economy (Anglo-Saxon), state-level changes involving the spatial issues mainly occur due to the activity of the organizations created independently of the public sector (committees, associations). Their activity involving implementation of the changes is mainly realized through an intensive training program fostering expansion of the group opting for a systemic change. This type of a common promotion of knowledge and education, along with individual, independent, highly professional advisory for the local leaders, is the core activity of all important professional and academic institutions of this type worldwide. One example is the MIT (the Massachusetts Institute of Technology), which for several years has been carrying out a special spatial planning program at the Roxbury Community College in Boston<sup>9</sup>. In this way, this institution directly joins the list of the numerous public-benefit organizations i.e. the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU), the Project for Public Spaces (PPS), the Walkable and Liveable Communities Institute, which operate through widespread education, in order to improve the urbanism of North-American cities,

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<sup>6</sup> [www.rtpi.org.uk/planning-aid](http://www.rtpi.org.uk/planning-aid)

<sup>7</sup> [www.rtpi.org.uk/education-and-careers](http://www.rtpi.org.uk/education-and-careers)

<sup>8</sup> [www.designcouncil.org.uk/design-challenges](http://www.designcouncil.org.uk/design-challenges)

<sup>9</sup> <http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/71320>

having increasing influence on the global debate on the subject of the urban form.

### **3.2 German inspirations**

In German reality, where urban planning is understood as a part of the innovative national economy, the demand for the above-described forms of common urbanist education is significantly lower. The planning culture, which has been shaped on the principle of balancing the public and the private interest and by availability of considerable resources of highly-specialized planning staff, appoints the social organizations more to initiate new solutions and to maintain the efficiency of the constantly updating itself system rather than to play the role of the institutions oriented at fighting the anachronistic mechanism that has been protected by public institutions. The issue of social participation in planning, in Germany is treated very seriously - as the most valuable dimension of a democratic state. Effective methods of the residents' participation in the activities aimed at improvement of their surroundings, in a direct form or through selected representatives, have been developed in Germany with full consciousness ever since the 1960's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, parallel to the well-functioning municipal self-government system (the city council, the district council, etc.). A system of participation scenarios has been realized here (SfSuU, 2011):

1. lack of activity,
2. information – cooperation – co-decision-making – deciding,
3. self-management (local government).

The society's high public awareness of the influence of the quality of the urban form resulted not only in initiation of the European declaration for improvement of the European city, the so-called Leipzig Charter in 2007, but also in development of the German National Urban Development Policy – NUDP (Nationale Stadtentwicklungspolitik<sup>10</sup>). It defined six main thematic areas devoted to the issue of maintaining the model of a European city development in Germany:

1. Civil society – activation of the residents' activity for their city's benefit.
2. Social city - creating conditions for social integration.
3. Innovative city – the engine of economic development.
4. Creating a city of the future – climate protection and global responsibility.
5. Better-formed cities –the culture of construction building.
6. The future of cities is related to their immediate regions – regionalization.

Such tasks are not realized without the society's active participation, hence the leading slogan of the entire strategy contained within the NUDP was Lern Process Stadt (city as a continuing learning process). It adopts an assumption that a European city is the subject and a result of a study / learning / research

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<sup>10</sup> [http://www.nationale-stadtentwicklungspolitik.de/NSP/DE/Home/home\\_node.html](http://www.nationale-stadtentwicklungspolitik.de/NSP/DE/Home/home_node.html)

process. Hence, it commits to broader application of modern mediation methods, to seeking dialogue, compromise and beyond-border planes of action (disciplines, departments), as well as to using the synergic effects of the professional knowledge, experience and commitment to the city. Innovativeness in searching for the ways of using the hidden potentials as opportunities for development as well as the effectiveness of the applied solutions both require a society of conscious, active and co-responsible citizens, organizations, foundations, entrepreneurs, NGOs, churches, research institutes and universities. Hence, the main focus was put on:

- availability of discussion platforms regarding the NUDP for the citizens,
- orienting the NUDP on ongoing social problems and always on solving those problems,
- support for new quality – projects with lasting and quality-improving positive outcomes,
- creation of comparative examples,
- integration of political initiatives and incorporating them into the NUDP.

### **3.3 The Gdansk experience**

The authorial concept of urban mentoring has been built on extensive own/team practical experience, in cooperation of the academic circles with the local government. Significant constraints, such as lack of continuity in cooperation, mainly caused by a total lack of financing for such activity, or the above-mentioned knowledge asymmetry are characteristic features of this type of cooperation. Local governments have not ordered a systemic scientific research regarding their own activity, they diagnose the problems only to a small extent and search for solutions through innovative activities in cooperation with universities (they do not engage any financial or organizational resources). Unlike in the case of American or Western-European universities, the system of specialized research-implementation institutes of urban profile has not been developing because of that; there are few experimental studies of interdisciplinary nature, while student design projects (term papers, master theses or doctorate dissertations) have not been very openly recognized as a source of innovation for urban planners and managers. The situation observed deepens the gap between theory and practice, does not allow the universities' potential to be better used for building efficient cities.

In the years 1995-2015, the Faculty of Urban and Regional Planning (until 2006 also the Faculty of Urban Development) directed its scientific and educational effort at improvement of the link between the educational activity and the research-design practice. This allows creation of favourable theoretical conditions for implementation of the study design works having important parameters enabling their application as urban mentoring tools. During the years 1995–2005, student internships, in the form of annual summer urban workshops, were realized, which introduced the issue of public space revitalization. The results were given to the authorities (city and municipal) and

served the promotion of the problem area, the common education, and often became an inspiration for a reflection on the development/revitalization potentials in the selected parts of the city. Some of them only now, after introduction of new legal acts, can be implemented. However, unlike in western countries, in our country, student work done under supervision of experienced planners is not considered as an important and valuable planning material. This manner of collaboration, a short form of workshops allowing an impulsive transfer of knowledge from the university to the local community and collection of the data for research and for theoretical design work encounters a constraint – the lack of continuity in development of the initial design concepts.

The next phase of the work on the formula of urban mentoring was cooperation with the local government during preparation of term projects. The students, inspired by the short field workshops combined with the acquisition of the information on the city, provided directly by the city officials, developed urban concepts which further were presented to the city authorities and the residents, most often only via electronic media or temporary exhibitions. In this case, refining of the theoretical concepts gave these works a better chance to be used as knowledge transfer and educational tools. This formula, however, did not provide any possibility for a more developed, structural discussion on the rationales and on the solutions, thus it could not fully play the role of an active urban mentoring tool. Interestingly, smaller centres (2011 Tczew, 2012 Elbląg) implementing the public discourse in a modern formula, were more often prone to use the results of this type of innovative advisory than the cities with developed planning faculties.

Transition onto the next stage of the work on the urban mentoring model became possible after 2010. New partners for the two-way knowledge transfer appeared in the city. The district councils as well as the associations of residents activated council-side and wanting to improve their place of residence naturally became such partners. The demand of the neighbourhoods for expert knowledge sharpened the debate on the issue of developing the projects to be submitted to the civil budget. Integration of urban-movement circles created new possibilities for disseminating the knowledge on urban planning, excluding city administration. Many years of experience in working with municipal administration allows it to be identified as a kind of a sluice controlling the flow of knowledge between independent academic professionals and the local community.

Under the changed conditions, we can observe great commitment of the professionals – the architects and the urbanists (particularly the young ones) – to improving their areas of residence. However, these actions solve ad-hoc problems. Those professionals are valued in their communities and their advisory is used, firstly, when a professional acts as a regular resident in a public debate, secondly, when personal ambitions enter the game. This aspect also shows another phenomenon developing in the districts – politicization of the

debate on the district issues (according to the rule: who can get things done by the authorities). It is an unfavourable dimension which can destroy the potential of using the debate on neighbourly urban space to strengthen the democratic mechanisms and the transparency of the system.

The diagnosis of the situation provides numerous arguments in favour of the widespread application of urban mentoring for everyday urban practice. The new challenge is to introduce a new system of working with the community – to complement the formula of direct participation using the model of participation, through social advisory boards comprising substantially prepared representatives of the local communities.

### **3.4 Transfer of knowledge, in collaboration with Orunia and Osowa**

During its activity in the Orunia – St. Wojciech, the Gdansk Foundation for Social Innovation (GFIS) implemented numerous varied projects addressed to improve the quality of life in the district. The main purpose of those projects was to strengthen the residents' constructive activity, aimed at improvement of their place of residence – initiation and support of the effort, as opposed to doing the job for them (facilitators of the change). In addition to the cycle of debates on the future of the district – a continuous cycle of lectures on the history and the heritage of the district, conducted in cooperation with the Revitalization Department at the Gdansk City Hall, titled "I see Orunia as great", the Foundation implemented a series of activities oriented at physical improvement of the quality of the residential space. Apart from important point-based initiatives, i.e. the playground at the Zwiazkowa street, the GFIS initiated and carried out extensive actions. Namely, using the formula of neighbourly community service supported by minimal resources, five courtyards were cleaned out, which initiated the process of activating the residential communities and the city for the sake of its neglected areas. This so-called Orunian courtyard revolution can be described as a venture in the form of place-making work – a model for the entire city (Konopka, 2013). The Foundation combines the experience in working with the local community on solving important spatial problems, i.e. the lack of and functional and safe railroad crossing, the threat of a high-voltage power line or the opposition to the policy of cumulating the social issues emergent in the district, with the activities aimed at dissemination of civil knowledge. The need for developing a document (a vision) – an alternative to the municipal plans, which would coordinate the local discussion and the activities addressing the future of the district, has become the positive aspect of the cooperation between the local community and the institution associated with it. The pragmatic approach has prompted the local community to open up to the advisory of independent experts, in order to empower the local activists and to invite new persons to the collaboration.

The urban mentoring formula that allows preparation of study research-design papers in direct, constant cooperation with the local community has

been refined, thanks to the cooperation of the GFIS with the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the Faculty of Architecture (FA) of the Gdansk University of Technology (GUT). Since 2010, urban planning adepts have been trained in the Neighbourhood House, thanks to an informal partnership. During that time, two extensive master diploma theses were prepared for the Orunia district, which fuelled the debate on the future of Orunia. Semester design studio dedicated to the district and carried out during the years 2013–2014 resulted in a study and research project titled “SlowSmartOrunia: SlowLife in Smart City – an alternative scenario for the development of a district at the edge of midtown, within the borders of active metropolis”. A 25-person group of undergraduate students (3 level urban design&planning studio) at the FA GUT, under the guidance of specialists, prepared 10 compatible micro concepts of a strategy for the spatial-social development of the district. The innovativeness of this work involved application of the method involving a scenario planning for the problem area, i.e. Gdansk Orunia.

The recommendations of urban scientists, developed on the basis of the experience of British local governments and of the health ministry, constituted the substantive baseline for the studies (Barton, Grant, Guise, 2003). The studies were aimed at answering the question of how the agricultural tradition of the district can be used as an endogenic potential determining the identity of the place and of the community. The results of the experiment were subjected to the constructive criticism of an international team of external experts. After additions and editions, these results were presented to the local community (the district council) and to the management of the Revitalization Department at the Gdansk City Hall (Rembarz, 2014). Achievement of high-quality results was possible due to integration of the knowledge and the creativity of all project participants, inspired by the place’s potential. Favourable reviews of the 2013 project became an incentive for application of a refined formula of urban mentoring as a model of work in the QV project.

Initiation of a systemic cooperation with the Osowa District Council and with the “Our Osowa” Association served as verification for the method developed in partnership with the Orunian circles. In the academic year 2013–2014, open design workshops titled “My future in Osowa. Take the space in your hands” were carried out for the local community. These workshops became the first attempt at implementation of the urban mentoring formula in this environment. The results of the workshop were followed up in three master diploma theses dedicated to the issue of the district. They also inspired the student circles to continue the work on the subject, as part of an innovative international didactic method called Mentor&Student Research Lab.

## **The findings**

The innovative results achieved through realization of the project should be considered in two basic blocks: the universal effects and the individualized

effects. Urban mentoring is a method of cooperation with the local community, focused on increasing the knowledge on city planning and management. It can be used in work with every community. Its effectiveness, however, depends on the level of trust a given group places in the team implementing urban mentoring. There is no exaggeration in the statement that this method can only be used by the persons with the highest professional qualifications. Individualized effects include training of four groups of local leaders and student teams (360 persons). In retrospect, we know that the experience gained as part of the Social Planning Academy has significantly impacted the leaders' further work for the benefit of the district and the students' future professional choices. Deepening the knowledge on the city planning process among such a significant group of persons, along with the overall knowledge introduced into the Gdansk's local community via promotion of the project in the media – strengthening of the local capital of urban planning knowledge – should be deemed as one of significant individualized effects.

## **Conclusions**

Poland, as a young democracy developing in a neoliberal economic paradigm since 1989, is taking its first steps on the path of real socialization of urban planning. The 25 years of the transformation of a post-socialist country into a civil one, after 2004 supported by an intensive process of infrastructure modernization, has resulted in the awakening of urban activism attitudes aimed at improvement of the quality of nearby housing environments. This phenomenon has grown out of the widespread critique of the nature of the authority-citizen relation shaped during this period, which does not protect the public interest from the hegemony of the private (individual) interest escalating privatization and commercialization of the public space. The search for the potentials for changing this unfavourable state into a newly discovered, secular and non-partisan communality, after 2005 has become the signature of a new social formation. The emergent numerous, informal urban movements representing the weaker side of the society in the social dialogue have become the Poland's answer to the slogan "the right to the city". Their fast development results from implementation of soft social projects, using external structural and auxiliary resources, in order to expand civil awareness and self-organization through strengthening the development of non-government prosocial organizations. The universality of this phenomenon can be deemed as the second wave of the democratization of the Polish society that has been striving to finish the process of the systemic changes. In this context, the Citizens for the Democracy program realized with the EEA funds, part of which was the "Ouo Vadis Gdansk?

The citizens plan their city" project, was included in the activities aimed at strengthening local democracy. The results achieved due to integration of social and professional efforts as well as thanks to significant disinterest of both parties exceeded all possible expectations. In 2015, the project was the biggest participatory project in Poland. It involved preparation and testing of a new



educational program and was short listed at the AESOP Excellence in Teaching Award 2016 Innovative Approaches to Interdisciplinarity in Planning Education - Building Capacity to Respond to Interconnected Contemporary Planning Challenges.

The new method developed in Gdansk on the basis of a correlation of various socialization practices is a sort of a hybrid, constructed on the ground of the experience accumulated during the many years of urban project-didactic practice in Poland. It is part of a broader tendency of participatory planning – the community planning methods evolve along with the changes of the local society's needs.

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### **Streszczenie**

Artykuł opisuje genezę podjęcia tematu podnoszenia kompetencji planistycznych w społecznościach lokalnych w celu eliminacji przepaści komunikacyjnych oraz wzmocnienia nastawienia obywatelskiego. Przedstawia również tezę, że innowacja w tej materii wymaga nowych technik planowania partycypacyjnego, jak na przykład opisanego tutaj modelu mentoringu urbanistycznego.

Opisując inklinacje podjęcia projektu o nazwie "Quo Vadis Gdansk? Mieszkańcy planują swoje miasto" artykuł systematyzuje także wiedzę o podobnych praktykach za granicą i dokumentuje rozwój autorskiej metody zawierającej implementację dydaktyki w procesie przeprowadzania badań naukowych.

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## **DESIGNING SMART GOVERNANCE IN BELGRADE**

**Keywords:** smart city, green, sustainable, resilient.

## **PROJEKTOWANIE ZARZĄDZANIA SMART W BELGRADZIE**

**Słowa kluczowe:** smart city, zieleń, zrównoważenie, elastyczność.

### **Introduction**

Today cities are becoming ever more complex systems with vast amounts of data flowing through various channels of our societies. By adding layers and layers of complexity, we as individuals become more disoriented in the vast amount of available information, possibilities and choices. It is only when we are able to structure this information and data into meaningful patterns, can we find ways to understand and cope with the issues at hand. Whether it be seeking employment, better education, cultural events or trying to solve complex issues at a larger scale, similar principles apply. Cultivating a community and bringing people together represents one of the most important aspects of how we choose to use these tools/technologies to make an impact on cities and the globe. The process of building a web application/digital platform should be based on MVP – *Minimum viable product*, which means that the product should be put into function as soon as possible and tested with minimum investments in time and money. The reason for this is also a better way to find a path to potential users and to make corrections early on, to get rid of needless categories, or to add and develop new applications for the platform. The first phase of the project includes making a map with hyperlinks, pinpoints and other tools which ensures the efficient mapping of start-ups, collaborative spaces, cultural events, etc, so that users can easily search and get information.

Authors of new platform - students of Master class named “City and Design” at the Faculty of Architecture University of Belgrade, under the mentoring of Prof. Dr Eva Vaništa Lazarević represent newgrowing young specialists; those who will be responsible for the development of cities in the 21st century, new *soft* leaders which should be soon incorporated in planning of smart government of Belgrade.

Prof. Lazarević has been founding her educational career upon mixing theoretical but also practical way of learning. Several times she founded different non-governmental organizations with her students focused on upgrading the urban life – mixed and intertwined with implementation of new technologies.

## **1. Smart Governance for new planning<sup>1</sup>**

Striving for a single EU market, which Serbia is entering in the years to come - means guaranteeing labour mobility in the era of crisis, reducing barriers for the entry and exit of companies and eliminating unjustified restrictions for business and professional services. For EU public administrations there is intention to improve digital exchanges between administrations and enterprises as well as citizens, to rolling-out E-procurement EU wide, to promote the use of public sector information, to open public data and to implement trans european services. In a word to develop EU wide on line service and to modernise public administration.

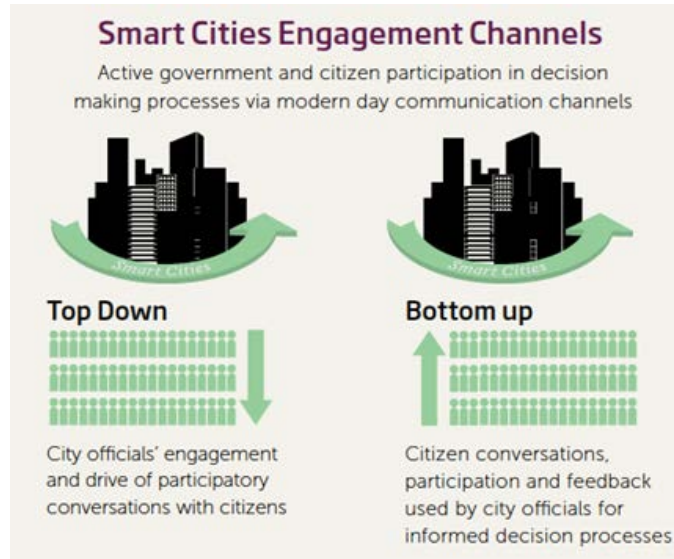
Working together even closer – we are all coping with today’s complexity and pace of changes in a context of constrained resources which requires integrations of diverse insights, experience and expertise, cooperation from different organisations. Though, the main topic of smart governance is to tailor work-flows to citizens and businesses which need extensive process overhauls across administration but also, in Serbia, to battle against a corruption and to work under the absence of strict EU laws, not yet implemented in practice.

Although, there is in fact a high level of E-environment in Serbia, thanks to globalization & fast implementation of digital Era as well as the presence of smart and intelligent highly educated people. In Serbia we can indeed notice a “Silicon Valley Syndrome” as it was once in Dublin or Tel Aviv - but, unfortunately, with a significant exodus of educated young people to abroad. That younger generation is in fact a real auditorium for smart governance, and a gap between generations can be easily concluded as a problem. Big data, however - has no limits – so there is intention to achieve a full level of smart governance in Serbia, especially and primarily in the context of social data.

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<sup>1</sup>Abecasis, Margarida: “Smart Government means being enteroperable”; E-Government Conference, Nicosia Cyprus, 2012.

**Figure 1.**



Source: [www.scyt.com](http://www.scyt.com)

## **2. Proposal For Smart Governance in Belgrade - Beluppgrade platform**

Belgrade became a few years ago a top center of Europe as a settlement for new smart global IT companies. Cheap accommodation and nice and comfortable affordable way of life brought to the city, for a long term stay, a lot of young IT professionals. Nordeus is, for example, a Serbian local Company which is growing fast, becoming globally important. Faculty for Electrotechnical Sciences in Belgrade spawned hundreds of smart professionals each year which found their place in Silicon Valley and Europe, but nowadays they are building their career more and more in their local towns in Serbia.

**Figure 2. Nordeus, young and propulsive Serbian company with its offices in London and Dublin, a new form of the Smart IT Company based upon creating the new softwares and FB games**



Source: [www.nordeus.com](http://www.nordeus.com)

Never the less, in the age of the forth industrial revolution and intensive digitalization of the world, architecture and urbanism will have to respond to these newly established challenges. These technologies are changing the way we live and work, how we learn and communicate, and they also represent new tools that can be used to make an impact in our world. The power of internet brought us the opportunity to scale and spread our ideas, products and services throughout the world. Big data and data mining are giving us opportunities to collect and analyze vast amounts of data, thus giving us an insight into the factual state. Predictive analytics enables us to form new patterns or models and apply them accordingly to improve our cities.

For cities to attract top talent and foster creativity, they have to adopt a set of strategies that will insure the influx of creatives and engineers. Some of these include efficient administration which is able to serve citizens and satisfy their needs, open policies of inclusion and participatory processes, opening the data for analysis and experimentation, enabling a network of collaborative and co-operative spaces, making an ecosystem for innovation and entrepreneurship, creating incentives and tax breaks for newly established enterprises, better connectedness with the world, diversifying community etc. Within these frameworks entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation can be developed. Another part of this equation is a cultural dimension. Culture represents a way to bring people together, to nourish intelectual, emotional and spiritual sensibility, which are directly connected to innovativeness and creativity. A city must also be a cultural hub in order to be an entrepreneurial hub, offering its residents vibrant life and interesting content.

Traditional architectural practice has not yet shown the capacity to adapt quickly and integrate new technologies into its business model. It is especially true for the practice of urban planning and design. Considering that big data, data mining, predictive analytics and various other technologies will have a vast impact on how we think and plan our cities, we have to find new ways to integrate these methods into our practices and use them as tools to enhance our living environment. We, as architects and urban planners, have to define new frameworks and work within them to achieve our common goals.

**Figure 3. Logo of the student's association**



Source: private resources of the students' association

This is what propelled a group of students from the Faculty of Architecture and the Faculty of Electrical Engineering from the University of Belgrade to initiate a project called Belappgrade. (fig. 3)

The aim of this project is to create a digital platform in the form of a web application that maps different places in the city such as startups, collaborative spaces, cultural events, public art etc. Our mission is to promote entrepreneurship, innovation and creativity in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. In order for us to start and develop this project, we had to adopt an entrepreneurial mindset and form an interdisciplinary team of students that was able to tackle all the issues that emerged. We used entrepreneurship as a modality through which we created a sustainable framework and dynamic process of creation, so that we could realize our project efficiently. We applied the principles of Lean Startup<sup>6</sup> and based a product on MVP – Minimum viable product, which stands for a product built with minimum investments in time and resources and put into action as soon as possible to be tested. The digital platform was made with

high levels of flexibility and adaptivity so that it can be easily changed to fulfill the users' requirements. The potential users of this app are students, job applicants, organizations, companies, and other individuals interest in these topics. Since it is not always possible to predict who the exact users of our application will be, it is reasonable to assume that changes are inevitable. The concept of an open platform can take significant amounts of data and information, and allows a participation of different companies, organizations and partners, as well as a gradual integration of all important aspects. The application consists of two major categories: Startups and Culture. These reflect the core values that we've adopted in promoting the city and informing our users. Within the category of Startups you can find subcategories that include mapped companies, collaborative spaces, events such as conferences and meetups, and job offers. All of the startup companies in the city are mapped and contain basic information about them, along with contact info, addresses and links to their profiles on social networks. Collaborative spaces include entrepreneurial and innovation hubs which serve to provide spaces work teamwork, offices and workshops. Events include conferences, meetups and workshops. Companies can also register, log into their profiles and post job offers to potential job seekers in the job offers category. In this category user can click on the name of the company, search for a suitable job, and then apply with a CV template through our web application.

In Culture category subcategories are divided between cultural events that include workshops, exhibitions and gatherings, public art which includes different kinds of performances, urban art, graffiti etc. There is also a possibility for organizers of these events to add them to the platform by clicking on ADD EVENT, and then filling a form with description and info, and sending it to the administrators.

This platform offers great opportunities to connect physical places to potential users and inform them about possibilities and activities. Integration of different options, filters, criteria on an interactive map, has the objective to empower users with wider range of opportunities and make a quest for information much easier. We aspired to achieve a balance between providing good quality service by preserving the initial goals on one hand, and on the other making an interesting interactive usage so that platform can stay active for a long period of time.



**Figure 4. Belgrade, Serbia**



Source: <http://moonplanet.com>

## **Conclusions**

We are seeing major transformations that are occurring in Europe and the rest of the world. Migrations are changing the face of Europe, mobility is becoming more common everyday, densification and resource consumption are developing fast. An insecurity and criminality have swallowed the most of European cities.

At the same time, fortunately information technologies are completely changing the way we live, work and communicate with each other. It is in these circumstances that we have to create new frameworks for action and use our knowledge and skills to make a positive impact in the cities we live in. We must find ways to use and integrate technology and innovations as tools in the process of urban planning, urban design, city management etc. Smart cities require smart people who are able to coordinate and articulate transformations on ecological, economic and socio-cultural level.

With the growing population of today's cities one of the most important aspects will be efficient integration of these people into the system. Also, precise information will provide a strong feedback to the administration and urban planners and it can, thus, be used to inform the decisions made by these actors. The systems that insure a good feedback channels are able to build frameworks that enable participatory processes and more democratic distribution of resources.

In the world of rapid transformation and changes, what other way to cope with the issues than to use the resources and technologies available to all of us in order to understand at first, and then act accordingly to provide solutions to

the problems and enhance our living environment. Concepts such as big data and predictive analytics enable us, among other things, to distinct relevant information from vast amounts of data and recognize meaningful patterns. And it is only when we are able to detect meaningful patterns and organize them into well structured models, we can make informed decisions and integrate these conclusions into our plans, concepts, models of development, designs etc.

The progress that was made in the last few decades in the areas of information technologies, but also in other areas, should be seen as a great opportunity to incorporate them and form interdisciplinary teams of experts that will contribute with their unique set of skills and knowledge. Transcending the boundaries of each profession individually so that we can get the best results will be one of the priorities in the near future and it should be embraced as a possibility to secure a good position for our knowledge and skills as architects and urban planners in the ever changing world.

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### **Streszczenie**

Artykuł opisuje kwestie zarządzania miastem w paradygmacie "smart", obecnym w XXI wieku, gdzie wszystko odbywa się w domenie zarządzania informacją cyfrową. W artykule opisano narzędzie stworzone przez studentów magisterskich studiów architektonicznych pod kierunkiem prof. Evy Vaništy Lazarević w Uniwersytetu w Belgradzie w ramach zajęć „Miasto i projektowanie”.

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## PART II

### CZĘŚĆ II

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## THE TOOL – DESIGN

### NARZĘDZIA – PROJEKTOWANIE

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Agata Twardoch

### DEMOCRATIC HOUSING

**Keywords:** housing, democratic housing, affordable housing, collaborative housing, co-housing, social aspects of architecture.

### MIESZKALNICTWO DEMOKRATYCZNE

**Słowa kluczowe:** mieszkalnictwo, mieszkalnictwo demokratyczne, mieszkalnictwo przystępne, mieszkalnictwo partycypacyjne, współmieszkalnictwo, społeczne aspekty architektury.

### Introduction

According to current understanding, the term “*democratic housing*” indicates a combination of multiple choices, bespoke architecture, bottom - up management and space for common/civic activities. The idea is that democratic architecture allows us to individually shape our living environment, allowing for respect towards others, to the inclusion of contemporary values, and provision of a physical space that facilitates dialogue among citizens. Nawratek noted that “Imagine a situation in which the apartment rent is paid not only with cash, but also with participation in the life of the community. When it is not paid only with money but also with the care of neighbors' children or care for an old woman. Imagine an experimental anti-or beyond-capitalistic structure. Imagine the open creative world. World liberated from the terror of GDP”. Although the author doesn't use the term, the idea is firmly present (Nawratek 2008, str. 162).

Architecture is political, it exists within the broader physical context – but is also located firmly within the political context: it has to fit the framework of the applicable law and it needs investors. Thus architecture can be understood as political at different levels: at the level of the interpretation of form, at the level of the meaning of function, at the level of wider circumstances, and

finally at the level of types of investors. Over the years, “democratic architecture” term was connected with the ideas that no one would call democratic now. During the Second World War, Frank Lloyd Wright, asked the National Planning Resources Board through a “citizens’ petition” for permission “to continue the research for Broadacre City, which he called „democratic FORM as the basis for a true capitalistic society.” – today no one would have referred to this idea of a car- based, suburban utopia as ‘democratic’. During the early Cold War, the name of “architecture of democracy” was given to the embassies of the United States of America, and hotels exported around the world as cultural representations of the *pax Americana* (Ockman 2011, str. 65). A later manifestation of democracy in architecture was based on the neoliberal idea of freedom to choose among a range of lifestyles and products, as a value itself. In the United States this tendency reached its architectural apotheosis in the 1990s, in the redevelopment of Times Square and in the neo-traditional ideology of the New Urbanism (Ockman 2011, p. 66). At the same time in Poland it began with an abandonment of the urban planning system and the development of the free market as the best and only planning tool; this led to a great popularity of ready-made house projects, greater urban sprawl and an associated aesthetic chaos.

## 1. History

“Democratic housing” has two contradictory roots in the history of architecture, of interest is that each of these roots evolved also into something that could be seen as a contradiction for democratic values.

One root is connected to the concept of social equality, social justice and collectivity. This thread can be followed from the ancient Greek idea of *agora*, through Plato’s “*Republic*”, Thomas More’s “*Utopia*”, and the eighteenth century quasi - utopian housing concepts of Claude Nicolas Ledoux, Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. Jean Baptiste Godin collected the thread in the nineteenth century (Idem 2012, str. 43–44), for it to then thrive in the twentieth century through the actions of the Russian Modernists: this began with Soviet collective housing such as Wenderow’s idea of Falanster B. (1919) and Falanster D (Burszkin and Twerski, competition work, 1926.). These led to the real communes, as Narkomfin by Mosei Ginzburg and Ignaty Milinis (Moscow, 1928–1932), and developed into the idea of the city-commune in the USSR. This social housing also inspired Western European urban planners, indirectly leading to the Athens Charter (date) and subsequent implementation of “Grande ensembles” all over Europe and beyond. This first thread at some point links up with the flow of modernism in architecture, and both meet a common, symbolic fate with the demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe Estate, St. Louis, Missouri in 1973.

The second root is connected with the idea of liberalism and individualism. Although the liberal thread in general can be already seen in Marcus Aurelius’ writings (II age), it actually originates in the Age of Enlightenment, in context of

democratic architecture, one should perceive Ebenezer's Howard Garden City (Czyżewski 2009), as its beginning. In spite the strong cooperative tint, the Garden City fits the liberal mould: firstly it was based on the ethos of entrepreneurship and secondly, despite the author's intentions it evolved into the liberal concept of the individual suburban house. There are, of course, many different steps between the Garden City model and current urban sprawl: in the United States, Roosevelt's New Deal prompted individualistic society, supported by the "build-it-yourself" Usonian Automatic House, by F. W. Wright.<sup>2</sup> These ready-made house projects came with build-it-yourself option (Ockman 2011). The American Dream thus changed into the American horror of urban sprawl, gas-guzzlers, shopping malls, emptying cities and growing obesity. This thread began to end with Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), then the rise of New Urbanism and subsequent re-urbanisation of inner cities.

So how does combination of anonymous blocks of flats together with sprawled suburban houses lead to democratic housing? It's all about the combination of the idea of common good and of one's responsibility for his place to live. Theoretically, both ideas are good; however, the first was distorted by a characteristic contempt, conceit and paternalism displayed by urban planners: "We know what is best for the tenants and they do not" (MacDonald 2012, 251) and the second by extreme individualism: ultimately both of them lack something in the way of thinking and process. While upgrading the threads, democratic housing together with participatory processes, can draw the best of them.

## **2. Is there democratic housing in Poland?**

The housing deficit in Poland is estimated between 300,000 and 820,000 apartments. Regardless of the exact number, the lack of housing is not the most serious problem in the Polish housing sector: low availability is a much more severe issue. The Polish housing market is dominated by owner-occupied flats (80% of all units in 2013), followed by housing owned by public entities, such as municipalities and the state (10.3% in 2013). The most under-represented is the non-profit sector consisting of cooperatives, company apartments, and middle rental flats (4.5% in 2013). Statistics of newly built houses show this disproportion more clearly: in 2014, 54.3% of all dwellings were flats built for sale or rent by the owners, 40% were buildings for their own use, and only 1.5% – was public and 4% - non-profit. As the result of such distribution, there

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<sup>2</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright is an important figure to mention: even before the conceptualization of the Usonian Houses, at the time of the so-called 'Prairie Style', Wright's mission was 'to create a truly American architecture, one appropriate for free citizens that would reflect the democratic values of this great country in which he so firmly believed, in creating what he called an "architecture for democracy" (reference – you need to check which section specifically you are quoting).

is the split of the housing market: an apartment can be bought on the open market, or practically given by the municipality, with the rent far below replacement value. So the housing problem affects most people with incomes in the 3–7 decile ratios<sup>3</sup> of gross earnings: they earn too much to be able to apply for public housing (regardless the chances of getting such premises) and too much for housing allowance, but not enough to get a loan, even with help of the MdM - governmental housing program (Ministry of Finance, 2015). At the same time data on dwellings completed in 2014 shows that nearly half of the apartments were established in single-family houses; taking into account the number of constructed residential buildings, single family houses made 94% of all.

This situation, which exacerbates the situation of housing and urban sprawl<sup>4</sup>, is dictated to not only by the common dream of a house with a garden, but by a number of factors related to the availability of housing. These are firstly, the relatively low prices of land in suburban areas associated, amongst other things, with the spatial policy of municipalities according to which areas of land destined for development exceeds future needs.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, there is poor availability of apartments in the urban areas. A third factor is that it is cheaper to build a house independently, compared with buying an apartment from a developer. Fourthly, ignorance: a general inability to calculate the overall costs associated with the construction of a house in the suburban areas.

The problem with the current housing trend is that there is not only an imbalance between owned and rented / single-family and multi-family housing, but also the manner in which housing is implemented spatially. Detached houses in suburban areas arise independent of a rational planning infrastructure, on random plots transformed from agricultural land, with no provision of public, common spaces. Multi-family estates are often gated and guarded<sup>6</sup> with no connection to adjacent areas, leading to a contrast between the quality of inside and outside space. There is also a significant contrast in the quality of areas inside and outside the fences in gated estates; this increases the sense of danger and isolation among estates' inhabitants, and thus deepens the divide be-

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<sup>3</sup> Decile ratio of gross earnings shows how income is distributed among the society. It can be a measure of earnings disparities.

<sup>4</sup> The dispersal of development and spatial policy of municipalities leads to social, monetary (for both private and public sector) and environment losses. For details see *"Report on the economic losses and social costs of uncontrolled urbanization"* (Nowicki et al. 2014).

<sup>5</sup> According to zoning plans there is a land for housing over 200 million, while there is only 38 million people in Poland altogether (Nowicki et al. 2014).

<sup>6</sup> During a survey of new housing built between 2000 and 2012 in the Katowice region, the author found out that of the 44 examined examples, 36% were gated and guarded (Bradecki & Twardoch 2013). In Warsaw in 2006, over 400 estates were gated, a number which has since grown (Lewicka & Zaborska 2007).

tween “us” and “them”. The split is also visible in the structure the tenure of new housing stock, which is hardly ever mixed<sup>7</sup>.

Democratic architecture should be understood as the architecture of strengthening the potential of the communities on the one hand, and process that includes inhabitants at different levels on the other. The presented data proves that Polish housing in general is far from democratic. Sprawled, detached housing, and gated condominiums do not assist in an egalitarian society, neither do monocultural estates help in community building. Further, the production of, commercial housing for sale doesn't include inhabitants as decision makers at any stage, effective removing them from fundamental assessments of the construction of place.

### **3. Case study. Kalkbreite as democratic housing**

A good example of recently constructed democratic housing, Kalkbreite was founded on a very well situated, but extremely difficult to develop, triangular plot between railroad tracks and a busy road, with a tramway depot in the centre. In spite of the difficulties, Kalkbreite from the very beginning was intended as both a vital component of the neighborhood, and a city within a city itself: a place to sleep, live and work. The process was initiated in 2007, with the Kalkbreite Co-operative's motion to allocate the problematic urban plot for housing. The Co-operative's representatives, along with the city, commissioned a feasibility study and arranged an architectural competition. The winning design concept was revealed in 2010, after which the Co-operative and city representatives developed<sup>8</sup> the full project. The workshop participation process applied not only the building layout but also the concept of the Kalkbreite Co-operative operational model. The construction itself began in 2012; in 2014 the first tenants moved in and almost all of them have remained till today (according to interview with Res Keller, Housing Cooperative Kalkbreite Zurich Managing Director). Thanks to precise programming processes, Kalkbreite became a truly hybrid development, with different types of flats, workplaces, services and both indoor and outdoor common spaces, for a wide range of users.

The variety allows for flexibility; there are flats intended for different household models which includes individual apartments of different sizes. Both *Grosshaushalt* (large households) and *Cluster* (cluster) were implemented. These consist of several individual apartments of limited size with a large common area. In the *Grosshaushalt* model there is a large community kitchen with a hired cook, and daily nutrition plan, and community members sign up

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<sup>7</sup> 92% of surveyed housing complexes consist of flats with one type of tenure – usually owner-occupied in 68% of examples surveyed (Bradecki & Twardoch 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Muller Sigrist Architekten AG in Zurich with HAAG.LA, Zurich (landscape architecture) and Dr. Lüchinger + Meyer Bauingenieure AG, Zurich (Civil Engineering). Completion 2014.

for meals at the beginning of each week. Joint cuisine significantly reduces costs of living from the perspective of time and consumables, and thus brings environmental benefits. In the *Clusters*, common space is a large living room with a kitchen, in which members spend their free time, watch movies, and organize parties and events. The range of available housing options is further extended thanks to *Wohnjoker* (living jokers): these are additional rooms, equipped with a bathroom, but no kitchen, which can be rented by Kalkbreite residents when their housing needs change, such as teenage children or elderly parents, who need privacy or assistance. Because of environmental concerns, future tenants agreed that the private space shouldn't exceed 35sqm per person – and if it does the family is asked to change the apartment for a smaller one, or to find an additional tenant. These relatively small apartments <sup>9</sup> are complemented with a wide range of community amenities, both outdoor, as a common courtyard located on the roof of the tramway depot with public access from street level through a broad, urban stair and common roof terrace, and indoor as a cafeteria, with spare rooms for additional functions, and an inner corridor. Living spaces are accompanied by facilities and additional workspaces.

The initial meeting of the *Vermietungsreglement für Wohnungen der Genossenschaft Kalkbreite* adopted a constitution which laid out the general conditions of lease. This stated three main principles which underpin the democratic character of the Kalkbreite. These are to create a social mix, introduced by the integration of people of different ages, stages of life, and of varying income. The philosophy was also to assist people with disabilities, and encourage the internal exchange of inhabitants in a way that occupied apartments always best meets their current needs. The residents needed to demonstrate environmental responsibility. This was encouraged by dwellings matched to the inhabitants' needs as close as possible, according to size, and functionality, a reduction of the environmental impact through sharing (laundry, kitchen, television, temporarily used appliances) and use of public transport. The third principle was solidarity, introduced by the solidarity fund (*Solidaritätsfonds*), which serves residents in need.

#### **4. Collaborative housing**

Kalkbreite is an exceptionally good example of housing in general, and of democratic housing in particular, but it is also a representative of wider group of collective housing. "Collaborative housing" is an umbrella term which covers all variations of housing initiatives that non-profit, initiated by future inhabitants, participatory in nature and community based. There are different collaborative housing types in different countries: *co-housing* in the US, England and Australia; *bofællesskab* in Denmark; *centraal wonen* in Holland; *nachbarschaft liches*

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<sup>9</sup> In comparison to average area of living space per person in Zurich which exceeds 60sqm.



*wohnen* and *baugruppen* in Germany; *kollektivhus* in Sweden, and *korekutibu haujingu* in Japan (Fromm 2012, 364).

The models and individual cases may vary with the degree of the involvement by community, with the ownership type, with the locality in the city, and with the type of building: whether high rise or detached houses. There is a diversity of options which make them difficult to categorise, but the common key to collaborative housing lays in social capital and the resources it provides; social capital is also crucial for democratic architecture. The governance of collaborative housing is always somehow democratic: from consensus-based management involving all members of the group in co-housing, to annually elected boards of directors in co-operatives. Social capital is gained not only by facilitating community life through design and organization, but also through preferred models of financing. Most collaborative housing models allow for the elimination of the individual need for commercial banks and mortgage brokers, because they usually require only an initial deposit. The default risk connected with the mortgage responsibility is thus spread between all co-owners, so individual risk is minimized. Regardless of the ownership model: cooperative with tenants or building group with owner occupied flats (Gulota L. 2012). Thus collaborative housing seems to be the most mature form of democratic housing.

In Poland there is little in the way of collaborative housing although there exists a strong tradition of co-operative housing despite most being obliterated during the post-war period. Happily, there are examples of new initiatives which appear despite the currently unfavorable legislative frameworks.

## Conclusions

*“Architecture does not solve social problems. People working together solve social problems”*<sup>10</sup>

Any architecture, even the best, can't solve social problems nor built vivid community itself. What is crucial for democratic architecture to be truly democratic is people, process and knowledge.

## Potential

There is a great potential for the provision of democratic housing, which has been already described by researchers of collaborative housing. Durrett and McCamant (McCamant et al. 1994) describes its' ability to provide a self-created community of inner life; it can, for example, ease residents' daily living tasks, improve residential social contacts, lower operating costs and enhance security. Fromm focuses on its potential to enhance and repair some of the surrounding neighborhoods' issues (Fromm 2012, 388). In her paper she concludes that

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<sup>10</sup> Headline of the Mexican pavilion at the “Reporting from the front” 15th Biennale Architettura di Venezia.

collaborative housing can model good neighbouring through successfully mixing residential incomes, stabilizing vulnerable or marginalized groups, stabilizing small neighborhood blocks from further deterioration and create building design that extends a greater openness to the neighbourhood than seen in more conventional housing. Further it can assist in introducing a different residential population into a neighbourhood, such as homeowners to an area that lacked home ownership, and assist with involvement within communities in volunteerism and local politics. Democratic architecture is also easier to adapt for specific needs, such as senior or disabled residents.

### **Time / process**

Collaboration is a process, not a product. Social capital is an intangible asset gained through informal trusted relationships and thus can't be achieved at once. All forms of democratic architecture require more time to evolve than the strictly commercial forms. The first step in the design process of any democratic architecture, and housing in particular, must be interviews, studies and/or workshops with future residents. That part is especially difficult to the architects in type of "creator" and too much trouble for many others (MacDonald 2012). Cooperation with non-professionals can be difficult and time consuming, even whilst working with collaborative housing groups which are dedicated to the process, and usually better skilled in the area of working with collectives. The process may also be extremely difficult when working with the general public, such as public housing, which by definition should be treated as democratic, and thus should be preceded by consultation. In addition, people that are candidates for public housing may be wary of authority, they may lack the basic knowledge about construction methods, budgeting, and basic architecture, so they can be inarticulate in the terms of their housing needs and expectations. The process involves education, but education can be mutual if architects treated it as a source of inspiration. Despite the potential difficulties, the initial development process is crucial not only because it leads to better outcomes in terms of architecture, but also because it creates the foundations for future neighbourhood collaboration (Fromm 2012, 388).

### **Education**

In one of his essays Noam Chomsky quotes John Dewey, who devoted the greater part of his life and his thought to the issue of democracy and education: "Reforms in education could be in themselves a major lever of social change, they could lead the way to a more just and free society in which (...) the ultimate aim of production is not production of goods, but the production of free human beings associated with one another in terms of equality" (Chomsky 2012, p.37). Whether we agree on the direction of social change expected by Dewey or not we cannot deny that education is essential for the proper functioning of a democratic system; this consequently applies also for democratic housing. In order

to be able to deliver democratic housing in Poland three fields of education are crucial:

1. understanding the potential for going beyond the scheme of owner-occupied detached housing in the suburbs, including a better understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of living in different modes and localizations, and the importance of social strengths;
2. learning about the impact one can have on his/her surroundings at an apartment, neighbourhood, block or city level;
3. learning the tools of understanding housing with respect to form, function, and ergonomics.

Given the very low level of awareness about democratic housing in general and all mentioned above fields of interest in particular, there is a place for multiple teaching-tools, methods and channels in order to strengthen awareness. These can take the form of student workshops and open informative lectures. Student workshops allow student architects to understand the idea of democratic housing and spread it further during their future work. Open lectures can also provide a good start in making people understand not only the purely aesthetic basis of housing architecture, but also real estate market rules, and other than mortgage-burdened, suburban-detached house possibilities. As Saskia Sassen points out "Our advanced political economies have created a world where complexity too often tends to produce elementary brutalities"; (Sassen 2014) better understanding of this complexity can be crucial in making housing architecture more democratic, and thus, less brutal.

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### **Streszczenie**

Artykuł opisuje architekturę mieszkalnictwa demokratycznego w kontekście historii, teraźniejszości oraz możliwości przyszłego rozwoju. Prezentuje dobre praktyki oparte na badaniach *in situ*. Wśród wniosków z badań artykuł identyfikuje rekomendacje dla rozwoju architektury demokratycznej.

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**Louis Stephen Du Plessis**

## **THE MARKETS OF WARWICK: THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PUBLIC IN AN INFORMAL TRADING SPACE IN DURBAN**

**Keywords:** Warwick market, informal trading, market spaces, area-based management, Durban, public participation process, self-generated management.

## **RYNKI W WARWICK: PARTYCYPACJA PUBLICZNA W NIEFORMALNEJ PRZESTRZENI TARGOWEJ W DURBANIE**

**Słowa kluczowe:** rynek Warwick, nieformalny handel, przestrzenie targowe, zarządzanie oparte na strefach, Durban, proces partycypacji publicznej, samoorganizujące się zarządzanie.

### **Introduction**

Spaces for trading have been at the centre of urban life for millennia. Aside from religious spaces (how we relate to the divine) and defensive spaces (how we relate to the outsider), trading spaces are arguably one of the most profound generators of the urban fabric. It is a space in which society interacts at its most profound – the space in which we relate to each other and on which our livelihoods as urban dwellers were generated for much of history. We need only to examine the ancient cities such as Athens and Priene with their Agora's or Ancient Rome with their Markets of Trajan, or the medieval cities such as Krakow to see the fundamental place that the market place had in the civic life of those urban dwellers. Though in recent times, particularly post-industrialisation, the fragmentation of the urban fabric in conjunction with large scale capitalism has led to the decentralisation and rationalisation of significant trading spaces, open market places still serve a valuable purpose in the urban context.

The examination of the history of the Warwick Markets in the urban core of the city of Durban, South Africa, is a most illuminating one around the notion of public participation. Due to the city's fairly recent establishment in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the development of the markets of Warwick can be more easily tracked. Added to this, the impacts of the political systems of the day can be readily engaged with. From the onset, segregational policies of the Colonial and subsequent Nationalist governments had a profound impact in the area, shaping it dramatically. Post liberation in 1994, the local government engagement and management has been quite varied, at one stage their approach being lauded internationally, but more recently this 'best practice' example being abandoned, culminating in the public announcement in early 2009 to develop the

area into a strip mall to much outcry. This allows for an interesting and illuminating study of public participation as it relates to a market space.

## **1. Shared Context**

The initial question raised here is why the comparison between the two seemingly disparate contexts of South Africa and Central Europe. The rationale is that both South Africa and many states in Central Europe share a commonality of a history of political restrictions when it comes to trade, specifically as it applies to open market areas (OMA). Heavy restriction, such as limiting spaces and times of informal trade right through to criminalising and form of informal trade were common to both contexts and similarly, there has been an erosion to the hard-line approach over recent years. The fall of communism with its restrictions on trade in Central Europe and the transition to Democracy in South Africa in 1994 has had a profound change in the open market informal sector. With the hiatus in official 'support' for these areas for many years, both have had to deal with the notion of redressing a backlog of servicing and managing of market spaces.

## **2. Early Settlement arrangement**

The medieval history of many European cities has led to a rather entrenched central open market areas, both within the physical space of the city fabric and also within the psyche of the population. There is not this same construct to draw upon in the historical city scape of South African cities, including Durban. Prior to the early settlement by European colonists in the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century, the extent of trade within the regions populations is difficult to quantify, but was clearly limited as settlements were relatively small and pastoral in set-up. (South African History Online, n.d.)

The founding of the settlement that was to develop into Durban was to occur in 1824 with the establishment of a simple ivory trading post. Though some previous European settlements at the site of the Bay of Natal occurred prior to this, it was mainly through shipwreck survivors along the coast that then subsequently abandoned their settlements. With the increasing settlement of the hinterland and the increased trade that was a natural result of this, Durban began to assume the characteristics of a sea-port town, but was essentially a cluster of primitive dwellings in a dispersed pattern and hidden in the bush during the early days of its establishment. (Rosenberg, et al., 2013, pp. 12-13)

Subsequent growth and character of the settlement demonstrated emphasis on the street amongst other aspects. In 1840, a town plan was commissioned that followed the traditional grid layout of South African town plans of the era, but with a focus on a central market square rather than the traditional church square, suggesting that Durban was to be a town dominated by trade. (Davies, 1963, p. 20) Prior to the 1850's, this central market square was of little significance to the population (South Africa History Online, n.d.), but from the

late 1850's, 'Market Square' became the focus of religious, institutional and public buildings located around its edge for the growing settlement. (Rosenberg, et al., 2013, p. 13) Most of the trade in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, however, was not based at this square, but rather towards the eastern and western edges of the settlement. (South Africa History Online, n.d.) This a result primarily due to segregation of race of traders, but also by convenience. The Square itself was mainly used for public gatherings, and eventually in 1863 became an ornamental garden. This racial segregation of trading directly led to the formation of the Warwick Markets, particularly with the more radical policies and laws implemented by the Colonial and subsequent Nationalist government in the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **3. Transport**

Whereas many other market places have a strong tradition of being the spatial generator themselves around which other services and spaces are formed, the Warwick markets are intrinsically linked and dependent on the public transport infrastructure. The success of the trade in the area is dependent on the vast numbers of public commuters moving through the precinct every day. It is said to be one of the few places globally where informal trade at an upper level is successful – this is very much due to the transportation nature of the node and the arrangement thereof to accommodate it. It is therefore important to note the development and role of public transport in the area, particularly how the racial segregation thereof has been so profound therein.

The first form of public transport implemented in Durban was Trams in 1881 and were initially horse drawn and then converted to electrically motor driven in 1902. From inception to its phasing out in 1949, this service was subject to increasing measures of segregation based on race, and had it not being for the prohibitive cost and lack of economic viability, separate tram services would undoubtedly have been implemented. (Rosenberg, et al., 2013, pp. 37-39) Other forms of transport include the truck busses (Trucks converted to carry passengers), busses (both municipal and private carriers) and later minibus taxi operators (private carriers).

Truck busses were started in 1919 owned and operated by Indian individuals, responding to the needs for inexpensive public transport, specifically for certain racial groups. These businesses has subsequently morphed into using busses, but are still operational to this day. (Jackson, 2003) The nature of their routes and the subsequent legislated racial segregations of areas within the city meant that these services were initially set up to service non-european passengers, and as this spatial planning still has an overwhelming legacy on the composition of the city. These services are still used almost to exclusion of non-europeans.

The location of Berea Railway Station at the centre of the precinct is of particular importance to the success of the market activities. A large proportion of

the 460 000 daily users<sup>1</sup> (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 5) make use of rail transportation through the station. There are at least 7 arterial routes on the Metrorail system that stop at this station. 2013 statistics still has the majority of commuters within the province of KZN dependent on the public transport nodes represented in the Warwick with 65.5% of trips done daily dependent on the transport modes facilitated in the precinct. (Statistics South Africa, 2013, p. 95) This large numbers of travellers dependent on public transport converging at this point makes for a natural trading point, likely to continue indefinitely. Even with changes to the public transport dynamic over the last decade, such as an increase of 5% in the households who own or have access to private vehicles (Statistics South Africa, 2013, p. 85), the numbers of commuters using public transport remain fairly stable overall. The large numbers of commuters dependent on rail transportation is a legacy of apartheid era planning, where 'dormitory towns' were created away from the 'exclusive' inner city environment. People of colour were needed to provide cheap labour, but it was not 'desirable' to have them live in close proximity to the city. An added 'benefit' was that the need for people of colour to travel into the city meant that control of the population was much easier – protests could be contained to the townships<sup>2</sup> and public transport nodes could be more easily policed. There is still an overwhelming concentration of the population that travels from the northern and southern former township areas (such as KwaMashu and Mlazi) using public transport. This lingering dependence on this transport node results in a concentration of potential customers, and due to the nature of the access to the station being elevated and the connecting busses and mini-bus taxi's being on ground level, the natural movement patterns allows for successful trading at multiple levels.

#### **4. Warwick in history**

Trade in the early years of the city was dominated by those of settler backgrounds, both white colonist descendants and Indian passenger individuals (those arriving from India of their own volition to seek private economic opportunities) and free Indians (those individuals brought across from India as indentured labourers and having completed their period of indenture) engaged in trading - the latter engaging in hawking or market gardens activities rather than returning to indentured labour. The government of the time quickly moved to legislate means to control trade based on racial lines. Different pieces of legislation that were enacted (such as the Indian Immigration law of 1895, Immigration Restriction Act of 1897, and the Wholesale and Retail Dealers Li-

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<sup>1</sup> These figures are published in 2009, there is no reason to think these have decreased in any way.

<sup>2</sup> This is the term used for the underdeveloped, usually urban dormitory areas reserved for non-whites. It is usually located a fair distance outside of the urban core, and thus their residents are quite dependent on public transport.



cencing Act of 1897) all demonstrate a concerted effort by officials to divide the town of Durban into areas of racially segregated traders from very early on in its existence. (Molyneux in Rosenberg, et al., 2013, p. 22) This resulted in the non-European owned and operated business core settling around the western edge of the original settlement, the Warwick markets now incorporated into this area. The Indian trading generally being more formal (occupying shops) and rural Africans more informal (setting up pavement stalls) (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 43)

Throughout its history, this area was overwhelmingly dominated by non-white trade, but the declaration of the area as a slum in the 1930's and subsequent legislation (The Group Areas Act of 1950, amended 1957 & 1966) was to affect the Warwick Market area dramatically. During the apartheid era, it was designated as a 'European' area in the apartheid planning process, and traders (both formal and informal) faced forced relocations to other areas. There were numerous attempts to enact the new laws in the area, but these were largely unsuccessful, trading was allowed to continue. By the 1960's, street trading had been prohibited in the city and severe restrictions placed on informal trading in the designated markets. The banning of street trading was difficult to enforce, with local authorities 'fighting a running battle' with illegal traders. This issue was partially addressed with the passing of the Natal Ordinance in 1973, which allowed for severely limited trading, traders could only occupy a spot for 15 minutes before being required to relocate. The draconian laws of restrictive trading eventually started easing after the more liberal Progressive Federal Party came in to power locally in the early 1980's. In reaction to a report on Hawkers (Informal Traders) in 1987, the council started to formally recognise the realities of the informal trading in the city and its contribution to the overall economy. (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 45) This new attitude in approaching informal trade was to lead to a new management strategy implemented by the city in the area in the 1990's.

## **5. Economic realities**

South Africa has a rather high unemployment rate, with the official figure at the end of 2014 pegged at 24.3%. (Statistics South Africa, 2014, p. v), which is ranked at 28<sup>th</sup> highest in the world. (IndexMundi, 2014)<sup>3</sup>. This high unemployment figure puts a large strain on the social security network of the country, and while government pledges to increase employment rates, since 1996 the rate has consistently remained above 20%, peaking at 27.2% in 2002. (The World Bank, 2015). The nature of informal trading allows for many of these unemployed individuals to earn an income without access to formal employment or government assistance. This is clearly of great benefit to a country such as South Africa with such a high unemployment rate.

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<sup>3</sup> For comparison, Poland is ranked 70<sup>th</sup> on the list.

The most recent data puts the number of traders in the area between 5000 and 8000. Due to the informal nature of the activity, more accurate data is difficult to determine and is unavailable at this time. This data puts the average monthly earning of traders between R 1000 and R 8000<sup>4</sup>. (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 5) At the bottom end of the scale this is below South Africa's minimum wage for the domestic worker sector<sup>5</sup>, but not significantly so with domestic workers earning between R1100 and R1800 per month based on the minimum rates. This demonstrates that at the higher end of the informal trading bracket, a rather decent income can be generated, though the numbers of traders earning at this level is rather minimal. Also taken into account South Africa's high unemployment rate, the dependency rate of non-working adults to these earners is 2.9 to 1, significantly higher than the mean of around 1.4. (Business South Africa, 2003), the informal trade in Warwick supports over 30 000 adults of working age, not including dependents excluded from the labour force.

## **6. Specific Context of Warwick Junction Markets**

Due to its rather organic and somewhat unregulated history, the area of Warwick incorporated numerous markets of unique individual character. This has resulted in a complex grouping of trading places with a highly ordered system of operation. In formalising a tourism initiative for the markets of Warwick, 10 distinctive and individual markets with their own speciality trading were identified for inclusion in the urban area initiative<sup>6</sup>. These formal market places also include numerous street traders along their periphery.

Many of the traders are supported by a labour intensive system, thus increasing the employment created in the area. Though seemingly haphazard, there is a complex and highly organised system, most prominently the goods porters and water bailiffs. Goods Porters will store individual traders' goods overnight and deliver them to their trading location prior to their trade starting. Deliveries from collection points and wholesalers continue throughout the day, so the porter trollies are a constant sight throughout the day. In addition, the council supplies potable water at limited specific locations in the area. These points are secured and leased out to the water bailiffs. They will in turn sell water to traders and ensure delivery thereof. The council meters the water

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<sup>4</sup> This equates to about US\$80 – US\$660 at the May 2015 exchange rates.

<sup>5</sup> The South African Department of Labour issues periodic updates of minimum wage rates, and these are specific to industry, nature of employment and area. It is therefore difficult to determine a mean minimum wage, therefore the domestic worker figures are used as a benchmark due to similar skill level requirement and nature of employment. (Department of Labour - Republic of South Africa, 2015)

<sup>6</sup> The Markets of Warwick include Victoria Street Market; Bond Street Market; Pinafore/Bead Sellers Market; Herb Traders/Traditional Medicine Market; Badsha Peer; Berea Station Market; Music Bridge; Fresh Produce Market/Early Morning Market; Bovine Head Cookers/Traditional Foods market; and the English Market.

consumption and charges for this. (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 117) What this does allow for is another stream of employment within the market that is not having to be operated by the local council and extensive civil infrastructure is not required.

The complex system of trading in the area is not only influenced by the support network, but also by time and specialities. The more entrepreneurial traders of general items will vary product according to time of day and sometimes even location. Early morning trade is dominated by foodstuffs that can be consumed on the go for breakfast – typically this entails fruit or small packets of goods such as chips. After the morning rush, more general goods become more prominent, such as hardware and household goods (locks, batteries, super glue, soap, beauty cream). When the foot traffic patterns change once again in the afternoon when commuters are returning home, foodstuffs (such as vegetables) become more available.

On the other end of the spectrum, the Warwick Junction Area is also known for speciality items, some of which people from around the province will specifically travel to the markets to purchase. Pinafore sellers are located in the Brooke Street Market, renowned for their reasonably priced and well-made traditional, religious and workers attire. They not only sell from this location, but there are small spaces for rent from the council that allows for their manufacture. In close proximity is the Clay Wholesalers, who mine their clay in a rural area two hours travel from Durban. The clay is used in traditional practices, and is not generally traded elsewhere in the city.

Though generally harmonious in their trading activities, there is a delicate balance of individual and market based interests maintained. International research suggests that open market areas are a space in which ethnic barriers are not as defined as the city as a whole, and the association across social boundaries is more likely to take place here than in the surrounding communities. (Sik & Wallace, 1999, pp. 17-18). This too is the case at the Warwick markets, but not dramatically so. Concentrations of foreign traders are usually found in the more popular tourist areas of the city, and usually based on the manufacture and sale of art and curios. Much of the trade here is by locals, and foreigners sometimes receive a chilly reception. Some foreigners are more innovative in their trading than locals, and more willing to reduce profit margins. This does not always endear them to the local traders, and hostilities sometimes surface. (Dobson, et al., 2009, pp. 31-33). Hostilities are not only reserved between different ethnic groups, but also between markets and racial groups. The status quo is seen to be suitable and developed organically over time – changes to services offered, introduction of different goods or amenities added that may alter the trading dynamic between the different markets is met with scepticism and resistance. New endeavours are cautiously and sometimes fleetingly embraced as the interests of the individual markets are heavily weighted by their relative representatives as opposed to the greater good of the collec-

tion of markets. (Pettersson & Manning, 2001, p. 9). In recent proposals to demolish some of the markets to construct a mall development, racial incidences between local traders flared up. (KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, 2009) This is unsurprising in a sense, since the entire precinct was developed originally along racial segregation, and though more than 20 years into the democratic era, these outworking of spatial and racial legacies will still haunt us as a country. Having said this, there is a strong sense of community within the individual markets, and instances of tremendous goodwill between traders abound.

## **7. Recent Management**

Post 1994, there was a concerted effort at affecting an entirely new way of managing the markets and engaging with the traders at the need and will to engage with transformation was great. Years of neglect, congestion and poor planning needed to addressed, and rather radically at that. This next section highlights certain key aspects around the renewal project, but for a more comprehensive picture, readers are referred to Dobson, Skinner and Nicholson's *Working in Warwick – Including street traders in urban plans*.

Initially, post 1994, work had already started on the upgrading of infrastructure in the area. The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project main founding principle was working with, rather than against, the interests of street traders. (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 47) This worked well with the numerous representative trader organisations that had been active in the area from the 1980's onwards. One of the more prominent organisations was the Self Employed Women's Union (SEWU), modelled on the similar organisation in India. It particularly lobbied for the concerns of women traders, who are estimated to make up about 60% of street traders in South Africa. (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 11). These existing representative bodies meant that community representative structures were already in place to engage with around the Urban Renewal Project.

In 1996, there was a concerted effort to engage in a large scale operation as day to day servicing was not clearing the backlog of issues. This resulted in the need to disrupt the traders temporarily. To minimise the disruption, different municipal departments (such as waste disposal, health, policing, small enterprise development and transport) needed to closely co-ordinate their activities in this initial project. These activities then also needed the co-operation of the traders, which led to interactions taking place based on engaging existing community groups. This inter-departmental co-operation in addition to community engagement was quite successful and became the foundation off of which subsequent interventions were managed. (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 49)

As the Urban Renewal Project gained traction, it became part of a city-wide experiment with integrated area-based management, where planning and management Area based management. The project management option chosen was

a team that was directly under the city council. This enabled the team to more easily access technical and human resources throughout the council; to foster a greater sense of co-operation between departments; and individual officials (some quite experienced and senior in council departments) to be identified, involved and held accountable from the start of the project. Due to the 'personal' involvement of dedicated officials, the area and project dynamics were more quickly understood and a more collaborative engagement fostered between project member themselves and between the team and the community.

*"The Council afforded informal traders the opportunity to participate on a sustained and continuous basis in negotiations about their needs and priorities," said one trader. This was conducted, "in a low key way, often on an issue-by-issue basis". Sustained interaction with the traders in a participatory manner allowed the project to build on the energy and dynamism of what was already there. Finally, the Warwick experience demonstrates the advantages of an area based approach to management of the informal economy. (Skinner & Dobson, 2007)*

This particular hand-on and broadly collaborative approach allowed for a more 'organic' type of development plan to evolve for the area, as the constant input from various stakeholders and live feedback from implemented interventions could be easily taken into account. The two project fundamentals were that of Area-based and Inter-departmental management; and the commitment to participation and consultation. (Dobson, et al., 2009, p. 59) The operating objectives were seen as a series of tasks that needed to be completed rather than the operation of a large project. Of particular note in this collaborative approach was the approach that the Area Based Manager for the project took. They would spend 2 – 3 hours a day observing and interacting with the traders on the ground, gaining valuable insights and building trust with them. (Bukka, 2013). This was also linked to the fact that the project headquarters were located in the Precinct rather than at existing council offices. A derelict building was renovated for this purpose, and not only did this give the team easy access to the community, but also tangibly demonstrated the project's commitment to the area from the onset.

Unfortunately, after the great successes of the 6 phases of the Urban renewal project, the Municipality's approach to the precinct management started to shift in the early 2000's. The consultative and collaborative approach started to diminish, replaced by a more authoritarian approach – the great gains made being eroded away and the internationally acclaimed approach slowly abandoned. In 2008, Asiye eTafuleni, a non-profit organisation, was formulated by Richard Dobson and Patrick Ndlovu, two former project team members. This was in response to their concerns over the widening gap between the council's agenda and the realities of local informal traders. (Asiye eTafuleni, 2013) This concern was well founded, as in March 2009, the city made public their intentions to displace informal traders and demolish some of the thriving market areas to make way for a commercial mall development, with the then mu-

nicipal manager citing the spatial and servicing 'chaos' of the area as the motivation for the R400 million development. This plan was formulated in isolation from the community (specifically the approximately 3000 workers dependent on the livelihoods they earn in these markets), with the first public 'interaction' being the publication of their intention via public notice in a local newspaper. (Dobson, 2011) This sparked the beginning of a rather unpleasant saga. Tensions between council and traders, and between traders themselves were heightened dramatically, sadly much of it along racial lines. Council was accused of duplicity and heavy handedness, stringent policing of permits, confiscation of goods and even locking traders out of market spaces illegally.

*Durban had been wrong to try to close down the Warwick Junction market and move traders into a new mall. It stopped listening to its own people before international input in the run-up to the 2010 World Cup, a top eThekweni Municipality architect admitted on Monday to delegates attending the XXV International Union of Architects World Congress now under way in Durban. (The Mercury, 2014)*

The ramifications of this great public outcry required the intervention of the Provincial (state) government. The growing public disquiet and lack of trust in the local authority required the Provincial Premier to formulate a task team to address the issue and report on it. The plans for the R400mil mall seem to have officially been abandoned, with full council sitting on 29 January 2014 asked to approve plans for upgrades to the markets precinct that did not include the mall. (Daily News, 2014). As quietly as the Mall development was proposed, so too has it discontinued.

## **8. Public Participation framework**

Following on from the previous section discussing the nature of recent management and relationships between the local authority and the traders, the current legal and procedural framework for public participation in general needs to be examined. This shall be looked at by examining the brief global context, then followed by the specific South African context. What is quite evident in the policies and principles is the need for a meaningful public participation framework, not only for the notion of including the general populace, but in providing a framework for broad based beneficial development to occur. A general comment around public participation is that it takes the form of 3 levels, namely Public Communication (municipality giving information to other stakeholders); Public Consultation (Stakeholders providing information to the council); and Public Dialogue (mutual exchange of information). (Rowe, 2005). This indicates that the process is mainly about information sharing, the focus on having a meaningful stake in the decision making is not well defined.

In June 1992, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment released their Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, containing 27 Principles with the goal of "...establishing a new and equitable global part-

nership through the creation of new levels of cooperation among States, key sectors of societies and people". (United Nations Environment Programme, 1992). These principles built upon an earlier conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972, and mainly focus around the interaction between states and their role in environmental management for sustainable development, but there is also a strong sense of community participation being encouraged. Principle 10 specifically talks about communities having appropriate access to information and the opportunity to participate in decision making processes, with states facilitating the process. This global context, in addition to a new political dispensation in South Africa a mere two years later has shaped the public participation processes followed here.

In the South African context, the current broad framework is based on the constitutional requirement for community involvement in local government activities. The Constitution of South Africa Section 152 (1) (e) states that mechanisms should be in place "to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government." (Constitutional Assembly - Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 74). This constitutional requirement is quite understandable as an attempt to redress the authoritarian approach of previous governments in dealing with community issues.

On a provincial (state) level, the South African Local Government Association has also released guidelines in 2013 on public participation to local authorities. These guidelines state that the principle behind public participation is that 'all the stakeholders affected by a public authority's decision or actions have a right to be consulted and contribute to such a decision'. Further, the local authority is obligated to take into account the interests and concerns of the residents when it crafts by-laws, policy and implements its programmes; to communicate to the community regarding its activities and to develop and annually review mechanism to consult and involve the community (South African Local Government Association, 2013, pp. 1 - 2). The rights of the local community in this framework though are fairly non-committal on the local authority in a sense. Community members can "contribute to the decision-making process", but within the bounds of the provided mechanisms this basically entitles members to lobby political office bearers and be entitled to 'reasonable' information being supplied by the local authority. (South African Local Government Association, 2013, p. 4)

The eThekweni Municipality<sup>7</sup> has a published policy on public participation. The participation program has five strategic goals, namely: Effecting behavioural change in elected representatives and council officials to work with communities; ensuring the public have consistent access to political and administrative structures; creating a framework of government accountability and

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<sup>7</sup> eThekweni Municipality is the Metropolitan authority created in 2000 of which the city of Durban was one of the local authorities subsumed to create it.

public involvement in planning and budgeting processes; Promoting consumer responsibility and care of facilities and services; and establishing and sustaining community based programs. (eThekweni Municipality, 2006, pp. 6-7). In addition to this, additional policy voices the local authority's stated goal for "... citizens to utilize their full potential and access opportunities, which enable them to contribute towards a vibrant and sustainable economy with full employment..." (eThekweni Municipality - Transformation Office, 2001, p. 6)

The principles spoken about at International, National and Local level are quite lofty and clearly promote the participation of the ordinary citizen in the urban infrastructure provision realm. The practicalities and the outworking of these policies and principles are however in this instance that community members are usually permitted to lobby elected representatives and hope that the elected representatives take their input seriously. There is very limited, if any, direct control or meaningful stake in the decision making process. This is highlighted by numerous aspects, one of which is the very recent call by stakeholders in the Provincial built environment fraternity<sup>8</sup> starting the process of lobbying National government for a Citizen Planning Commission.

## **Conclusion and recommendations**

The Warwick Precinct is a particularly interesting market area to study. It's unique history and context in a relatively short period of existence gives us great insights. For the majority of its existence, has been subjected to segregational planning and policy decisions that continues to have a dramatic effect on the marginalised sector of the community it caters for. It is also precinct that is organic in nature and is very much dependent on the transport systems that interface with it. Recent (post 1994) strategies can particularly inform us of different approaches to this particular context. The short period of Area-based management of the precinct gives an example of a strikingly different approaches of local authority management followed and the successes achieved thereby while that approach was in place. In concluding, the discussion can be easily divided into Municipal Management Structure; Community engagement; And Architectural implications, and implications easily drawn from that.

## **Municipal management structure**

The approach to Area based management as a city-wide experiment worked well in the Warwick Precinct. It allowed for different senior department officials to be on site for the duration of the project as they were housed within the

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<sup>8</sup> Recently, The South African Institute for Architects – Kwazulu-Natal region hosted the 'We Design 2016' national conference with the aim of 'Calling for a National Spatial Revolution'. The think-tank working groups following on from this conference will be lobbying National Government for a Citizens Planning Commission to be established and be replicated at municipal levels to allow for citizen involvement in budget planning, as well as spatial design.



precinct. This allowed for decisions to be taken and implemented more easily and for the project team to be fairly consistent. Individuals could build trust with the local community and gain a greater level of understanding for the ever-changing dynamics of the area. The collaborative management and intervention approach, attached with keen and extensive on-site observations was the cornerstone of the successful Urban Renewal Project.

## **Community**

The community engagement (as opposed to merely consulting) is a slow process, but one that is necessary for successful interventions. There is a need to include both formal and informal discussions with a variety of stakeholders, and the need for concerted follow-ups to take place. The culture of consensus and discussion is a slow process followed, but particularly in the cultural context where lengthy discussions and processes are the norm in many community cultures in South Africa, it is successful. The major aspect to remember in the discussions is that the decision makers need to recognise that many 'formal' discussion participants have their own interests to pursue. The formal consultation must be coupled with the informal and keen personal observation to ensure a more accurate understanding of the interventions required and the method of implementing them. Added to this, the community does not react well to changes in a process that is working well in their minds – once an established 'protocol' is in place, trust is easily broken should that protocol be significantly changes or abandoned. The process should also seek partnerships across the spectrum of society.

## **Architectural interventions**

Quite frequently, small and experimental interventions need to be considered first. This will allow for a fairly tight public participation process to be followed and later built and extended upon. The smaller interventions will also give a better understanding to the context of the area, and unexpected consequences (whether positive or negative) can be dealt with in a more inclusive manner without extensive investment having taken place which may turn out to be less successful. Interventions need to be supportive to the current social dynamics of the area, and need to balance individual needs with broader precinct needs and objectives.

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### **Streszczenie**

Ten artykuł powstał w wyniku uczestnictwa w Międzynarodowej Konferencji Urbanistycznej w Gdańsku zatytułowanej *'The Modern agora for building open society'*. Artykuł skupia się wokół procesu partycypacji publicznej dotyczącej formowania i zarządzania głównymi przestrzeniami nieformalnego handlu w centrum Durbanu – Warwick Junction Markets. Artykuł opisuje historię, rozwój i funkcjonowanie wyżej wymienionych przestrzeni. Artykuł także buduje na kilku paralelach pomiędzy kontekstem tejże przestrzeni targowej a ogólnymi obserwacjami dotyczącymi rynków Europy Centralnej. W podsumowaniu zawarto wnioski wyciągnięte z Warwick Junction Markets jako przyczynki do dyskusji dotyczącej aspektów warty wprowadzenia w innych przestrzeniach targowych w kontekście międzynarodowych warsztatów.

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**PUBLIC PLACE MAKING IN AN APARTHEID ERA TOWNSHIP  
IN SOUTH AFRICA: CIVIL SOCIETY ACTION IN THE ABSENCE  
OF THE STATE**

**Keywords:** Civic space, community development, township development, Mpophomeni.

**TWORZENIE PRZESTRZENI PUBLICZNYCH W OBSZARACH MIEJSKICH  
ERY APARTHEIDU W AFRYCE POŁUDNIOWEJ: AKTYWNOŚĆ  
SPOŁECZEŃSTWA OBYWATELSKIEGO WOBEC BIERNOŚCI PAŃSTWA**

**Słowa kluczowe:** przestrzeń obywatelska, rozwój społeczności, rozwój obszarów miejskich, Mpophomeni.

**Introduction**

Contemporary South Africa is notorious for its recent history of enforced segregation along race lines, fulfilling the requirements of a suite of twentieth century legislations which together were referred to as apartheid. These legislations commenced with the Native Land Act of 1913 which restricted the means by which African people were able to own land, and culminated in a number of 'Group Areas' legislations which were promulgated in the 1950s and 1960s. These stipulated separate development, and advocated for the removal of African people and other people of colour from areas subsequently deemed as 'European' or 'White'.

These legislations are fundamental backgrounds in the story of Montrose House, and its recent transformation into the Mpophomeni Eco-Museum as they contextualise the tragedy of parts of its history, and at the same time present a stark contrast of self-serving governmental agendas in the lack of support in the promotion of a history which has had as important a role to play in the unlocking of the apartheid regime as perhaps did the Solidarity Movement in Gdansk in Poland.

This paper discusses a community project that has been in existence in various forms for over a decade. The site is at Mpophomeni, inland of KwaZulu-Natal, a densely populated province situated on the eastern seaboard of Southern Africa, and inhabited largely by people belonging to the Zulu ethnic group. The community project is centred on the establishment of an eco-Museum, and the associated civic space that is developing around it, and which is also constantly evolving.

This paper will begin by discussing the history of Montrose House as a good example of a vernacular nineteenth century farmhouse in the Natal Colonial context, then continue by describing the site as the centre of a new township to house African people in terms of the Group Areas legislations as mentioned above. It will elaborate on the manner in which townships were laid out in order to maximise the access of the authorities and simultaneously limit the means by which a localised civil society, which could present a threat to the authorities, could develop. It will supplement the history of the township by describing the SARMCOL strike in the 1980s as this event has had an indelible effect on the residents of the township. Indeed to some extent it forms the core of the role of the new Eco-Museum in the former farmhouse as a significant means by which reconciliation in the community is being carried out today. It will then describe the project and the manner in which it is gradually being considered as a central part of the community of Mpophomeni, through civil action and not political will. Please note that an extensive historical background is necessary in order to present the full context of the house in history, and offer some understanding as to the manner in which it is, perhaps, embraced by the community of Mpophomeni as an element of their history and social continuity.

Importantly, the paper notes that whilst the development of community space such as this is not necessarily consistently sanctioned by the authorities for a variety of reasons, a quiet stasis has occurred in its establishment in the last few years, indicating community participation and a perceived sense of ownership by the community as a community space. This indicates to some measure that the provision of community space can be sanctioned by the community over time, with the realisation that non-partisan projects are occurring and that public participation may exist in a number of different forms.

## **1. Preliminary synergies**

South Africa and Poland have travelled similar journeys to attain freedom and democracy. The oppressive regime of apartheid in the former, subjugated people based on racial lines, whereas communism ruled removing essentially human traits such as identity and choice. Both populations, emerging out of centuries of domination, followed by oppression, had to 'learn' the *minutiae* of democracy. Certainly, for South Africans, this was made more difficult by the proportions of those with necessarily changed lifestyles from an essentially rural, preindustrial society, to one of urbanised society with imposed values and cultural systems. Further, the forced relocation of people from rural and marginal areas into specially constructed 'townships' is a vital piece of the background to this paper. Both of these changes were made within five years of each other: The success of the Solidarity Strike and the fall of Communism in Poland in 1989, and the transition to a democratically elected government in South Africa in 1994. It was in between these two transitional moments that the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* (UNCEP 1992) was signed, en-

trenching into late 20<sup>th</sup> century governance the fundamental potentials of public participation and capacity development (Principles 9 and 10) in the manner by which citizens have a right to determine their living space and their environment. These principles were actively part of the (Non Governmental Organisation) NGO sector working in South Africa during this period (online 1)

Significantly, this paper was initially presented in the Solidarity Museum in Gdansk, Poland; a space embracing the role of the Trade Unions in bringing change to Poland in the 1980s, which at the time served a stark reminder that all is not well in the land of the Rainbow Nation, and that the new democracies of Poland and South Africa now travel significantly divergent routes. It was also presented in the month following the '#Rhodesmustfall' campaign, aiming at unseating heritage, literally and figuratively, which fundamentally altered the landscape of heritage in South Africa, bringing to the fore its' dislocated and misunderstood context (Whelan 2015).

Whilst the core of this paper discusses public place making in a modernist, apartheid era 'township' fundamentally in a post-apartheid South Africa it focuses on heritage and its visibility or invisibility as the core of the project is a building which embodies white history, both Dutch and English. Like many developing countries a continuous challenge to heritage in South Africa, is infrastructure and development (Whelan 2015). Whilst much of this is 'developer driven' aiming at baseline profit, much pressure also comes from the public sector in the guise of provision of services, housing and employment potential. The days of the NGO working with the operational model of capacity building and public participation as entrenched in the *Rio Declaration* have passed, and, despite the practises being written into the new South African Constitution (1996) as well as governmental legislations, these key components of 'development' appear to have largely been abandoned, become vehicles for financial gain, or politicised.

## **2. Montrose House: the building and its history**

Montrose House is the old farmhouse which formed the centre of a nineteenth century 'Voortrekker'<sup>1</sup> farm named *Rietvallei*, granted to a significant local personality, one Andries Pretorius at the end of the 1830s. It is situated around 15 kilometres outside of Howick in the Natal Midlands, some 100 kilometres from the coast. Common to land grants of the time, it originally consisted of approximately 6000 acres and would have at first been used to run cattle.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Voortrekkers were farmers of Dutch origin who had moved up into the interior of the country after the British took occupation of the Cape Colony in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>2</sup> It is suspected that an outbuilding dates to this period as well as the earliest part of the farmhouse.

In 1855 the property was purchased by Dr. William Addison, a Byrne Settler<sup>3</sup> who came from Addington Park in Kent. He is considered as being responsible for the building of a significant part of the homestead, which is situated in a valley, maximizing the shelter of the hill behind it as well as the access to a small stream running close by. Addison's son, Charles Brabazon resided in the house, and after his death the property was sold to Charles Lund and ES Goodwill in 1911. Lund was a colourful character, serving the community in a generous fashion to the extent that he died during a Natal Provincial Council meeting on which he served. His son Guy Lund took over the property in 1923 after this event, and he and his family lived in the house, farming maize and dairy, for many decades until it's expropriated to form the African township of Mpophomeni in order to fulfil the requirements of the Group Areas Acts which legislated for separate residence and separate development.

Today it forms a rambling collection of buildings, including the ruins of a dairy and a now retrofitted mill building, situated in some remnant garden space on the edge of the densely settled township of Mpophomeni. Associated with it are a number of outbuildings which in the past formed part of a functioning farm. These buildings form the primary layer of built infrastructure which characterizes the core of the project.

Architecturally, Montrose House is a good example of a veranda farm house constructed of random-coursed stone as well as coursed stonework under a multiple-ridged complex corrugated-sheeting roof. It has a veranda to two-and-a-half sides. There are significant amounts of yellowwood, a local hardwood derived from natural forest in the area used for veranda posts, windows and doors, as well as being constructed of dolerite some of which is dressed. Sandstone quoins are found to the corners. The house has been subject to the usual accretions and additions in its history. Brian Kearney considers the house as "a fine example of a midlands farmhouse in the Natal veranda style. The floor plan develops along an extended axis and has veranda to three sides. The spreading corrugated iron roofs are of a complex form and shelter stone walls' (Kearney 1988: 20). These roof ridges have louvered gambrel sections, with Late Victorian affectations such as finials to accentuate these ridges. Furthermore, there is a large Georgian Wired glazed skylight buried deep within the ceiling space on the northern side.

Importantly, the house stood in a farmhouse garden, with banksias rose, palm trees, Norfolk pines and hydrangeas. Remnants of this garden are still extant, although much of it has returned to grassland. It is in very good structural and material condition considering its lack of recent maintenance, and, together with appropriate interpretation, can be used to convey a message as to

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<sup>3</sup> A number of settlement schemes were promoted by land speculators in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. One of these speculators was Joseph Byrne, and people that came out to the Colony from England under his aegis were known as 'Byrne Settlers'.



the endurance of old buildings, in addition to the manner in which they should be looked after.

It is important to note here that this house as a physical, built form is a product of the colonial era, and as such would generally, in a post-apartheid environment, especially in a township, be considered as a legacy of the oppressor (Coombes 2004. Tomaselli, K and Mpofu, A. 1997). However, the expected lack of respect from the settled community is not evident and rather, the manner in which the community have embraced the space tells another story.

The next section will briefly describe the formation of Mpophomeni township within the general context of apartheid era townships, and situate the fate of Montrose House within this era of the history of the site.

### **3. The development of Mpophomeni township**

As noted earlier, Montrose Farm's close proximity to the town of Howick was to be a major factor in ending the active farming by the Lund family. In the early 1960s, the town was compelled by legislation to remove those people of African origin from living within their urban precinct, theoretically reserved for white occupation, and relocate them to an area more distant from Howick as part of the policy of separate development, in order that it could implement the notorious Group Areas legislations. Most of these residents worked for a company known as British Tyre and Rubber (which later became Dunlop). The site was chosen just after World War I, largely because of its proximity to the Howick Falls, a waterfall with a significant cascade on the uMngeni River, and thus useful to drive hydroelectric power. Labour came from surrounding farmlands, and, whilst the original labour force worked for only six months of the year, after a time the economic power of British Tyre and Rubber in the town of Howick was so great that the Town Board allowed for settlement of their labour within the town limits, in a 'black belt' township known as KwaMevana. A number of possible locations for the intended township were considered, randomly choosing Montrose Farm after nearly 32 pages of meeting record.

As a consequence, the property was expropriated by the authorities through the Howick Town Board, and the Lund family required to relocate. Rather than lose his life's work on the farm, Lund shot himself in the house. The site of Montrose House is thus poignant- not only were the black families of the people living in Howick resettled in the new township of Mpophomeni, constructed some years later, deeply affected by the move, but too the white family members that suffered from expropriation in the name of the apartheid policy of separate development.

It was people from KwaMevana who were the intended settlers for the new Mpophomeni township, and this inextricable link between the town of Howick, the Rubber factory and the new settlement of Mpophomeni began to be enduring and, ultimately, tragic.

After Lund's suicide, it took some years for Mpophomeni to be established as an African township. When it was built, it followed the rubric of apartheid township planning, interrupted in places by the undulating grassland on which it was built. Jacob Dlamini, speaking of Katlehong, where he grew up, noted that this was a 'scientific township'. 'It was laid out in a grid, with streets that intersected at 90° angles, followed beat curves and ended in T-junctions. It was divided into 32 rectangular sections, each named after a local luminary (Dlamini 2009:44). He continues by noting that the idea of a 'scientific township' was one coined by urban planners in the late 1940s, as a new government initiative which improved on the slumlike condition urban blacks were living in at the time (Dlamini 2009:46). Typically too, as a late era township, there was little cognizance paid to the creation of urban streetscape or public realm – the streets themselves *were* the public realm. Moreover, the creation of public spaces was not in the ambit of the planners: they were more concerned with accommodating numbers. Facilities were not grouped, which meant that clinics, schools, churches etc were all distant from each other. Lisa Findlay and Liz Ogbu note: *'Nor was there any "public space." While there was a great deal of unoccupied land in most townships, it had no civic, social or cultural role. It truly was a "no-man's land," with no owner, no rules, no maintenance. Footpaths to transit connections often crossed these weed-infested fields, but they were dangerous and strewn with trash. What little civic interaction occurred in the townships during apartheid happened in people's yards, in churches or in the marketplace'* (Findlay & Ogbu 2011)

As was with the recommendations of township planning in South Africa at the time, the houses were all stock examples, on similar sites (Calderwood 1964). Significantly, in Mpophomeni, much effort was placed in the planting of an avenue of plane trees, a landscaping initiative that certainly sets it apart from its contemporaries.

Indeed, the landscape was important: the map in the figure above clearly shows the township as being situated against steep ground, whereas the bulk of the actual intended housing was on a shallow slope. This means that in terms of strategy, given the main road running around it to the north, the policing of the new township was controlled, to some extent by the landscape forms, allowing for one way in and one way out.

When it was, in the early 1970s, Montrose House was used as the 'Township Manager's' residence (hence the note on the above map 'Bantu Affairs'), and as such formed the kernel of a series of ancillary buildings that supported the operations of the township, largely to do with housing the vehicle fleet and machinery such as tractors. Many of these buildings remain, and have been included in the greater scheme of the project. However, tragically perhaps, these buildings suffered from dire abuse and lack of maintenance since the assumption of duty of the new government in 1994: electrical wiring was ripped out, elements of buildings stolen for reuse, scrap metal and firewood,

and some became the hideout for goats and ponies. Some had fires lit in them, perhaps by errant children or squatters. The house itself, at least, retained some of its dignity as it was re-appropriated as the Municipal building for the area of Mpophomeni.

#### **4. The SARMCOL Strike**

At the beginning of the 1980s, trade unions were still peripheral organizations in the political structure of the country. Furthermore, Africans were not allowed to register with these trade unions. In 1973 Africans could register under an umbrella General Factory Workers Benefit Funds, which was a cover for what became the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). After the 1979 Wiehahn Commission, African Trade Unions were legalized as long as they had registered themselves in terms of the Labour Relations Act. MAWU did not do so and was challenged by Sarmcol in this regard. It took them until 1982 to register (Bonnin 1987:185).

Debby Bonnin notes that the agitation at SARMCOL was being reflected in similar community struggles at Mpophomeni. She says that 'It is possible to hypothesise that organization and struggle in either sphere strengthened organization and struggle in the other. It is argued that this action in Mpophomeni was building a sense of community solidarity which the Sarmcol workers could call on to support their struggle against BTR Sarmcol (Bonnin 1987:208).

Essentially, long standing disagreement between management and the Metal and Allied Workers Union resulted in a wildcat strike by the workers at BTR Sarmcol.

The next section will interrogate the possibilities that exist in order to highlight the progress of the Montrose House Eco-Museum as a community based project in what is becoming a civic precinct.

#### **5. The framework of possibilities for the authorities and the public**

As indicated earlier, the South African Constitution, formed by public participation, has as core values issues entrenching public participation in the governance process. Clause 152 records that the '*The objects of local government are to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.*' This indicates the actions of the public as voters, citizens, consumers and end-users, and particularly '*As organised partners involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via for-profit businesses, non-governmental organisations and community-based institutions.*'

Mpophomeni is situated within the Umngeni Municipality, which arches across largely rural lands, and centred on the town of Howick. Its motto is '*People Centred Development – Intuthuko Kubantu*' (Umngeni Municipality 2016). For the Municipality, however, little appears in its 2016 Local Development Plan which indicates any level of commitment to public participation and

community development. This is despite the *The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, 2000* which deals extensively with the requirement of public participation. Chapter 4 of this Act recognises that the Municipality is compelled to:

- *develop a culture of community participation;*
- *put in place mechanisms, processes and procedure for community participation;*
- *communicate information concerning community participation;*
- *allow for public notice of meetings of municipal councils;*
- *allow for admission of public to meetings;*
- *allow for communications to local community;*
- *allow for documents to be made public;*
- *allow for official website;*
- *allow for regulations and guidelines;*

Ironically, the Umngeni Municipality has as its motto ‘*People Centred Development – Intuthuko Kubantu*’ (Umngeni Municipality 2016)

## **6. The Montrose House Eco-Museum project**

The impetus for the repair project dates to 2007 when Mr. Frank Mchunu of the Zulu-Mpophomeni Tourism Experience approached the author for assistance in assessing the condition of Montrose House with a view to its refurbishment as a community-driven eco-museum. The intention at this point was to merely carry out judicious repairs: it is vital to note that at this point we were conceptualizing at a small scale and concentrating specifically on the house itself. Funded by the Municipality, a document itemizing repairs and maintenance to the house was assembled, which was also categorized in terms of priority. The biggest issue besides general lack of maintenance and cosmetic repairs at the time was the prevalence of Cats Claw creeper (*Macfadyena*) an insidious exotic which is so tenacious that it had fresh growth inside the roof space. This had caused damage to floors, plasterwork, stonework and pointing in parts of the house.

The layers of post- 1970 official occupation were also patent: old air-conditioning boxes inside the house with massive chiller units outside, perished piping, electrical accretions creating a nest of which rats would be proud. A massive walk-in safe also graced the front of the house – spaces inarticulately dry-walled, and pin boards situated in every room. Over the years the spirit of ‘house’ had left, and been replaced by the *accoutrement* of ‘office’.

The report prepared for the Municipality was the first step in what has become a long protracted experience, unnecessarily prompted by the same authority. It was carried out through the auspices of Mr. Frank Mchunu, the driver of the Zulu Mpophomeni Tourism Experience (ZMTE) and myself as a volunteer. Funding proposals were put together and priced, and sent off to Lotto, the National Lotteries Fund. Lotto responded some three years later, awarding us

R 500 000.00 (then worth about € 50 000.00). It is important to point out at this juncture that this building is still officially the owner of the site and the buildings, although it has been leased to ZMTE for the purposes of establishing an Eco – Museum for a number of years.

Initially, this limited funding restricted the scope of works; the roof structure had to be rebuilt, and the corrugated sheeting replaced. This was not part of the original assessment, in which the roof had been checked, but found to be largely sound with little evidence of termites or borer. However, the Municipality as the owner compelled the project to employ a structural engineer, who recommended rather that the roof was under structured, and that it needed more substantial truss systems.

Whilst in a perfect world this issue could have been addressed more sensitively and more practically, decisions regarding the longevity of the roof had to be made, and its possible impact on future generations. Importantly, given the history of lack of maintenance, together with the robust environment, decisions had to be taken that benefited the building and its safety in these conditions. In addition, a lack of working capital meant that choices of economic rather than principle value had to be made, maximising the stabilisation and security of the house. This meant that trusses and purlins were replaced with more substantial members, as well as the employment of 'Gangnail' trusses, a decision with which the purist conservation community is not content. Again, the purist conservation community would insist on keeping the iron that was on the roof, which had been patched over the years. They would also advocate using new galvanized iron as an option, which had to be cleaned to strip the oil and carefully prepared. Both of these options were not possible due to context: the possibility of reusing the original patched iron was there, but the realities of the building not being maintained for the next twenty years also had to be factored in to the equation. Replacing with like was also problematic: the cost was much more prohibitive, in addition to which the process was long winded and exposed desirable materials unduly to those unsavoury elements of the township. Indeed, a large portion of the old iron removed from the roof was stolen from the veranda from under the nose of the security guard one weekend. Thankfully, the sheeting for the roof, Zincalume was donated by Safal / Safintra which extended the possibilities of repair to the timberwork of windows, veranda posts and doors. This sheeting, although not the iron of the purist's toolkit, was in a very similar S-profile and thus visually 'read' the same on the roof.

## **7. The site as public precinct**

This tranche of funding was rapidly used up, much of it on repairs to doors and windows and the like. In the interim, the overall conceptualization of the single problem of the single house began to change, and the possibilities of the whole site became an opportunity. We began to conceive of the entire site, with all of its unrelated and dilapidated buildings as a whole, which led to exciting concep-

tions of the possibility of providing a real civic space for the people at Mpophomeni. Currently the apartheid planning together with incremental development split civic facilities, meaning that the theatre was distant from the clinic was distant from the taxis. This involved viewing the Eco –Museum as the central locus for a variety of other civic minded organizations, including properly accommodating a feeding scheme that feeds over a hundred small children a week, a space for artists in residence in a town in which there is an overwhelming enthusiasm for artistic expression, a possible coffee shop for local people and visitors to spend time in, a place at which local people can pay their water and their lights on a voucher system, but more importantly create a fenced garden precinct in which local people can come and barbeque on weekends, set up marquees for weddings and functions, and hopefully create a garden in which people will happily have wedding photographs taken.

Whilst much of this continues to remain a distant memory, some of these dreams were achieved with the injection of nearly R 2 000 000.00 (about € 200 000.00) in 2012 by the Department of Arts and Culture through the Provincial Museum Services Division. This was intended to complete the works to Montrose House, fund the construction of a perimeter steel palisade fence, and repair some of the outbuildings for reuse. The project felt that it was important to employ a principle agent to run the project, and for this we employed Mike Arnott, a retired quantity surveyor. This has possibly been the best decision the project made, as Mike Arnott's scrupulous attention to detail on a continuous basis has been a saving grace.

The first challenge was the provision of a fence. We innocently went to tender, happy to prioritise local, black entrepreneurs in the allocation of work, but at the same time fully cognizant of the need to remain professional and impartial. In the end, we did employ a local fencing contractor, who happened to win the tender on price, which, it was discovered, was wrong as he was largely innumerate. We could not reject his price for fear of bullying and sabotage of the project, and thus emerged Mike Arnott's truly greatest challenge: the project management of the fence. This was then challenged as the fencing contractor had no credit record, and the suppliers would not issue him material. After contingency plans were made, the fence was finally completed. The fencing contractor, however, did not understand the terms of the contract and was recalcitrant in completing the snag list for completion. On one occasion he parked his car in the precinct and removed the battery as protest in order to pay retention funds. Ironically, on the last leg of his finalizing the completion list, he left his car without the handbrake on. It rolled, slowly and gaily, into the newly completed fence.

As the fence was being completed, we went to tender on the repairs to ancillary buildings on site. The old house, being over 60 years of age, was required by law to be worked on by a heritage builder, and to this end, Andy Dawson

who had been working on the building from the beginning, had his contract extended.

The successful tenderer for the other buildings began well, but it emerged that the robust site environment in Mpophomeni compromised his attendance on site, as well as his ability to keep competent foremen. It was at about this time, that the major participation of the Municipality was required: bottles that were dumped for recycling needed to be removed, itinerant contractor dumping on site had to be remedied, consultation had to be entered into with regard to sewage disposal, treatment of runoff, some engineering concerns, the disposal of asbestos, and, most importantly, the replacement of the bulk electricity to supply to the site.

To this day, none of these queries have been adequately addressed, and scant assistance has been forthcoming from the Municipality with respect to their buildings on their property.

Despite this lack of municipal buy-in, the project continued with a number of unexpected hitches: perhaps the most alarming was the disappearance of the main contractor and the Municipalities insistence on the provision of a toilet for their pay - office staff, paid for, of course, by money that the project had to raise. This impasse delayed the project for another ten months, in which time we manage to raise another R 400 000.00 from KwaZulu – Natal Provincial Museum Services in order to construct the toilet to the afterthought whims of the Municipality.

This toilet is nearly finished. However, there is still no news from the Municipality as to when we can move their staff into the new building in order that we can complete works on the old house, and begin to set up the museum.

Currently, we have funding to complete the museum building, to carry out some basic landscaping, and to repair two of the oldest buildings on site. One such example is what the author suspects is the oldest building on site, colloquially named the 'Hideout'. This is of vernacular random rubble construction, with coursed river stone at the base in places. The walls internally are of mixed construction, some green brick, some fired brick and stone, and has, since its construction around 1845, had many different layers added. The floor was most likely stabilized with layers of cow dung and ant heap as in typical Zulu construction – currently it is covered with goat droppings and the haven of a prolific colony of weeds. The roof would have originally been thatch, and as with most settler buildings, would have been roofed with iron as it became more affordable and more easily available. This roof was on a structure constructed out of substantial Yellowwood trusses, with transverse members and purlins consisting, of what appears to be wattle (*Acacia mearnsii*). Wattle arrived in South Africa from Australia as early as 1838 with John Vanderplank (Bulpin ca 1959: 171). There were originally timber shutters on the single window opening, and much of the distemper covered plaster internally was mud

or slightly stabilised with lime. As in Figure 7, the last number of years have seen the corrugated sheet metal roof disappearing, the tie beams from the Yelowood trusses being cut out, and further degradation of the roof structure due to fire.

The approach is to repair this building using as much of the extant material as possible in order to showcase the vernacular buildings of the early Dutch settlers, particularly aimed at the residents of Mpophomeni, many of whom perceive white settler culture within a specific and contemporary paradigm. As a space, it can interpret pre – industrial materials and their application, as well as beginning to debunk the myth that fired brick and concrete block are the only materials of any worth.

The intention is to thus repair like with like, using earthen plasters stabilised with a weak lime mixture for the internal walls, and to point the outside where necessary with same. Over the years, some of the building has been repaired with cement, and whilst it is ideally considered to remove this and replace with lime, in a climate with relatively high rainfall and driving rain, it is best to leave the material in place. Windows will be replaced with handmade timber shutters, the door will be replaced with like. It is intended that the floor be reconstructed with cow dung and crushed antheap, requiring it to be '*sinda*'ed or polished by a member of the community every couple of weeks.

A point of contention is the treatment of the roof covering. As noted, it would have originally been thatch, and whilst community members are fully in favour of its reinstatement, corrugated sheeting is more practical – it is less maintenance as well as safer in an area in which grass fires are common in winter. At the same time, constructing with thatch engages the community at a greater level, as this provides for ongoing maintenance in a culture in which women are traditionally thatchers. This decision, however, requires a carefully planned maintenance programme, and the funding to go with it.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this particular building is its aspect across the *vlei* or wetland, to a reasonably pristine hill, giving it a visual landscape that would have been part of the context of the original building.

Sadly for Montrose House, facing in a different direction, the original landscape across the *vlei* has, in recent years, been interrupted by the construction of houses. Whilst in the township itself the rules and regulations of urban areas regarding home construction within the boundaries of legislation, across the fence - line towards the *vlei* is land that belongs to the Zulu king, or *iNgonyama*. This land is administered by *amaKhosi* or chiefs, who often allocate land without due consideration as the immediate fiscal rewards are the primary objective. Draconian legislation pertaining to the protection of the wetland notwithstanding, houses have mushroomed in the last couple of years, being the beginning of a protracted court case for their removal and relocation. This is an issue in preserving an idea of the original landscape context in presenting the house



as an example of a late Victorian farmhouse within the grasslands of the Kwa-Zulu – Natal Midlands.

## **Conclusions**

The Montrose House project in Mpophomeni is an important community – driven heritage project that does not rely on political rhetoric for its justification. This may explain why it is sidelined by the authorities on a continual basis, but at the same time this is not plausible as it contributes directly to service delivery and the improvement of the environment and amenity of township dwellers.

It is important to note that work on this project is community – driven, from the community up rather than a ‘top down’ imperative. This also depends on the coherence and like –mindedness of the community involved, and internecine squabbles can do much to scupper such projects. Luckily, the Montrose House Eco – museum project has not suffered such challenges on any scale as yet.

It is also iterative, growing with each separate tranche of funding, and as the realities and possibilities of the project become bigger, the scope of works becomes greater. This also means that work happens slowly, and the project grows systematically mutating as part of the community, rather than an immediate alien deliverable that has landed as a result of single - minded political whim rather than a coherent and gradual assessment of the changing needs of the community.

Whilst the academic conservation aspects of this project are perhaps the least important components of the project as a whole, it is important to ground the work in a conservation framework, but at the same time be fully cognizant of the challenges of the realities of the site, in order to best protect the old buildings, and prepare them for active and meaningful reuse in a very altered environment from their origins. The challenges of working within such contexts means that decisions have to be made to constantly mitigate against theft, vandalism, lack of maintenance budgets both now and in the future, and the ongoing operation of the precinct.

In order to do this, the philosophical stance has to be iterated: the means by which Montrose House was assessed, and the recommendations submitted were intended to provide guidelines for its repair, and appropriate reuse as a museum building. The intention was not to restore the house to a non-sustainable ‘former glory’, but rather to work with it appropriately in a sustainable and manageable manner, which the new end-users appreciate as well as the owners of the building, The uMngeni Municipality. This meant that the work undertaken was largely ‘repair’ than ‘replace’.

More important are the recommendations regarding the long term tenure and use of the building as it is these that minimize the maintenance and protect

it for longer. This also involves retraining of staff, and appropriate monitoring of items such as air-conditioners and heaters.

Land tenure systems also proved to be a challenge, as these variant perceptions mean that landscapes cannot be protected or conserved through the application of similar infrastructure legislations, but have to actively be negotiated between them.

At the same time, it is also vital to note that this approach provides an opportunity to showcase the repair and transformation of buildings to communities which exist with little cogent consideration of the past and its material products and processes, but also provide options: that old buildings may look old and may be in a state of disrepair, but this does not necessarily mean that this is the end of their lives. Thus, in a western world which is actively promoting recycling positioned against an Africa that has totally adopted consumerism and discard, this building can act as a point of reference for alternative ideas and approaches.

Indeed, this, the first Agora Workshop, intended to present different ideas of addressing public space and public participation, in order to contextualise challenges and broaden the scope for planning and built environment professionals to address similar issues. It is hoped that synergies existing in the post-Communist countries may raise means by which we in South Africa can begin to address similar background problems using different applied strategies that we have learned in the realms of public place and public place making.

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## **Streszczenie**

Niniejszy artykuł opisuje obywatelski projekt, który jest obecny w różnych formach już od ponad dekady. Zlokalizowany jest w Mpophomeni, w głębi gęsto zaludnionej prowincji KwaZulu-Natal, położonej na wschodnim wybrzeżu Afryki Południowej. Jej mieszkańcy to głównie społeczności należące do grupy etnicznej Zulusów. Projekt skupia się głównie na stworzeniu Eko-Muzeum i towarzyszącej mu przestrzeni obywatelskiej, która formuje się wokół niego, nieustannie się rozwijając.

Artykuł rozpoczyna rys historyczny Domu Montrose jako dobrego przykładu wernakularnej architektury dziewiętnastowiecznego gospodarstwa rolnego w stylu kolonialnym prowincji Natal, po czym następuje opis lokalizacji jako centrum nowego obszaru miejskiego dla mieszkańców Afryki w kontekście przepisów Stref Grupowych.

W rysie historycznym artykuł odnosi się także do strajku SARMCOL w latach 80. XX wieku jako wydarzenia mającego duży wpływ na mieszkańców obszaru miejskiego.

W pewnym sensie nowe Eko-Muzeum w dawnym gospodarstwie rolnym faktycznie staje się ważnym elementem, poprzez który następuje dzisiaj stopniowe dążenie do pojednania społeczności.

Projekt ten jest uważany za centralną część społeczności Mpophomeni, która stała się taką za sprawą działań obywatelskich, a nie odgórznej woli politycznej.

Artykuł uwypukla również fakt, że mimo, iż przestrzenie takie jak ta, z różnych względów niekoniecznie są w obszarze zainteresowań władz, to jednak w ciągu ostatnich kilku lat po cichu usankcjonowała się sytuacja wskazująca na partycypację społeczną oraz specyficzny rodzaj społecznej współwłasności tej przestrzeni.

Powyższe wskazuje do pewnego stopnia, że własność przestrzeni społecznej może być usankcjonowana przez społeczność wraz z upływem czasu, poprzez świadomość, że takie projekty powstają i że partycypacja publiczna może istnieć w rozmaitych formach.

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**Arzu Erturan**

**STREETS AS PUBLIC SPACES: THE CASE  
OF YELDEGIRMENI NEIGHBORHOOD AND EVENT ORGANIZED  
BY “STREET BELONGS TO US” ORGANIZATION**

**Keywords:** public space, evolution of public space, street events, Yeldegirmeni neighbourhood.

**ULICE JAKO PRZESTRZENIE PUBLICZNE: PRZYKŁAD OBSZARU  
YELDEGIRMENI ORAZ WYDARZENIA ZORGANIZOWANEGO  
PRZEZ ORGANIZACJĘ „ULICA NALEŻY DO NAS”**

**Słowa kluczowe:** przestrzeń publiczna, ewolucja przestrzeni publicznej, wydarzenia uliczne, obszar Yeldegirmeni.

**Introduction**

This paper aims to discuss the evolution of public spaces and their effect, by focusing on the streets in Yeldegirmeni Neighbourhood, Kadikoy District in Istanbul. In order to do this, the paper explains the process of improvement in public spaces in the context of the Yeldegirmeni Urban Renewal Project. In this process, not only the physical, but also the social dimension is crucial. The paper makes a comparison of public spaces between 2011 and 2014, and using the example of the ‘Street Belongs to Us’ organisation’s event, argues the importance of the social effects on the improvement of streets as public spaces.

**1. Urban Public Spaces**

Publicness is a concept, which refers to the whole that is related and open to everybody. This leads us to say that public spaces are places for all and open to the general public and their activities. The main qualities of public spaces are publicness, openness and accessibility for all, which allows connection, interaction, togetherness and sharing amongst human beings. Public life is shaped by public space in which cultural, political and social interaction occurs, and where people with different perspectives come together and communicate. We all get involved in public life with our first steps out of our homes onto the streets. As it is open to everyone, public space provides a platform for socializing and constructing our social and daily lives.

Public sphere is also an area in which individuals come together, share ideas and have free discussions. This concept is related with other concepts such as state, power, culture, civil society and media. Habermas defines the public sphere as a “society engaged in critical public debate” (Özbek, M., 2004).

Public sphere and public space have interactive relations, which shape each other. Public space is shaped on this basis and provides a physical space for this social concept.

Public spaces are vitally important for people, in providing a quality of life. In Turkey, the inadequacy in numbers of public spaces is a serious problem that needs to be solved. In Istanbul, current urban planning policies, profit-oriented urban projects, ignorance of public participation and public welfare has negative effects on public spaces. In addition to this, government's attitude is beyond protecting and developing public spaces. Local government of Istanbul creates projects like turning Gezi Park into a shopping mall, Validebag Grove into parking area, constructing building in Kuzguncuk community garden. On the other hand, iconic historical public spaces of the city like the Emek Movie Theatre is demolished, Ataturk Cultural Center is vacant and not functioning. In Istanbul where even sidewalks are occupied by automobiles, public spaces are dwindling and no longer people-centered. At this point, it is very important to reclaim public spaces and create new ones.

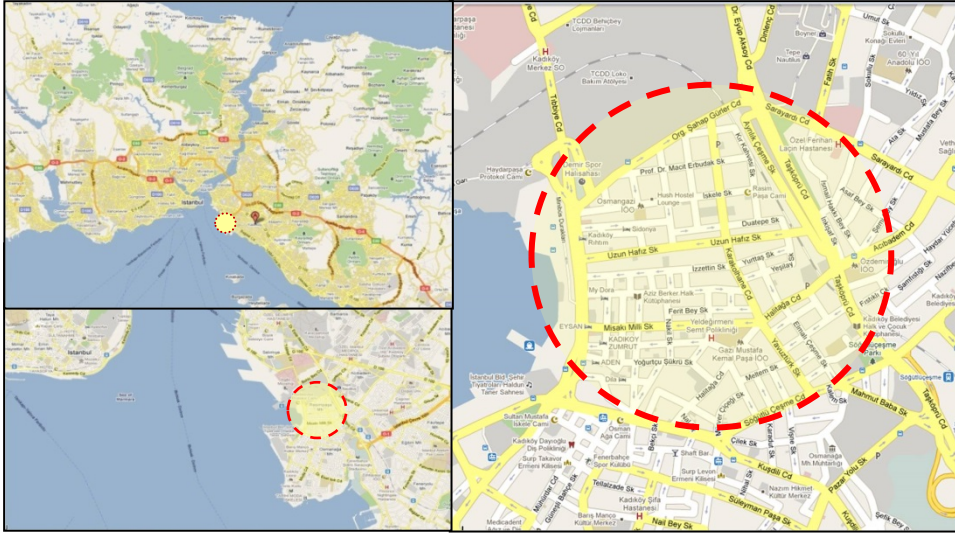
Considering the need to create public spaces and that the means by which this is achieved in Istanbul, it makes sense to consider successful changes in urban public spaces. Thus, the Yeldegirmeni Urban Renewal Project is worth examining to show the changes that occur in a neighborhood developed with the purpose of creating public spaces.

## **2. Yeldegirmeni Neighbourhood and Its Streets as Public Spaces**

### **2.1. Yeldegirmeni Neighbourhood**

Yeldegirmeni Neighbourhood, also known as Rasimpasa Neighborhood, is a settlement in the Kadikoy district of Istanbul. It is located in the centre of the district near by the sea. The neighbourhood is surrounded by important transportation centres such as the Haydarpasa Train Station, ferry ports, in addition to bus transfer stations, and the Marmaray and Kartal subways. These connections show that the neighbourhood is accessible via public transportation modes within walking distance.

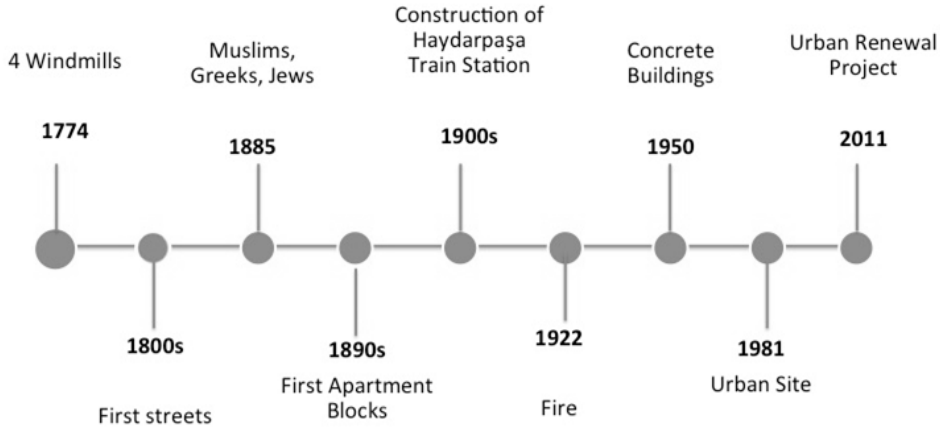
**Figure 1. Location of Kadıköy Yeldeğirmeni Neighbourhood**



Source: Erturan, A., 2011

Yeldeğirmeni is an old neighbourhood of Kadıköy, with a history dating back more than two hundred years. As mentioned in *“Yeldeğirmeni Experience: a New Approach to Urban Renewal”* it was named after four windmills that were built in the area at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Çekül Foundation, 2014.) Yeldeğirmeni neighbourhood’s streets were planned in a grid system, which was one of the first examples of such rational planning in Istanbul. The resident profile of the neighbourhood was multi-cultural, including Turks and Greeks and multiple religions including Muslims, Jews and Christians. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the neighbourhood was also known for its apartment buildings as one of the first examples in Istanbul.

**Figure 2. Timeline of Kadıköy Yeldeğirmeni Neighborhood**



Source: This image has been produced by the author based on the book '*Yeldeğirmeni Experience: a New Approach to Urban Renewal*'

The first signs of changes with respect to the built fabric were seen in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the construction of the Haydarpaşa Train Station. Engineers of the train station started to build apartments for the workers of train station construction in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. With the effect of the newly built apartments and the following fire of 1922, the structures started to change from wooden houses to concrete buildings after 1950s. It is also the time when profile of the population also started to change and Greeks, Jews had moved from this neighbourhood. Although the neighbourhood was registered in 1981 as an Urban Site for conservation, the effect was just the opposite. Ongoing neglect, exacerbated by immigrants from Anatolia moving into the city, led to a gradual collapse of the neighbourhood.

Today Yeldeğirmeni has a population of 16,000, and is constantly under pressure of large scale urban projects such as the Marmaray and Kartal subways and the Haydarpaşa Train Station Renewal Project. However, at the same time these projects again brought attention to the neighbourhood and formed a basis for an urban redevelopment/regeneration project. At this point, Çekül Foundation, a non-governmental organization for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage, had started the "Yeldeğirmeni Urban Renewal Project" with a new approach. This neighbourhood-oriented urban renewal project had a holistic, sustainable, self-managed renewal vision. It aimed to revitalise the urban fabric with its own social and physical dynamics. The main objective was to create public spaces and to activate civil initiatives.



## 2.2. Public Spaces in Yeldegirmeni Neighbourhood in 2011

**Figure 3. Existing Public Spaces in Yeldegirmeni Neighbourhood in 2011**



Source: Erturan, A., 2011

The image above illustrates existing public spaces in the neighbourhood in 2011. As can be seen, Yeldegirmeni had insufficient green spaces, play grounds for children, parking areas, culture centres and pedestrian friendly streets, which shows that the major problem in the neighbourhood was the lack of public spaces. Although they were narrow, hilly, occupied by cars and incapable of providing safe pedestrian traffic, streets were the only public spaces of the neighborhood beside the community centre. Within this, there were two intersections which functioned like a small square and focus points for the residents, which had potential as a possible public space. However, despite the lack of public spaces, it was possible to observe public behaviour such as neighbours chatting on the sidewalks, children playing in the streets and pedestrians walking on the streets and sidewalks. In addition, residents were aware of these problems and demanded additional public spaces, social centres, cultural events, sport areas, safe sidewalks and bicycle ways.

### **2.3. The 'Street Belongs to Us Once in a Month'**

As a basic urban unit, streets are our first steps from our houses to the public life. They connect other public spaces to each other and provide a platform for social interaction. Streets are places in which we defend our rights and the key origin for bottom-up actions. Based on these ideas, "Street Belongs to Us Organisation" was founded in 2010 as a non-profit organization, which focused on human-centered cities and streets for a livable future in Turkey. This organisation involves in different projects, campaigns, interviews, events and workshops to make citizens aware of the transportation problems and alternatives, different usages of public spaces in terms of people-centered and livable cities. The 'Street Belongs to Us' Organisation is working in collaboration with other organisations such as municipalities, local residents, NGOs, sponsors, and local initiatives to achieve efficient participatory urban processes.

The first project of the NGO was an event series named "Street Belongs to Us Once in a Month" (hereafter shortened to "The Street Belongs to Us"). These events had started as the pilot projects of the 7<sup>th</sup> Carfree Conference in 2007. Events were organized to show people how to reclaim streets as public spaces for a livable neighbourhood and city. The main purpose was to reclaim streets as places and to show the alternative usages of the street in order to revitalize street culture by closing the street to vehicular traffic for one day. In this context, the main aims of the project was to achieve livable streets for livable cities, and encourage the participation of the local people in the solution process, emphasizing accessibility for all, discovering and experiencing alternative modes of public space, creating people-centred public spaces, and spaces specifically for people and not only for cars.

The 'Street Belong to Us Once' activities set out principles of good practice for a social action based event in public spaces with the participation of citizens. These events raised the awareness of street culture, public space and livable streets. They were organised in 12 different streets in Istanbul in collaboration with different municipalities and NGOs. As a physical outcome, three of these streets were permanently changed into pedestrian-friendly streets by the municipalities. In April 2012, one these events was held in Yeldeğirmeni Neighbourhood in collaboration with Kadıköy Municipality, Yeldeğirmeni Community Centre, local NGOs and sponsors. This event contributed to the process of public spaces improvement by demonstrating the idea for one day and integrating people. By making people aware of alternative solutions, the events let them demand their rights to public spaces. The images below illustrate the difference before and after the event.

**Figure 4. Difference before and after the Street Belongs to Us Event in Yeldeğirmeni**



Source: [www.sokakbizim.org](http://www.sokakbizim.org)

#### **2.4. Public Spaces in the Yeldeğirmeni neighbourhood in 2014**

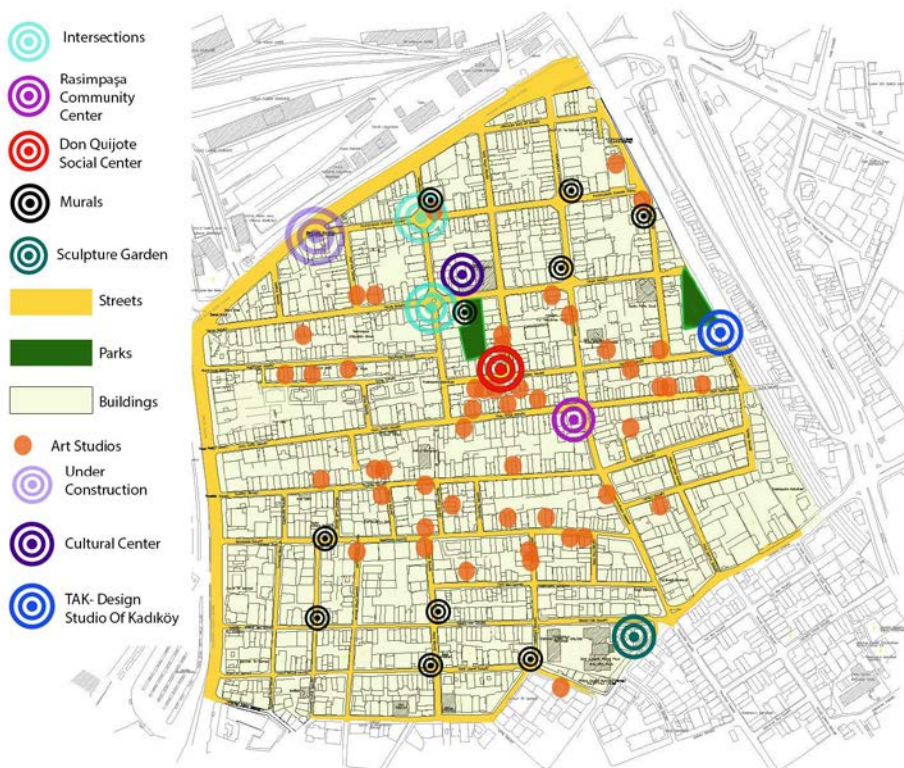
In 2014, it was possible to observe changes in the neighbourhood as a result of the Yeldeğirmeni Urban Renewal Project run by the Çekül Foundation and the Kadıköy Municipality. The project outputs were social revitalisation, creation of public spaces and vital corridors, and renovated buildings for public amenities. Another significant factor of the change was Gezi Park Protests and its aftereffects. Gezi Park protests; started with a demonstration against demolition of trees in the Gezi Park and turned into a social movement all around Turkey in 2013. Following this process, creating new ways of resisting such as forums and collectives started to occur in neighbourhood scale all around Istanbul. In parallel with these developments, a new social initiative emerged in the Yeldeğirmeni neighbourhood, called as 'Yeldeğirmeni Solidarity'. In addition to this, "Don Quijot Social Centre" was established in this neighbourhood as the first 'squatted building' of Turkey. These improvements contributed to the social revitalization of the neighbourhood.

Beside the social revitalization improvements, physical improvements have materialized by the Municipality of Kadıköy and Çekül Foundation. In order to create vital corridors and public spaces, streets were redesigned in a pedestrian-friendly manner, infrastructure was renovated, façades were improved, and historical buildings such as churches and mansions were restored, and reused as culture centres. In addition, small squares and public spaces such as a sculpture garden were created. The first park in the neighbourhood was created with the participation of the residents and neighbourhood organisations. TAK Design Studio of Kadıköy was established in collaboration with the municipality to provide a platform for designers, students, NGOs and local people who had a vision for Kadıköy. On the other hand, one of the most important and visible changes was the murals painted by different national and international artists, creating art-oriented benchmarks as the identity of the neighbourhood.

These improvements made the neighbourhood more attractive; this could well have been the impetus which led the neighbourhood through a gentrification process which is evident in a rise in real estate prices and an increase in the number of art galleries and studios. In addition, the popularity is seen in the existence of paid walking tours, which reveals the change in the neighbourhood is appreciated and has created a tourist market.

In December 2014, interviews with residents of Yeldeğirmeni showed that they were aware of the improvements in the public spaces and were content with pedestrian-friendly and clean streets, new cultural centres and the first park. Although they were happy with these improvements, they mentioned that once the neighbourhood became more attractive, it caused a rise in the value of property and started a change in the profile of residents. Further, disconnection between neighbourhood and the squatted building was mentioned as another problem.

**Figure 5. Existing public spaces in Yeldeğirmeni in 2016**



Source: This image has been produced by the author in the context of this study.

## Conclusions

Considering the change between the years 2011 and 2016, the Yeldegirmeni neighbourhood in Istanbul now has more public spaces and civic organizations have emerged as strong actors. Residents of the neighbourhood mentioned in 2011 that they do not have any public spaces beside streets. Compared to 2011, new public spaces were developed and the neighbourhood became a more organised settlement as it was aimed in the Yeldegirmeni Urban Renewal Project. This statistic is compared with today, in which they talk with satisfaction about the increase of urban public space. Nowadays, the neighborhood has green areas, cultural centres and small open public spaces. Streets have been improved both physically and socially and became more safe, comfortable and vivid. Revitalizing streets as public spaces and supporting this process with social events had positive effect on the development of the public spaces. However, this public space development in the neighbourhood at the same time, appears to have driven gentrification, raising its profile and attracting new art studios and cafés. Most importantly the rise in the real estate values reinforces the view that the neighbourhood is facing the threat of gentrification. Unless the local government regulates the real estate market, it is expected to see changes in profile of the neighborhood due to the increases in value of property. This can lead to a change where the neighbourhood culture of Yeldegirmeni is negatively affected and residents are displaced. In order to avoid these negative affects, neighbourhood organisations should work hand by hand and sustain this social capacity for the future. This social capacity of the neighbourhood is the key to take the success of improved public spaces and neighborhood culture to the future.

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### **Streszczenie**

Artykuł podejmuje dyskusję na temat ewolucji przestrzeni publicznych i ich działania, poprzez skupienie się na przestrzeni ulic w obszarze Yeldegirmeni w dzielnicy Kadikoy w Stambule. W tym celu w artykule opisano proces poprawy przestrzeni publicznych w kontekście Projektu Odnowy Urbanistycznej Yeldegirmeni, w którym ważny jest nie tylko wymiar fizyczny, ale również społeczny odnowy. W artykule porównano przestrzenie w roku 2011 oraz 2014 i na przykładzie wydarzenia zorganizowanego przez „Ulica należy do nas” zwrócono uwagę na wagę wpływu działań społecznych na podniesienie jakości ulic jako przestrzeni publicznych.

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## **PART III**

### **CZĘŚĆ III**

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#### **WORKSHOP – NEIGHBORHOOD’S MARKET PLACE**

#### **WARSZTAT – RYNEK SĄSIEDZKI**

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**Krista Evans**

#### **THE EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC MARKETS IN THE UNITED STATES**

**Keywords:** American marketplace, public marketplace, public space, farmer’s market.

#### **EWOLUCJA PUBLICZNEGO TARGOWISKA W STANACH ZJEDNOCZONYCH**

**Słowa kluczowe:** amerykański rynek, rynek, przestrzeń publiczna, targ rolniczy.

#### **Introduction**

During Spring 2015, Gdansk University of Technology, located in Gdansk, Poland, hosted an international planning studio that focused on the role and importance of the urban marketplace. Student participants broke into several groups and worked on projects that aimed to reintegrate various aspects of the public marketplace in Orunia, a district in the larger city of Gdansk. Many of the students hailed from European countries and brought a perspective of the public marketplace that was deeply rooted in centuries of tradition and functionality. In the United States, however, the role of the public marketplace has not been as long-standing, prominent, or steeped in citizen-engagement as has its European counterparts. Therefore, the American perspective on the public marketplace is somewhat different. This paper provides an overview of how the role of the public marketplace has changed over time in the United States.

#### **1. Historical overview**

During the settlement, colonization, and early history of the United States, public marketplaces were similar in form and function to the European marketplaces they were modeled after (Pyle 1971). The marketplace served an important role as a center of trade and commerce. Equally important, however,

is that these markets provided a venue for social interaction and civic engagement. Men, women, and children, from mixed socioeconomic backgrounds, gathered at the public marketplace in order share and discuss local happenings, current events, and politics. Thus, the early American marketplace served as an important arena for economic, social, and cultural interaction.

The fabric of the American public marketplace began to quickly unravel with the concurrent proliferation of mass industrialization practices and the advent of the automobile. After WWII, America experienced an unprecedented economic boom, and unlike Europe, had plenty of space to expand. The result of this newly acquired wealth was an enormous expansion of road and highway systems, coupled with the development of vast suburban communities offering spacious residential and commercial opportunities. From 1947 to 1953, the suburban population grew by an astounding 43% in the United States (Cohen 1996). As Americans flocked to the suburbs in droves, the central marketplaces that were a hallmark feature of compact, walkable, and livable urban communities were largely abandoned.

## **2. Shopping malls and regress of the idea of traditional marketplace**

Paired with suburbanization, zoning also played a significant role in the diminishment of public marketplaces in the United States. A German innovation, the original intent of zoning was to separate residential areas from centers of noxious and unpleasant economic production (Talen 2012). However, in the United States, zoning patterns developed differently than in Europe. As a result of both the vast expanses of open and undeveloped land, the grid system, and the American emphasis on property values, communities were zoned into large swaths of single-use-only developments. Lost were compact and functional communities where the corner store, neighborhood pub, and market square were all within a short walk from residential areas. The resulting urban form instead consisted of sprawled and segregated communities that were heavily automobile dependent (Talen 2012; Ross 2014).

The confluence of single-use zoning practices, economic prosperity, and the growing popularity of the automobile resulted in mass consumption practices that were previously unheard of (Cohen 2004). People no longer walked to the public marketplace on a regular basis to purchase the items they would need for supper and meet with neighbors. Instead, they could drive their automobile to the shopping mall or superstore and fill it with inexpensive mass-produced items and food products, which were later brought home and stored in spacious closets and refrigerators. Even drive-in restaurants became popular, where people could be served and eat from inside their vehicles. By all appearances, it seemed that the golden age of materialism had arrived and that the public marketplace was outdated and no longer desirable. However, there were several downfalls to modern mass consumption practices.



First, there was an exclusionary aspect to the new suburban environment (Boudreaux 2011; Ross 2014). Suburban developments were built to accommodate an affluent and white middle class (Cohen 2004). In some residential developments, restrictive covenants were put in place that outright banned specific racial and ethnic groups, such as African Americans and Jews (Ross 2014; Silver 2015). Other methods of exclusion were less obvious. Access to the suburban landscape, including the mall and superstore, was highly automobile dependent. Therefore, those who lacked access to a vehicle, such as the poor and elderly, were not privy to the new suburban marketplace. The suburban mall was far less equitable than the traditional public marketplace.

Furthermore, the mall and superstore were lacking in fulfilling important social and civic functions (Banerjee 2001; Cohen 2004). Private developers built these spaces for the sole purpose of facilitating capitalist ventures. The suburban mall contains no public space for autonomous gathering, demonstration, or debate. Suburban residents also recognized that their new built environment was lacking an integral social component. Research on suburban housewives of that era, for instance, revealed that many women felt socially isolated in the new suburban environment (Cohen 2004). Housewives felt disconnected from social networks as they spent increasing amounts of time in the car performing everyday tasks such as getting groceries, bringing children to school, and running errands. No sooner had the prosperous suburban landscape been created that people began to recognize a discontent that was a direct result of their new segregated, disjointed, and often lonely, environment.

As the decades passed, policies that encouraged suburban sprawl and mass consumption practices continued to gain traction in the United States, making it increasingly difficult to accommodate public market holdouts, such as Pike Place Market in Seattle, Washington. Food safety regulations swept the country that facilitated and benefited large corporate methods of production, and discouraged the efforts of small farmers and vendors (McMichael 2000). In many instances, it became outright illegal to sell foodstuffs that weren't produced in a large-scale industrial environment. In the name of food safety, market vendors were shut down for selling such items as eggs and baked goods.

Furthermore, in pursuit of economic prosperity, many municipalities encouraged commerce in new shopping centers, rather than in the public marketplace. In order to encourage further commercial activity in the suburbs rather than in disinvested urban cores, municipalities increasingly required cost-prohibitive vendor permits and passed local ordinances that banned commercial activity in public spaces. As a result of the encouragement of economic activity in malls and shopping centers, these places did take on some of the social functions previously accommodated by the public marketplace. For instance, suburban malls in the 1980s and 90s were frequented by teenagers seeking a place for social interaction. They were also utilized by retirees as indoor walking/exercise spaces. However, by and large, the mall and super-

store did not offer the same level of citizen and social engagement as did the historic town marketplace. As a result of policies that encouraged commercial interests in privatized suburban developments, downtowns and public marketplaces were left dilapidated and abandoned throughout the country.

**Figure 1. Pike Place Market, in Seattle, Washington, is one of the oldest continually operating public markets in the United States**



Source: Krista Evans

### **3. The return of the marketplace**

However, shortly after the turn of the last century, several factors have led to a renewed interest and resurgence in the public marketplace, often termed farmers' markets, throughout the United States (Brown 2001; Brown 2002; Payne 2002). First, the turn of the century brought with it increased concerns about the natural environment and public health. People began to acknowledge that environmental impacts could be lessened by supporting organic and local foods (Alkon 2008). They also recognized that eating more farm-fresh and fewer processed foods contributed to improved health outcomes. As a result, Americans became increasingly interested in purchasing healthy and locally grown food from farmers' markets. In 1994 there were only 1,755 farmers' markets in the United States, however, by 2013, this number had increased to 8,144 (Esri 2014).

Secondly, economic prosperity has declined dramatically since such affluent decades as the 1950s and 1980s. As a result, many communities are now encouraging small business ventures that foster local spending. Community economic resilience is facilitated by small, local, and independently-owned businesses, rather than large corporate franchises (Project for Public Spaces,

Inc. 2003). Therefore, municipalities are now adopting policies that promote the return of the public marketplace.

Finally, there has been a renewed interest in public spaces in the United States. Such spaces provide integral social and civic functions (Cohen 2004, 236-239). Public spaces also facilitate diversity through the provision of an inclusionary social environment.

## Conclusions

Because of the several important factors mentioned in section 3, the public marketplace seems to be increasingly attractive in the United States (Payne 2002). It is predicated that the American public marketplace will regain its position as an integral component of urban life.

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### **Streszczenie**

Artykuł opisuje ogólnie rolę publicznego targowiska i jej ewolucję w Stanach Zjednoczonych w świetle różnic w porównaniu z tradycją europejską. Wiosną 2015 roku Politechnika Gdańska była gospodarzem międzynarodowego projektu publicznego, który skupiał się na roli i znaczeniu miejskiego rynku. Uczestnicy, studenci podzielili się na kilka grup i pracowali nad projektami, których celem była reintegracja rozmaitych aspektów rynku na Oruni, dzielnicy Gdańska. Wielu studentów pochodzących z krajów europejskich wniosło percepcję rynku jako idei głęboko zakorzenionej w stuleciach tradycji i funkcjonalności. W Stanach Zjednoczonych jednak, rola publicznego targowiska nie była jednakowo wiekowa, prominentna czy też wnikięta głęboko w zaangażowanie obywatelskie, jak to miało miejsce w Europie. Z tego też względu amerykańskie spojrzenie na ideę rynku jest nieco odmienne od europejskiego. Artykuł skupia się na doświadczeniach amerykańskich w tej materii.

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